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A NEW

CENTENNIAL HISTORY

OF

THE STATE OF KANSAS

BEING

A FULL AND COMPLETE CIVIL, POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF THE STATE,

FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

PROF. CHARLES R. TUTTLE

Author of "History of Wisconsin," "History of Indiana," "History of Michigan," "History of Border Wars," "History of Iowa," "History of the Northwest," "History of Countries of North America," etc.

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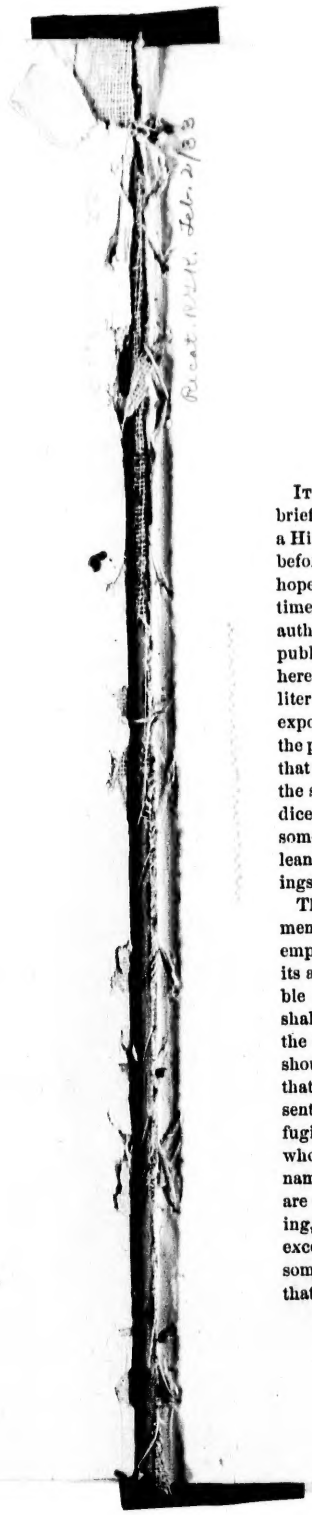

INTRODUCTORY.

It cannot be hoped that any writer of to-day, attempting the task in one brief volume, will be able to condense the whole of the matter necessary for a History of Kansas from the days of the first settlement of the territory, long before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, to the present time; but it is hoped and believed that by a careful collation of all known facts, and sometimes by the statement of even conflicting records, where the material for an authentic conclusion was not available, there is now offered to the reading public a work which will supply some of the wants of the day, and serve hereafter as a basis of practical value, for the preparation of more enduring literature. The genius of Buckle, Motley, Prescott and Froude, finds but few exponents in any age, but the patience, which as much as genius itself, makes the page sometimes valuable, historically considered, is more common, and just that quality it is hoped has found expression in the volume now presented to the state of Kansas, and the union. The writer has striven to avoid prejudice in preparing these sheets for the press, but every man is a partisan in some degree, and with his utmost efforts cannot prevent his constitutional leanings finding utterance in his written and spoken words, when his feelings as well as his judgment become interested.

The central state of the union must, in the progress of time, become of immense importance in the economy of the nation, and may be the seat of empire; hence it is of some moment that every possible contribution toward its authentic history should be preserved in such form as will be best available toward constructing the philosophy of its development, when Chronos shall have ripened his fruit; and for the same reason it is to be desired that the writer should throw no unjustifiable animus into his narration. History should be for society and man, what the earth's crust is for the æons of time that have elapsed since its primary rocks were first solidified; a faithful presentation of every fact and feature, whose imprint could be made before the fugitive and protean matter had put on another semblance. The chronicler whose capacity may enable him to achieve a result so glorious will make a name greater than Herodotus aimed at, or Thucydides imagined; and there are approaches toward that degree of excellence among the writers now living, or just passing away. Such a design could not be fulfilled for Kansas, except in a rudimentary and incomplete way at the present era; but it is something to have helped in preparing the material for a great edifice, and to that extent the writer hopes he has attained a measure of success.

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The position, dimensions, formation and river system of Kansas have been glanced at rather than described in detail, because it would have demanded many volumes to have rendered them full justice, and in a work intended primarily to be read by the people, who must gain their ideas by one sitting of brief duration, and not by a regular course of studies, the whole picture had to be presented with some inevitable sacrifices which the finished scholar and Bibliopole will discover. Each department already has its writers, whose works abound in just such information as the more general historian must summarize, and to their pages the more profound will have recourse, when the purpose of this work shall have been fulfilled. Geology, for instance, only interests the average reader to the extent in which it indicates the presence or absence of the coal measures, the precious metals, good quarries of building stone, and other such facts of economic value. Catering for the public and pressed for space, speculative geology has received very cursory handling, and the circumstance requires mention rather than apology, because the first great aim of the *litterateur* is to secure a buying and reading constituency that will receive and remunerate such faithful labor as for the time is in demand. No man has ever written for posterity alone, until he has first of all failed to secure the ear of his own time. It is then of some importance that our readers should know that Kansas contains none of the precious metals, and that its geological formation forbids the expectation of any such discoveries. It is of greater significance for the industrial future of the state that coal and lime and building stone abound, that salt springs are numerous, that layers of pure salt can be found embedded among the strata, and that the soil is rich in just such principles as will continue for a long time to keep this region in the front rank among the most fertile agricultural countries in the world. Gypsum, alum and native sulphur, brown hematite and petroleum, porcelain clay and fire clay, indicate wide fields of enterprise which will not fail to build up a great community, and beyond that point we have not thought it expedient just now to deal with the geological features of Kansas.

Kansas is not densely wooded, nearly 95 per cent. of its area is prairie; but there are forests of considerable extent in some parts of the state, and in our county sketches a careful estimate has been preserved of the per centage of wood, bottom land and prairie in each locality, so that the intending emigrant may see at a glance what part of the desirable region will best meet his purposes in settlement. The climate of the state has been analytically considered, so that the merits and demerits of the several sections have been duly credited to the regions and belts to which they belong, as will be seen when the reader refers to those portions of the work which are more particularly devoted to meteorological phenomena. The brevity of the winter, the dryness of the atmosphere, the ameliorating effects of tree culture, the gradual changes observed in regard to the frequency and violence of storms, with all the main facts relating to and explanatory of the apparent change, will be found so handled as that he who runs may read, so far as the limited knowledge of the race has yet made clear the laws of the atmosphere; yet the popular reader will find that he has not been afflicted with columns and pages of statistics;

the writer has made a careful digest of his facts, and he submits to the public only the results that are derived therefrom.

There is no part of the United States that has been so long and so persistently misrepresented by writers and speakers as Kansas, which continued for many years to be described on maps and in books as part of the great American desert; that fact, with all of its consequences has been duly set forth, and it will be found by the unprejudiced reader that Kansas has been fully cleared from the calumny once so injurious to its interests. The best answer to the charge of sterility is necessarily supplied by the agricultural products of the state, which for quantity and for quality have surpassed for many years, saving only certain exceptional seasons, not only the general average of the union, but the best records of every other agricultural state. That indubitable fact will be seen by the reader to have been sustained by pregnant testimonies which cannot be controverted. The railroads of a country frequently indicate its measure of progress, because however much speculation may unwisely extend the iron road in non paying regions, nothing but good returns, or the immediate prospect of their attainment, will induce or enable a railroad company to continue to operate its lines. An authority commonly accepted without question claims for Kansas the possession of 2,215 miles of railroad, and shows that there are only seven states in the union whose record exceeds that aggregate. Massachusetts has not yet 1,500 miles; Michigan has not 2,000; Maryland and the District of Columbia combined present an aggregate of less than 1,200; Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, with Rhode Island thrown in as a makeweight, still fall a few miles below the aggregate presented by this state alone. Accepting railroad development as an index of advancement, the prospects of Kansas are enviable in the extreme. The details of this wonderful phase of growth since the year 1861 will be found briefly summarized in their proper place, and the contemplation of the phenomena will present many curious circumstances to the mind of the observer. The growth of manufactures, stretching in an increasing series over many years, will be allowed as evidence of progress, and Kansas can present a very satisfactory array on that basis. Her manufactories of various kinds, not including breweries and cigar factories, had increased steadily up to the year 1874, the time of the locust plague, and at that time numbered 305; in the following year the census was collected in March, before the state had fairly recovered its feet after that visitation, yet the aggregate had almost doubled; the returns for that year being 604, an increase of 299, without glancing at the total of 108 breweries and cigar factories noted in the same return. In every channel that permits of the registration of business activities, similar facts might be quoted; but enough has been said to show that Kansas is building strongly from the base, and must certainly become a mighty state, puissant in manufactures as in agriculture, and equal to all requirements in the expansion of her commercial relations.

The educational enterprise of Kansas is not excelled in proportion to the extent of its population by any one of the United States; indeed it might be easy to make it appear that too much has been done in that respect; but in reality it is not possible for a state to procure too many educational facilities,

as long as the people can by honest means square the account; seeing that the most desirable class of men and families will always be attracted towards that state in which, while they find ample scope for all their adult faculties, their children can be most liberally furnished with aids and incentives to mental culture. Kansas has invested largely in schools, beyond her means undoubtedly in some few instances, but the return will not fail to be commensurate before many years have elapsed. The unparalleled growth of manufactories already referred to is one form in which the reward may be continuously recorded. Charitable institutions, churches, colleges in their several forms, state normal schools and asylums alike testify to the praiseworthy activity of advanced thought and philanthropic effort which will maintain for the state its high position. The growth of the power and importance of the press alone would serve, were no other means available, to illustrate the steady growth of our population in industries and morale; but as will be seen by the reader, the story that is told by any one department is abundantly corroborated by every other.

The history of Kansas, since the days of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, has abounded in incidents as thrilling and perilous as the surprises in the drama, or the curious *denouements* of the modern novel, and while there has been no attempt to exaggerate for the sake of effect, there has been an honest effort to place upon the printed page such a statement of causes and effects as would make the movements of "Border Ruffians" and Free Settlers quite intelligible from every standpoint. The movements of the several governors of the territory, from the nomination of Mr. Reeder, in 1854, will be found fairly and accurately stated, as the chief events actually transpired. The action of Secretary Woodson, the conduct of Franklin Pierce, the weakness and vacillation of Gov. Shannon and his ultimate danger at the hands of his allies; the manly resolution evidenced from the beginning by Gov. Geary and the necessity that impelled him to seek safety in flight, after the protection of United States troops had been shamefully withdrawn from him; the statesmanlike *pronunciamento* of Gov. Walker, upon a basis settled beforehand in consultation with President Buchanan and Senator Douglas, and his resignation when he discovered that the president dared not abide by his promises of honest administration; the conciliatory conduct of Gov. Denver, and of his successors, Medary and Stanton, will be found, each in their order, briefly summarized for the purposes of this history, up to the time when the territory became a state, after the election of President Lincoln, and before his inauguration, because of the change worked in congressional majorities by the success of the Republicans, and by the desperate measures resolved upon by the opposition party in the war of Secession, which was waged long before the fall of Fort Sumter.

There was less scope for home history after the outbreak of the war; the impeachment and trial of Gov. Robinson and his colleagues seemed but a small event in view of the perils with which the Union was menaced, and it was desired to continue from the beginning in regular sequence the story of the war as rendered part of Kansas development, by the heroism of her sons on the battlefields of the Rebellion, from Wilson's Creek to Pittsburg Land-

ing, from Vicksburg to Mission Ridge, and from the Kenesaw to the close of the war at Appomattox; but there did not fail to be occasions when the home life of Kansas could be glanced at, as from a distance, under the rule of Carney, Crawford and Harvey, the two latter actively identified with the war, up to the assumption of office by Gov. Osborne, the present incumbent. The military record of the state has proved itself brilliant, exceedingly, and there was a temptation at times to give full sway to the enthusiasm which heroism never fails to arouse, but the sober prose of history permitted of no raptures. Every regiment raised by Kansas to maintain the struggle until the end was reached in the suppression of the greatest rebellion the world has ever seen, will be found named, and its deeds summarily mentioned, but to have done them justice would require a library. The Drought and the Locust plague will be found in their proper place, recorded without an attempt to cloak one fact that seems to militate against the agricultural greatness of the state, but with a full appreciation of the peculiar circumstances that may never more combine to desolate the people. The men who have made the history of the state could not all be named, but a few representatives hewn from the quarry of public life have been used as illustrations of the mass in order that the facts and possibilities of our time might be better understood.

CHARLES R. TUTTLE.

Madison, Wis., April, 1876.

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TUTTLE'S HISTORY OF KANSAS.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Rivers and Streams — Soil and Surface — Climate and Productions.

THE state of Kansas has, for its southern boundary line, the parallel of thirty-seven degrees, and for its northern, the parallel of forty degrees, north latitude. The adjoining states and territories are, on the east, Missouri, on the north, Nebraska, on the south, the Indian territory, and on the west, Colorado. The dimensions of the state are four hundred and thirty miles long, by two hundred and ten miles wide, and its area contains ninety thousand square miles. This state has peculiar claims upon popular attention because of the troubles which have from its earliest settlement been endured by the people, but before dealing with these several items of history, it will be best to delineate briefly the topographical features of the country. Between Missouri and Kansas flows the Missouri river, in some places half a mile across, narrowing down considerably in other localities, as for instance at Leavenworth City, where a bridge of one thousand feet spans the mighty stream. This river is the boundary line of the states mentioned, for a long distance, and Kansas has a water frontage of nearly one hundred and fifty miles, in the numerous windings of the Missouri. The navigable river which thus leaves the eastern border of the state has an ever increasing value, which must continue to be immensely important in the transport of heavy freights, notwithstanding all the facilities that can be presented by the iron road. Steamboats can ascend the stream two

thousand five hundred miles beyond the northern boundary of Kansas, north and west to Fort Benton, near the Rocky Mountains; and to the southeast, the navigation is unimpeded to the point, five hundred miles distant, twenty-five miles above the city of St. Louis, where the waters of the Missouri flow into the Mississippi river, and the tonnage of all the nations of the world might float upon the greatest river known to commerce. The majestic Amazon has no pretensions to compare with the Mississippi, in its value as the highway of the New World. The Missouri is so great in its proportions that the other rivers and streams which flow through and across the state of Kansas are apt to be undervalued in the enumeration, but they are in many instances of great volume and considerable length. The Kansas or Kaw river is one hundred and fifty miles long, the two streams known as the Republican river and Smoky Hill river, flowing into one channel near Junction City, to form the Kansas. This river receives many streams on its course. The Big Blue river, after flowing one hundred and twenty-five miles, from its source in Nebraska territory, empties itself into the Kansas, at Manhattan, and the Grasshopper, which is a stream seventy-five miles in length, also joins the larger river on the north side. There is only one large confluent entering the river on the south bank, and that is the Wakarusa, which after a course of fifty miles, with innumerable windings, finds its home in the Kansas, near Lawrence, flowing onward with that stream until it enters the Missouri, nearly due east from the junction of the parent streams, just where the mightier river bends to the east and quits the boundary line of the state. The Smoky Hill river, whose course we have traced from near Junction City, has its fountain head near the Rocky Mountains, in Colorado, and that stream is enriched with others, which come over immense stretches of territory. One of these, the Saline river, runs about two hundred miles, and the Solomon is fifty miles longer than the Saline. The other constituent of the river Kansas, the Republican, is a still more extensive traveler. Rising in Colorado, the stream flows through Kansas in the northwest of the state, into Nebraska territory, and then returning to Kansas, more than one hundred and forty miles from the eastern boundary of the state, finds its way to the Missouri as before de-

cribed. The length of this river from its source to the point near Junction City where it becomes part of the Kaw or Kansas river, is just four hundred miles.

Northern and Southern Kansas are the terms used to define the portions of the state which lie to the north and south respectively of the line described by the Smoky Hill and Kansas rivers, about two-thirds of the state lying to the south of the streams mentioned. Steamboats have ascended the Kansas river, and in one instance a steamer reached Fort Riley, clear beyond the junction of the two streams, on the Smoky Hill river, beyond the debouchure of the Republican, but there was no commercial value in the fact, as the stream is not navigable, except as an exploit more curious than profitable. The River of Swans, or *Marais des Cygnes*, as the French named it, has the honor to have been celebrated in immortal verse by the Quaker poet, Whittier. This stream rises somewhat to the east of the geographical center of the state of Kansas, and flows one hundred and twenty-five miles, with sundry bends, mainly east and by south, before it enters the state of Missouri, near Fort Scott, and changes its appellation to Osage river. The Neosho runs a course of about two hundred miles, before leaving the state of Kansas for the Indian territory, about twenty-six miles from the southeastern angle of the state. This river also has its rise near the middle of the state, and is the receptacle, in its route, of the Cottonwood and of several other streams, some of them of considerable volume, capable of manufacturing utility. The Cottonwood, just mentioned as a confluent of the Neosho, is the larger stream of the two, just before the two rivers join their currents near Emporia. The Cottonwood is one hundred miles long from its headwaters to the junction. Another river, which flows about one hundred miles in Kansas, is the Verdigris, running almost parallel with the Neosho, and receiving into its bosom the Fall river, which joins it from the west after a course of about sixty miles. The Arkansas is quite a mighty river, having a course of about two thousand miles, from its rise far up in the Rocky mountains, in what is known as the South Park of Colorado, to its junction with the Mississippi river, between Memphis and Vicksburg. The river traverses Colorado, Kansas, the Indian territory, and Arkansas state before being lost in the vaster stream,

and it has numerous tributaries. The course of the Arkansas, which, with its confluents, waters and drains fully two-thirds of southern Kansas, amounts to very nearly five hundred mile: in the state of Kansas alone, so numerous are the convolutions by which it approaches, while it appears to be retreating from, its destination. Many of the streams of southern Kansas flow into the Arkansas river after that stream has entered the Indian territory. The principal tributaries of the Arkansas in this state are the Walnut, which flows into the main stream near Arkansas City, after running a distance of about seventy-five miles, and being enriched by the Whitewater, a considerable stream; the Little Arkansas, about seventy-five miles long, a deep and strong river, which enters its larger namesake at Wichita; the Cow creek, a stream little short of seventy miles in length, is another of the feeders, and the remainder need only be named, as Ash Fork, Pawnee Fork, the Shakuska, the Good river, the Cowskin, and several others, which vary in their length from forty-five to seventy miles respectively. The Cimarron flows through the south western angle of the state for a considerable distance, and the river receives many tributaries, which vary from about fifty to one hundred miles, but in consequence of this portion of Kansas not being properly surveyed, their exact bearings cannot be given. Nescutunga, Bluff creek, Medicine Lodge, and Mule creek are among the principal of these tributaries. Kansas is perhaps the best watered prairie state in the union.

Kansas may be said to have a type of beauty entirely its own; we have seen that its river system is really vast, and it remains to be said, that the word prairie, although it is the proper word to express the character of the country which predominates in Kansas, will give but a very inadequate idea to the general reader as to the surface and scenery of this state. The traveler in Kansas finds himself on table land, elevated and undulating, the surface very gently falling from the altitude of the western boundary, where it is three thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea, until it descends to the eastern boundary, only seven hundred and fifty feet above the sea level, where the Kansas river pours its volume into the Missouri. The gradual ascent of the surface of the state may be illustrated by reference

to the gradients on the Kansas Pacific Railroad, where the route is a continuous climb from the eastern to the western boundary. The first two hundred miles show an ascent of more than six hundred feet, three hundred and forty-eight of which are between Wamego and Brookville, thence to Ellis, a distance of one hundred miles, shows a rise of seven hundred and sixty-nine feet, and from that point to Eagle Tail, the station nearest the western boundary, the continuous ascent approximates to one thousand three hundred and twenty feet. Such a rise compressd into a less distance would become formidable to engineers, but spread over a territory so extensive, it hardly taxes their ingenuity in the least. Up the side of this vast incline, the traveler, who has time for observation, finds that he is passing between and across the system of rivers already particularized, and he perceives, that along the water courses there are bottom lands which vary from a quarter of a mile at the narrowest, to three miles at the broadest parts, except in the western section of the state, where those streams, still large, must at some remote period have been majestic, as the bottom lands now stretch from five miles to ten miles across. For many years past there have been no submergences of the bottom lands, or if an occasional freshet has for a brief term induced the rivers to break bounds, they soon return to their usual propriety and decorum, flowing in their channels from fifteen to twenty feet below the levels, which were at one time the beds of the several streams. Hence, these bottom lands are very desirable locations for agriculturists and stock raisers, as the producing power of the soil is immense. Many of these bottom lands are well wooded, more especially in the eastern section of the state, where about one-half is timbered, and the rest open cultivable soil, ready for the grazier or the farmer at once. Some of these streams have what is known as a second bottom at a still greater elevation, and varying from quite an insignificant belt to a breadth of nearly three miles. The line of the second bottom, where it is found, is seldom straight, more generally it presents a series of hills and dales, never considerable, but running almost at right angles with the streams. Some of these eminences and depressions are little more than two hundred yards from the depth of the valley to the apex of the

hill, and others stretch fully half a mile from the lowest point to the highest, the variations of altitude ranging from twenty to forty feet. When it is borne in mind, that in addition to the curves already mentioned, these bottom lands have graceful bends toward the rivers, which flow through the lower strata, it will be seen that the line of beauty, never a straight line anywhere, is fully exemplified in the topography of this state. The drainage of lands so undulating, and intersected by rivers, could hardly fail to be perfect.

We have gradually ascended from one side of the state to the other, an altitude of about two thousand, seven hundred feet, supplying a grand watershed for the Missouri and the Mississippi by the route of the Arkansas river; we have since then gradually followed the contour of the river banks, until we have risen to the bottom lands, and the second bottoms, and we come now to the higher ridges or bluffs which tower above the cultivable lands, in some places fully three hundred feet, and in others not more than fifty, with every degree of elevation intervening, and the angle of ascent varying from twenty to thirty degrees. "Alps piled on Alps" would not describe the scene, as there is nothing alpine nor mountainous in the aspect of the country. The traveler who has been supposed to have set out upon his journey, with sufficient time at his disposal to enable him to view the diverse beauty of the country, having ascended by successive steps from the river bed to the second bottom, has now climbed the ascent and mounted the bluff, from whence the upland prairies stretch away in an illimitable perspective of depressions and elevations, just the counterpart of the smaller valleys and eminences before described, but of course in larger proportions. The long swell of the sea which the voyager has sometimes seen in the tropics, when the clipper would lie just

> "Like a painted ship
> Upon a painted ocean,"

but for the rolling of the vessel from side to side, as if she meant in sheer despair to send her top hamper overboard, or at the least to immerse her yard arms, to give them the benefit of sea bathing. In the long swell of such a sea, which probably Coleridge had

never seen when he wrote his "Ancient Mariner," the traveler has witnessed just such a series of rounded billows as now salute his sight, but perhaps the hills are just a trifle higher, the valleys a little more depressed, and the green of the upland prairie differs somewhat from the bluish green of the deep sea; still the resemblance is sufficiently great to arrest the attention of the least imaginative observer, and to suggest that Dame Nature, in a fanciful mood, concluded to copy on the land the superb courses of the never resting sea. The crests of the hills are from four hundred yards to a mile apart, and the elevations vary in the same proportion, from about twenty to eighty feet. The crests of these hills are already engaged in their daily work, enticing the rain drops to leave the clouds, in which they have traveled from the sea, and to descend by the blade of grass to the soil, by the earth to the lowest line in the valley, and there striking hands with associate drops upon a partnership for a journey, they form a rivulet, soon to become a stream, and commence their pilgrimage toward the Atlantic once again. Down the miniature valley they trickle, until some tributary of the Kansas or Arkansas is reached, and by any of these the rain drop is at length rolled along over its many thousand miles of travel, never lessening its volume, until it flows and dashes in the mad sport of giant winds, in the billows of the ocean. How many millions of years may have passed since the sun first drew the cloud forth from the ocean, to descend upon the earth as rain, to refresh vegetation with its dews, to give music to the murmuring spring, to give volume to the dancing river, and give health to the rosy cheek of beauty when the ages should at length permit of the birth of mankind, it entereth not into the heart of manhood to conceive, but the simple beauty and effectiveness of the process should fill our minds with the hope that this green earth will never lapse to the chaos from whence it came, nor advance into the arid cheerlessness and frozen despair of the pale faced moon. But perhaps that part of the earth's business may for the time be dropped at this point, and we will proceed with the history of Kansas.

The hills and bluffs are frequently broken by the rills and streams formed in these upland valleys, and along their banks are belts of timber, more or less considerable, in proportion to the

extent to which the formation of the country protected isolated spots from desolation by fire. These prairie fires, terrible as they are, or rather were, for in the settled districts their frequency has been reduced until they are scarcely dreaded, were not, and unfortunately we are forced here to use the present tense, are not, the worst destroying agencies known in this region. There was a time, scarcely more than eighteen months since, when Kansas was smiling like a garden in almost every valley. The green earth had been "tickled with a hoe, and it had laughed with a harvest" as usual, when one day there was a black cloud seen in the air, and as the impending darkness fell upon the earth, it was found that the locust of scripture, the grasshopper of our own time, had come down upon the community with a worse than Egyptian plague. All the plagues seemed to have been rolled into one in this terrible visitation. The trees were covered by the unwelcome host of visitors, and soon the crashing sound of their mandibles could be heard by every cottager, as they destroyed his fruit trees, and his harvests, his growing crops and his garnered grain, leaving no green thing visible for miles, and nothing before the despairing husbandman but blank starvation. There had been nothing before like it in the experince of settled America. In vain did whole populations turn out to fight the destroyer; the name was legion, and ten millions of the invading coleoptera destroyed hardly made an atom of difference in the consumption of food which had been meant for the sustenance of men, women and children. Trenches dug across the line of march arrested enough of the locusts, too tired for flight, to cause a stench of decomposition in the air, but the more vigorous rose upon the wing to descend upon the next orchards and fields with the scorching effect of flame. When everything had been consumed, the young and strong grasshoppers unfolded their wings and rose, sailing before the wind, to "fresh woods and pastures new." Strong men who had not realized until now the extent of their misfortune, came out to discover the utter nakedness of the land. Before that scourge came down upon them, they were moving gaily onward to independence, now they had not enough of their crops remaining for the next season's seed; they had not food enough to keep starvation from the door one month, they had not

credit to procure a barrel of flour, nor a sack of potatoes, not because men doubted their sterling honesty, but that they knew there was not a prospect of payment until another season's crop should be harvested, if even then there might be a chance. In vain did the poor fellows quit their homes to find employment elsewhere, for wherever their failing, unfed strength could carry them, similar misfortunes sat upon the face of the country, and men who had toiled for years to become possessors of their homesteads were now marching forth penniless, to begin the battle of life anew. Famine brought death in its train, and whole families were swept away. The Egyptian plague of the worst kind carried off only the first born; this worse affliction was fatal to whole groups, and destroyed confidence, made it doubtful whether the old days of plenty would ever shine again; but there is a fine old adage that the darkest cloud has a lining of gold. Just as, when the fire in Chicago destroyed a modern city, the whole civilized world as one man rose up with succor, as well as with sympathy, and the city rose from its ashes to a splendor greater than before; just as when the potato famine fell upon Ireland, and the wail of despair resounded across the ocean, there was an all but unanimous response with substantial help, which gladdened those who were ready to perish, and brought thousands out from under the darts of death; so in this Kansas misfortune there was an earnest wish to alleviate the sufferings of the distressed. From all over the land railroad companies volunteered the use of their freight cars to convey help to the broken people, and committees of men and women in every locality divided their cities and towns into canvassing districts, which were allotted to proper persons to be worked, and the results attained in unification of the races upon this continent will, in the course of years, be worth more than all the sacrifice and suffering by which the end was rendered possible.

It must not be supposed that even in the presence of such a misfortune, there was charity in every heart to the extent of actual giving to the needy. There are, unhappily, thousands who are so constituted that they are impregnable to the voice of mercy. Sydney Smith said that "benevolence is universal, because A never hears of B being in trouble without at once concluding that

C ought to assist him;" but in this case something better than vicarious generosity was demanded, and many who are prepared to talk mercy would give nothing, for fear they might establish a bad precedent. The priest in the fable would give his blessing freely, but he would not discount his beatitudes to the extent of one farthing. Aminadab Sleek would not give a cent to assist the widow and family of a bricklayer, who had been killed by falling from a scaffolding, for fear it might induce other bricklayers to fall from other scaffoldings, to leave other widows and children dependent upon such charity. The world owes much to philosophers of that stamp. In the city of Boston there was such a man, and although he belonged to a church, and fared sumptuously every day, wearing the purple and fine linen of wealth and respectability, it had been impossible to draw the smallest atom of fractional currency for the poor people in Kansas and Nebraska. His clerks had been asked and had given freely from their stinted means; he, with his $2,000 per day of certain income, could not for many days be bled in the smallest degree. His cashier doubled his own subscription rather than assume the responsibility of making an appeal to the money grubber, to which he had been unfeelingly urged by a committee. A delegation was at last found hardy enough to

> "Brave the lion in his den,
> The Douglas in his hall."

And they wrestled in spirit with the miser, until, as a result of two hours' pleading, and, perhaps too, in dread of a possible longer stay, the ancient banker consented to give something, he would not say what; but he would give something, not money; he would give his tithe in kind, if not in kindness. There was triumph in the hearts of the benevolent delegation, because when such a tough old sinner could be melted, adamant might be welded like an easily worked metal. The day wore on, and it was evening before the newly awakened benevolence of the hardened money getter brought itself to the point of making the sacrifice. The old man had examined his wardrobe a dozen times over, but the shabbiest garment there was ten times too good to be sent to a grasshopper region; and at last with many a sigh of

regret, more poignant than the grief of the average sinner on the anxious seat, he concluded to send to the committee "one salted mackerel," very salt indeed, folded in a copious pamphlet on "Original Sin." That night the banker suffered so much from the reproaches of his conscience, or of his cupidity, that he resolved thenceforth never again to waste his substance in indiscriminate charity. Kansas found so rich a harvest last year that the sorrows of the preceding summer were forgotten, and the rash philanthropy of the man who gave one mackerel, from out of all his wealth, to assuage the agony of so many thousands of people, may afford an opportunity for a smile.

The scenery of a state, formed as Kansas is, could not be "flat, stale, and unprofitable," nor could it be monotonous, nor ill drained, nor badly irrigated. The wayfarer, whose course we have attended to the bluffs overlooking the upland prairies, finds a scene which is unique in his experience. The picture which we have tried to present shows the hills and valleys running at right angles with the streams; and that is as nearly the fact as a general statement could be; but the hills are not two alike, so infinite is the variety of nature's operations, even where the grand combination might seem, under description, to be monotonous, and the rivers flow with an individuality which produces a perpetual surprise, until, as though speaking of the work of some great artist, one exclaims in the language of the bard:

"Age cannot wither,
Nor custom stale, his infinite variety."

The streams bending toward every point of the compass as they follow the course shaped by two forces, the strength of the current, working upon more or less yielding strata, have all the changes possible in the kaleidoscope of form, and the bluffs present every variety of wave-like outline, here a long swell breaking off short and almost sharp in a billow, that would seem to have dashed itself against an invisible cliff, there graceful as the ringlet of the maiden waved by the wind, then for some distance flattening and extending the heave of the land, until there appears to be a plain, but the wave like contour is never lost. Sudden or slow, the form of the never pausing sea is stamped upon the

soil. Endless similarity and endless change are visible at every turn. The streams are alike in their unlikeness, to each other, the prairies curve into ten thousand lines of change, in which the general feature is always the same, but the detail as dissimilar as can be imagined, where valley, plain and hill are the factors of the occasion. The bottom lands, which follow the windings of every stream, stretch out in some favored spots to a breadth miles in extent, and again there seems to be no valley at all, only a narrow margin by the river's brim, the changes being rung upon these several possibilities *ad infinitum*. The bluffs seem to have indulged their grim humor in the mazy dance, and to have been petrified in their several attitudes. Here the bluff is an aggressive character rushing to the front intrepidly, there a more yielding temper is displayed in a curtsy which half grants and half refuses, and yet again there is the attitude of the suppliant barely rising from the earth. In some of these forms the rude earth has cast aside its coverlet of grass, and in others the adornment of emerald pervades every step from the silvery stream at the base to the rounded parapet where the bluff loses itself in the upland prairie. Those various forms advance and retreat continuously, but no two forms are found alike, and in every instance the completest dissimilarity is a manifest outcome of the same general principle of development. Forest and pasture alternate and blend in a thousand different ways, and the witchery of loveliness is over all the landscape. Men who have traveled much in Europe, and have then visited Kansas, find that the scenery bears a kind of general resemblance to the Champagne country in France, and all are agreed that there is nothing more lovely in the world, than the grander aspect of this state. When prosperous and general settlement shall have dotted the earth, with the homes of men to whom life is a series of luxuriant delights, under whose direction, the vast natural lawns will assume the elegant growths, which the landscape gardener knows so well how to produce, and when their palaces will stand on the knolls which seem to have been intended for edifices such as *Claude Melnotte* describes, "Lifting to eternal summer their marble walls," and backed by the park forests which are so useful, so profitable in every sense, and still so grand in their repose, the beauty of

Kansas will be the unit of admiration by which other excellences will be judged. Turning from the contemplation of natural beauty, we find ourselves examining the earth, upon which this loveliness is superimposed, and it is worthy to be classed among the best soils known in the world for the purposes of farm and garden. There are those who would say that because Kansas has suffered by drought, by locust and by border violence, in the long struggle when state sovereignty was to have been wrested into forming a weapon for the slave owner, therefore Kansas is not an eligible field for emigration. As well say that because Lisbon was once swallowed by an earthquake, therefore, the city is not a proper residence for men, or that Chicago and Boston having suffered terrific conflagrations, both cities shall henceforth be tabooed. Droughts come more or less in every part of the world; the border outrages which were incidental to the struggles of the south to retain supremacy are being very rapidly erased from living memories, and as to the locusts, it may be well to remember, that the lightning does not strike twice in the same spot. The soil of Kansas is deep and fertile, requiring only moderate care and skill to secure good crops every time; the average crop of Indian corn in fifteen states, in the year 1865, showed that the most productive states in the union only gave thirty-seven bushels per acre, while the state of Kansas gave forty-one. In the year 1869, the largest yield per acre in any other state was thirty-four bushels in Vermont, and Kansas gave forty-eight. In the same year there were but two states that exceeded Kansas in the yield of potatoes per acre, the quantities being in Kansas one hundred and forty-nine bushels, in Michigan one hundred and fifty-five, and Vermont one hundred and sixty, the average for that year being thirty bushels of Indian corn, eighteen bushels less than Kansas, and one hundred and sixteen bushels of potatoes, thirty-three bushels less than Kansas. It would be easy to continue these contrasts, all to the advantage of Kansas, but no good purpose could be served by persisting in an array of figures. The fact indicated, as to the fertility of Kansas, may be tested by any person who is curious enough in such matters, to induce him to consult blue books, and the returns of the agricultural department, and we turn therefore from the tables of

results to examine the soil which produced such crops, in the rude tillage of a border state, hardly yet quieted from the disturbances of the unsettled times.

The drainage of the country is complete; that we have already seen in the contour of the land, except that some of the bottoms may be a trifle too moist for tillage, unless artificial drainage is made auxiliary to the natural formation. The special fitness of Kansas for the growth of winter wheat is one of the established facts. In that particular it is certainly superior to Illinois. In the bottoms the minimum depth of soil is twenty-four inches, and the maximum ten feet. On the prairies there are many spots where the soil is hardly more than twelve inches deep, but it is usually very productive, and in the deepest spots, the soil hardly exceeds thirty-six inches. Agricultural chemistry favors the idea that the soil of Kansas will be found permanently fertile, in consequence of the abundant supply of mineral salts in the earth. There are some peculiarly barren spots, known as "buffalo wallows," which in dry seasons exude a white powder, a sulphate of magnesia; but with proper treatment, the lands which have a reputation so unfavorable, can at very little cost be made to give good crops of almost every description. The old fashioned farmer, who prided himself upon his unacquaintance with book learning, finds himself at a heavy discount in contact with a difficulty of this description, which to his son, scarcely comes to be thought a trial of his skill. These buffalo wallows appear to have been frequented by animals of all descriptions for the mineral quality which they obtained by licking the earth. The "salt lick" is at all times a spot cared for by cattle, and in many cases the wallowing and licking of the animals has worn the soil into a cavity sufficient to afford a lodgment for water, when for miles around the rest of the country was well drained. These hard and depressed spots alternately soaked and baked by the winter rains and summer's heat, are few and far between; but a description of the soil would not be complete and faithful without reference to this peculiarity. The quantity of waste land in Kansas is very small indeed, whether we take the actual figures or a comparative statement between this state and others. Our readers are of course aware that there are two ways in which soil may be formed; by

the disintegration of rock, affording a lodgment to seeds and to moisture, out of which a sparse vegetation springs; and by the decomposition of vegetal matter, which gradually coats the oxidized stratum, or in the processes of cultivation, becomes incorporated therewith, and supplies an endless variety of growths. In some parts of Kansas, sandstone has been made the base of the agricultural lands; in other parts, limestone, the first is found to be of exceptional value in the cultivation of fruit, and it is always ready for the operations of the farmer, before the limestone soils can be approached. In many of the bottom lands, all these qualities combine, and all that is necessary to attain perfection for the agriculturist is just so much of art as will relieve the earth of superabundant moisture at particular spots. Upon a careful calculation made by competent persons, with whom circumstances have brought the writer in contact, it appears that there is not throughout Kansas an average of one acre in five hundred in which the rock is so exposed as to preclude cultivation; and in the few cases in which such exposures occur, the number of springs and the area of running water make the country peculiarly valuable for grazing and stock raising purposes. The value of these exposures in other respects will have to be considered in another phase of our treatment of the surface and capabilities of Kansas. The soil of eastern Kansas is usually black, that of western Kansas is lighter in color, with an inclination to redness, from the iron present in the earth. The soil of western Kansas is much deeper than that of the east, but except in the bottoms, it contains a very small amount of vegetable mold, that deposit seeming to have been washed out of the higher lands into the valleys, or by some circumstance to have been arrested. The quality which is largely lacking in the light colored soil of the western section abounds in the east of the state. The bluff formation has qualities which make it of peculiar value to the agriculturist; for many growths, indeed, it is fully equal to the black soil, rich in vegetable deposit. When the bluff deposit underlies the darker soil, as we have seen that it sometimes does, the farmer occasionally brings up the subsoil by deep plowing, and after exposure to the air it will give as good crops as the black soil so much praised. In some parts of Kansas the soil seems to be made up of a finely

pulverized sand which shows no grittiness on being handled, yet never bakes like a clay soil, and is ready for the plow sooner than any other land on the record. This quality is found more or less prominent wherever the bluff deposit predominates, and it is often found in combination with vegetal mold, supplying in that form a wealth of soil such as the whole world cannot excel. Kansas is only beginning to be appreciated as a grazing and stock raising country; in the course of a few years, when the agriculturist of this state shall have enjoyed full opportunities to become acquainted with the capabilities of the soil, he will learn that Kansas can produce more and better stock than any other state in the union. The farmer will carry on his multiform operation, producing the crops best suited for his winter avocations, growing hedges, groves and belts of trees in the positions best adapted for shelter, allowing his cattle to graze down the magnificent blue grass which abounds for summer feed and for winter hay, without an atom of trouble beyond curing and saving, and making his dairy an item in his daily work, which, at little cost, will supply all the wants of an extensive household.

There need be no waste in time or substance in the business of the successful agriculturist. His stock will give as much in one form as it takes in another from the soil, so that the farm will become richer every day, and if due care is observed in procuring the very best crosses, the state will soon obtain the repute, worth more than money in the market, of producing the best qualities of live stock in the union. Iowa, in some of her counties, has done wonders, with but little outlay, in this respect, and in some parts of Kansas, at this moment, there are breeds of cattle which will hardly be surpassed in the next quarter of a century. Bakewell, the English farmer who first introduced the idea of improving the breed of domesticated animals in his own country, was set down as little better than an idiot by his neighbors, but he persevered in his subdued, enthusiastic way, until some few persons were won over to a half belief in his theories. The sheep of his day were remarkable for their points; indeed, they were all points, carrying as much bone as Don Quixote's Rosinante, and as little meat as the Knight of the Rueful Countenance himself. Bakewell pointed out to his few listeners that it was possible to

reduce the mileage of bo. , and to increase the acreage of meat by judicious breeding, and very soon he had something more convincing than argument to support his theory. His sheep and cattle cost no more for their keep than the animals raised by his neighbors, but the drovers who came to buy for the London markets were ready to pay a better price because there was more meat for the consumer, and that product was of better quality. Some of the rare old true blue conservative farmers, of whose successors Earl Russell said in his younger days, that "they were more stupid than the cattle they raised," stuck to the old ways and were ruined. The younger and brighter race profited by their experience, and the same law of selection which resulted in the production of "pedigree wheat," and "Southdown mutton," was applied in a hundred different ways, until the farmer and grazier in England at the present time is a scientist, following a profession, instead of a plodding, stupid sort of man, running his chances and grumbling at every phase of fortune. What Bakewell did, other men in this country have carried to still greater perfection. The best thing that has been accomplished by Goldsmith Maid, under the eye of the public, is but a limited exhibition of what she would do, if the occasion warranted her owners in taxing her strength and speed, and by continuous care in selection, every quality that is thought desirable can be secured, not in particular individuals, but in a large per centage of the animals raised from certain stock. The interest of the producer demands that he shall not waste his energies on quadrupedal weeds, when the sun, soil and attention which he can bestow, will be as productive, to say the very least, of the finest type of animals. In that description of enterprise Kansas is destined to take a very high position, and to reap very considerable profit.

It would be difficult to find, for any purpose, better and more enduring lands anywhere than the valleys of the Kansas and Arkansas rivers afford. The soil is quick and strong, and every crop tells of the staying powers of that rich agglomeration brought down by rains and rivers from the uplands and the bluffs during unnumbered centuries.

The climate of Kansas would task the powers of a master to give an adequate description without overstating the virtues of

the region. There are many variations of every beauty, but there are some drawbacks also in the meteorological characteristics of this state. The heat sometimes reaches one hundred degrees in the shade, and this to many persons accustomed to the moist atmosphere of Chicago, or to some of the cities of Michigan, bordering on the lake, suggests a sweltering warmth, which would justify one in dressing like a Sandwich Islander, or in basking in the shade like the Neapolitan *lazzaroni*, incapable of work, unless it is labor to eat fruit and some preparation of maccaroni, and able only to appreciate the *dolce far niente*, "the delicious do nothing," as these unique idlers phrase their indulgence. Men who have lived in Kansas can tell quite a different story; the air is dry and elastic at those seasons, until there seems to be no pressure upon the vital column, or only just sufficient to hold one to the earth. Those who in Chicago, when the thermometer stood at 96° or 97° could hardly draw their reluctant limbs after them in the moist hot air, and were in danger of destroying their whole supply of paper collars every day, in an insane attempt to look frigid, can hardly dream of the exhilarating character which belongs to the air of Kansas when the register shows a range of from 80° to 100°. The Chicagoan, who will oblige us by remaining on the stage for purposes of contrast, may realize within one day in the middle of summer, almost the extremes of change which a resident in Kansas will be called upon to endure, from the earliest day in spring, to the last in the autumn, until the children begin to calculate the number of days before old Santa Klaus will descend the hospitable chimney, with his presents touched with a rime of frost. The sufferer in Chicago can hardly gasp out over night, his customary laudation of the metropolis of the great northwest, so intense is the oppression of that warmth, and when he finds his pillow, his first care is to throw off every coverlet save the linen sheet, and still the small hours of morning are well nigh run out, before he falls into a fitful doze, from which he is awakened by a dream of arctic rigors, to find the breeze from the lake blowing half a gale into the open window, and himself praying in vain for just an hour more of the broiling, sweltering air of yesterday. The days of summer in Kansas are bright and full of sunshine,

but it is the brightness of Italy, with the same deep blue sky, hardly flecked by a passing cloud. The heat that is described by Dickens in *Little Dorritt*, in his pen and ink sketch of Marseilles, is a matter of theory to the resident in Kansas, unless he has traveled. He sees at home no quivering of the hot air as it rises from the heated roads, like the radiating warmth of a kiln. The air is warm for him, but he concludes that 100° in the shade is not a bad experience after all, when it is followed by cool nights with almost the regularity of clock work, and the sleeper finds no difficulty in enduring a fair average of bed clothes. Then again his winter is not a severe and arctic freeze, any more than his summer reminds him of the torrid zone. He cannot, in fancy even, travel during the seasons from the burning sides of Hecla to an unpleasant coldness, cast away upon an iceberg. His transitions come slowly from the topmost range of summer to a winter temperature, only on rare occasions falling below zero. The workman whose calling must be pursued in the open air, seldom suffers from *coup de soleil* in the summer, or from frostbite in the winter. The farmer can pursue his avocation through the live long year with abundant profit, without experiencing the vicissitudes and extremes which wait upon his neighbors in Iowa or Illinois. There is one drawback in this climate which the young people occasionally make an occasion for murmuring; the merry sleigh bells are not heard, and of course the delightful parties, which can face a snow storm with delight, must find other provocations to hilarity, but the farmer does not complain of a climate in which the plow will run through the soil during ten months of the year. December and January are the winter months, and in some seasons ice eight inches thick is formed during that season of cold, but more generally the range is from four to six inches, and some years there is no ice worth storing. Spring comes with February, and the trees are soon in bud, ready to burst into the garment of green which is so grateful to the eye, so full of promise for mankind. The cold days have just been sufficiently severe and frequent to make the vernal season more delightful, but the fact that sleighing is not the fashion, says emphatically that the winters are mild by comparison with the rigors endured in other states. The absence of haze from the atmosphere is a subject of

comment among travelers; the air brings every object within the range of sight clear up into view, and at times it appears as though it were possible to perceive refracted to our line of vision things which are below the line of the horizon. We do not mean to convey that the Fata Morgana, which can be seen at times on the coast of Calabria, is ever presented to the eyes of the Kansas resident at home; the refraction referred to shows no reversal of the object, but it is as though the encircling air raised up a picture of every object *in situ* by some occult power which our knowledge of the law of sight will not enable us to grasp. The clear air of Kansas gives an impression of nearness, when gazing at distant objects, which is another result of its dryness, because men necessarily compare the present with the past, and all their conclusions in this respect are arrived at by remembering the moist media through which they saw everything in less favored localities.

The winds are very strong in Kansas; perhaps the vapor which loads the atmosphere in some states is due to the softer airs in which the earth is lapped, but there are many regions in which a kind of fog is almost always present, although the winds come occasionally with the force of a hurricane. The want of forests in Kansas has been already referred to, and of course the bare prairie offers no abating force to the gales which sometimes sweep over the land. Groves are springing up now in many places which seemed to be permanently bare, since the fires once annually prevailing have been beaten back by the growth of settlement, and farmers are planting trees with very good judgment, in different parts of the country. Perhaps the state government would do well to give such matters their careful supervision also. The cool breezes of the summer nights are pleasant as well as profitable to the sleeper, but the strong winds may, and probably will be, moderated by tree culture, and other means which it would be tedious to particularize here. Certain it is that wind and rain can be largely governed by circumstances which are under man's control, although the simoom and the cyclone in their fury bear him down as the reed is bent in a tempest. The cultivation of hedges is a step in the right direction. The records, so far as they extend, abundantly show that rains fall with greater frequency and with less violence in Kansas of late years, than was

the experience of the older settlers when they located themselves in this territory. The number of rainy days during the year increased within three years from about sixty days to ninety, speaking in round numbers, and this by steady accretion. Such a fact taken alone would be too narrow to be assumed as a basis for reasoning, but when it is considered that all the facts of our time tend to the same result, and that our completest observations positively demonstrate the power of trees over rainfall, while they more than suggest that railroads and telegraph wires wield an influence on the frequency and duration of electric disturbances, it will be seen that we are justified in relying upon the increase of rainy days during three years of close observation, as part of the phenomena which prove that man is slowly accumulating power over the elements, by the observation of the phenomena of nature. When the Mormon leader, Brigham Young, led his followers into the valley of the Salt Lake, encamping at the foot of the Wahsatch mountains, just where the city of Salt Lake now stands, he promised his disciples a miracle, and to this day they believe his promise was fulfilled. The Great Salt lake, a mass of water apparently without an outlet, except by means of evaporation, had accumulated the salts of the earth in that region during unnumbered years, as every stream and spring brought with it to the lake some mineral in solution. When the sun drew up its supplies to make rain, only the pure vapor rose to form the cloud, the salt must needs remain behind, being too heavy to be vaporized by that simple process of attraction, and ceaseless repetitions of the operation of the same attractions and repulsions, during all the centuries that have elapsed since the lake system extended across the continent, and gave to this body of water its outlets toward the ocean, such as lake Erie and lake Michigan now enjoy, have resulted in making the Great Salt lake as full of mineral substance as the name implies. The continuance of similar causes through more extended periods would have resulted, it is probable, in filling the valley with a salt bed such as the crust of the earth has many examples of; but to pursue that question further would lead away from our present topic. Mr. Brigham Young had spent much time among the Indians, and although a man of very moderate attainments, he has excep-

tional shrewdness, so that when he heard from the red men the axiom of the tribes, that "The pale face brings his rain with him," he could have had very little difficulty in comprehending the natural law, under which the fact referred to by the Indians must be explained.

The red man had allowed fires to sweep over the country year after year unchecked, if not caused by his operations, denuding the prairies of every tree and bush and blade of grass over thousands of square miles, leaving the soil a blackened waste until the grass roots by mere force of vitality would once more place a robe of emerald upon the earth. Where such fires did not occur, and the primeval forests raised their heads to heaven asking for clouds and rain, there was only one obstacle to careless and thriftless denudation, the laziness of the savage and the imperfection of his tools. When the white settler came to the land to make his home, his first care would be to isolate his homestead, as completely as he might, from the probability of being swallowed up in prairie fires. That isolation meant protection for the forest which was always trying to make head against the destroyer. Examine the patch of grass under your feet and you will find not only grass, but shrubs of a thousand kinds, in miniature, trying to find room for expansion. Ten thousand trees are browsed down in a day by domesticated animals. Millions of trees, that have never risen more than a span in height, are liable to be eroded by the pettiest fire, and still nature maintains her ceaseless effort to cover the soil with forests. The white man assists nature, because he has his home to protect, his wife and little ones, his *Lares* and *Penates* to defend. The crops in the earth, the fences around his farm, the grain in his store, the furniture in his dwelling, the stock grazing around him, are all precious possessions, and fire is his direst enemy. He bends all his energies to avoid conflagrations. The season of the year having come in which fires are most to be dreaded, he selects a day on which the wind or the lack of wind favors the operation, and he burns a broad protecting line around his home and farm, far enough away to minimize the danger, carefully beating out the last embers of the utilized flame. When the settlement grows, the protected area increases until the prairie becomes almost as

safe as the city. Then from the willing soil the earth once again gives out its teeming forests, this time to find a better welcome, so that thousands of square miles, which were annually blackened by desolation, are now groves and forests of considerable size, making the air salubrious by the breathing of their myriad leaves, claiming moisture from the passing cloud and feeding the springs and rivulets with murmuring streams. The trees planted by settlers are but a small item compared with the immense forests planted by nature which grow up under his protection. This then is one of the ways in which "the pale face brings with him his rain." When Lesseps, the great French engineer, commenced his great canal work, his first *coup* was to plant trees along the line of his operation, and before his work had been completed those trees were making a pasture land of the desert, bringing down rain upon the parched sands, and holding the fluent earth together. Brigham Young knew enough to be aware of the open secret which would enable him to modify the forces of nature, and he promised his disciples to work a miracle by the means at his disposal. The margin of the lake proved that the body of water was diminishing, as comparatively recent high water marks were indicated by deposits of various salts upon the beach. His miracle was to consist of an increase of that body of water. The disciples heard and believed, waiting only for the realization which they were sure would come. They carried out the orders which were duly made, that every man should plant trees upon his allotted ground. Orchards, when fruit trees could be obtained, but trees, whether fruit trees or not. The streams that came down cool and clear from the mountains were carried through channels in every street, and shade trees were planted in convenient locations, until the whole valley resembled a park and a garden. Where streams had run into swamps and morasses, trenches were dug, and the unprofitable land converted into first-class pasture, additional acreage moreover for trees. "The pale face brought with him his rain," because he used the means necessary for that purpose and the result was just as inevitable as that the punka of the East Indian and the fan of the civilized American woman should give coolness to the heated brow. Years passed and the work of drainage was slowly going on,

rains became more and more frequent within the basin of the Salt Lake, and there being few swamps now to arrest the natural course of the falling waters, the Salt Lake slowly expanded toward its old bounds, actually increasing in depth from ten to twelve feet over its whole area. The miracle, to the accomplishment of which Brigham Young stood pledged, is now pointed to by old Mormons as an accomplished fact, and few of the rank and file of the faith are sufficiently cultivated and informed to be aware that there was not an atom of miracle in the whole transaction. The iron road and the wires and telegraph poles which now traverse the continent, from Maine to the Golden Gate, have doubtless assisted in the same direction, and in every state the processes of protection and cultivation, sensibly and insensibly carried on, have tended to make rains more frequent and more gentle, just as the experiences of the state of Kansas exemplify, consequently we are not building upon a narrow and insecure basis when we claim, from the facts referred to, the changes which are manifest.

In Kansas and all over settled America, the change of climate and of temperature progresses. The earth is fed with rain and it answers with herbage and flowers, with trees, springs and rivers, which maintain coolness and freshness in the air. Arrest the process of tree planting and protection, employ the axe of the woodman to denude an area of country, and you find the answer to the insane proceeding in wells without water, springs that have run dry, creeks that have no rivulet, meadows with a dry and stunted grass, the whole earth feeling its way back again toward the primeval desert, where the slowly oxidized rock could not sustain the simplest vegetation. This is not theory alone; it is the outcome of applied science proved by instances which are historical in cause and in effect. The rain drop is the first great factor in civilization, nay, even in life itself. The rain pelted traveler, in rubbers and overcoat, with his umbrella turned wrongside out, and his hat a wreck, may have some difficulty in realizing the poetry of the position, but once safe at home and his mind aglow with the exercise forced upon him, he can see much better how that ocean, which has probably never increased nor decreased an iota since earth and sea came into their present

forms, has sent those rain drops on errands of mercy, which are but the reduplication of similar operations which have gone on since this world came out of chaos. He can see then, that nearly all of the herbage upon which his cattle are fed, nearly all of the grain, fruits and vegetables which come to his own table, are, in the main, utilized rain drops. When he pursues the subject a little further, he finds he is little more than a few buckets of rain water, some lime and a handful of other ingredients himself, save the divine essence which has made the race one from its earliest recorded act, and which gives to his strangely compacted brain his memory. The solid looking man becomes positively astounded, as he reflects, that of the less than one hundred and fifty pounds that make up his bulk and weight, more than ninety pounds consist of water. There may be too much rain in a particular locality, but the rain drop, even in profusion, is better than the desert in which no blade of grass can flourish, no living thing exist. There is another reason for greater coolness: When rain falls upon a soil never broken by the plow, it finds a surface hard and matted together by the pressure of the atmosphere, the hoofs of animals and the continually interlacing roots. Over such country the rain passes without permeating the earth, and the cooling influence is lost almost entirely. The husbandman comes upon that land and his plow speedily destroys that close matting of roots. The harrow completes the work commenced by the plow, and the atmosphere reduces the broken clods to powder. The rain falling now, sinks into the soil, fills the subsoil, which, like a sponge, may be charged with water, and over the whole area the process is going on, which is applied when a water pitcher of porous ware is covered all around with a damp cloth, a kind of refrigeration proceeds on a grand scale, because a moist surface is always an evaporating surface, and that coolness is the climatic change which we find progressing side by side with settlement. Rain would come more readily upon such land than upon an arid soil, because the coolness condenses the cloud into drops where heat would rarefy it into lighter vapor. The number of springs in the state of Kansas is known to be much greater than formerly, for the reason that the earth is now the receptacle of rain instead of its thoroughfare only, and that the rains come

more frequently. The operation of the same law will continue to improve the rivers and streams as aids to the manufacturer, because the water course which ran full to the banks during winter, and was unmanageable because of its volume, became a tiny rivulet in the summer, or dried up altogether, so that the mill was idle at both extremes, but under the processes incidental to settlement and cultivation, the earth becomes a never failing reservoir out which nature can bring her hydraulic powers at will to feed the spring, the stream and the river, so that the rush is moderated at the worst, in winter and in spring, and the river is supplied when, under the primitive rule, there was a drought. "The pale face brings with him his rain," and his spring, and his river, and his forest, and his plenty also, because he is an intelligent observer of the formulas upon which nature works, and he thankfully acts upon the hints which God gives him in the revelation of science. The end is not yet. The thinker and the worker of to-day are but at the outer door of the temple of knowledge, listening to the words: "Knock and it shall be opened unto you," and whether at St. John's eve, or at any other season, the reverent soul is anxious to fathom the will of the Great Artificer of the universe, for his law is always full of mercy for the race. Kansas is found among the most productive of twenty states in some crops, and above the average in all. The day is not far distant when it will lead in every respect as an agricultural state, and when, in addition thereto, it will be ranked among the most favorable to manufactures. The state may be said to be part of the system which culminates in the Rocky mountains, and the inclination of the surface toward the Missouri and the Mississippi, by the Kansas and its tributaries in one case, among many, and by the Arkansas and its tributaries in another, is an indication of a force which can be converted into wealth, every minute of the day and night, whenever the works are set going, by which the whole world will be made rich without the operation of the often quoted curse, which rests upon the brow of man. The rainfall in Kansas is not only more continuous and more gentle of late years, but it has been demonstrated by returns of a reliable kind, only too tedious for quotation, that the growing months of the year, from March to October, are specially noted

as the season during which rain more particularly falls. As we have before mentioned, the spring commences in February in Kansas, and the hard frosts, when they come, belong to December and January. The average of rain in nineteen states, besides Kansas, shows a much smaller quantity of rain in the growing months than that recorded in Kansas at the corresponding time. Eastern Kansas is more rainy than the western section of the state, but the observations of scientists, extended over many years, leave little cause for doubt, that in western Kansas also the average of rain increases.

CHAPTER II.

HYGIENIC CONDITIONS.

Air — Water — Soil — Timber — Geology — Stone — Coal — Iron — Lead — Tin — Petroleum, etc.

The first question that a wise man will ask with regard to a new country, of which he may become a resident, will be, and should be, as to its hygienic conditions. He will ask for the sake of his children as well as on his own behalf. The old question, "What shall it profit a man though he gain the whole world and lose his own soul, or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul," had a bearing on the temporal life as well as upon the eternal. There are circumstances in which it becomes a noble self sacrificing nature to abandon life for the sake of his country, his kind, or for the object of his love; but in choosing a home for himself and his family no such occasion arises. The conditions of life in health are of paramount importance, and he would be held little better than an idiot who would, with his eyes open, select a location for a home in which ill health must be his companion all his days until an early death came to shorten his misery. Sick men with sick thoughts are not the usual condiments served up to the traveler in Kansas. To those who assume that a Lapland winter is necessary to develop and

sustain vigorous health, it will be useless to say much in praise of Kansas; the maximum of blame is conveyed in the fact that sleighing is not the custom of the state during winter, and that spring commences with February. The northern states have all the superior advantages of frost bite upon exposure, in which Kansas can hardly ever compete; and then within doors, the custom of shutting out every current of fresh air, heating their houses by furnaces in the basement, and practically living in an expanded flue, with an occasional atmosphere of coal gas to breathe night and day, an open fire place treated as a waste of coal and caloric, and an iron stove the only method for warming residences, not provided with the poisonous furnace, may be remarkably invigorating, but we would much rather take our chances in Kansas where such means are in much more limited application. The nights in summer are almost invariably cool enough to permit of healthful sleep, and the days although warm are not oppressive. There are more instances of sun stroke in New York city in one year, than have been recorded in this state from the days of its first settlement; and that fact comes as much from the superior vigor of the population as from the clearness and freshness of the atmosphere that fills the lungs of the population, and is the medium for the transmission of the sun's rays. Summer and winter alike, whenever the weather permits of exposure without inconvenience from rain or snow, people are accustomed to enjoy their leisure out of doors; and their sports in the open air are numerous and popular in this state. The happy mean between heat and cold, avoiding either extreme, favors every out of door pursuit, and those who understand the first principles of health cannot fail to see that under such conditions, if anywhere, life may be enjoyed. Food of good quality, in sufficient quantity to sustain strength being supposed, and such clothing as will protect the body from undue exposure, with homes comfortably secure from winds and rain, it must be perceived that exercise in the open air, whether in labor or in recreation, will supply to healthful men and women all that is required to maintain body and mind in the highest order. The blood enriched by necessary supplies of diet will reach the heart in proper volume, wanting only the action of the atmosphere to complete the round of

strengthening and renewal. The brisk walk upon the breezy hill side in congenial company, or participation in any healthful sport that will fill the lungs, will establish such contact as is demanded between oxygen and ozone in the atmosphere, and the blood which has just returned, dark and venous, from making the circuit of the system. The blood, which with every breath becomes thus fully oxygenated, returns to the heart a bright arterial red, ready to start once more upon its rounds, every corpuscle carrying its freight of oxygen to assist in burning up the waste of the system, and in the maintenance of animal heat. "Scholars," says a sterling thinker, "have their heads warm and their feet cold;" and very generally he is correct, because the scholar is too often only a book worm, accustomed to enjoy the delicacies that may be found in literature, but not in the habit of applying science to the improvement of his own life. Persuade the anchoret of the study to cast aside his fur lined slippers, abandon his coal stove or his furnace for a few hours every day, and take just so much of exercise in the open air as circumstances will permit, and there will be much less reason for complaint. He will eat his food with a relish, and will require no stimulating draughts nor sauces; his blood will dance merrily, where aforetime it sluggishly crept; the expanding chest will take its fill of the best air that can be obtained, and there will be no inducement to crowd almost into the stove to procure warmth. The brain supplied now with blood fully oxygenated, will lose the febrile symptom which once seemed never failing, and the sleep of such a man will improve with every reasonable increase of his exercise. He will think better, read better, eat better, and sleep better, in fact the whole range of existence will be improved with his approach to an observance of the laws of nature; and for all such reforms a temperate climate is best adapted. Where the summer heat is exhausting it would be folly to expect men to expose themselves; and where the thermometer shows a temperature of 40° below zero the expectation would be just as absurd; but the climate of Kansas presents neither of these severe extremes, therefore it is best adapted for the perfection of health and vigor.

Figures tend to show that men are healthful, and enjoy the advantages of exceptional longevity, in proportion to their exercise

in the open air. It may be assumed that the carpenter and shoemaker of to-day are in the average of cases, as temperate in their habits as the farmer, but vital statistics tend to show a considerable per centage in favor of the agriculturist. It has been ascertained that if one thousand farmers of the age of forty-five years be noted and observed, during the ten years next ensuing, there will be precisely twelve deaths among them, or rather more than one farmer of that thousand per annum. The observation has been made and repeated in many countries by statists of high repute, under circumstances which forbid the probability of mistake, and the results, with merely fractional variations, are always the same. That is the probability of life for the farming class during the decade from forty-five years of age to fifty-five. Turn now to the carpenter, and it will be found that he with his indoor occupation sustains an increase of mortality equal to three on the thousand during the like term of corresponding ages, and the shoemaker with his sedentary pursuit presents an average of sixteen deaths in the thousand during a corresponding period. The main conditions of life vary chiefly among those several classes in the greater exposure to fresh air, of the class that displays greatest longevity. There is a very marked increase when the miner becomes the subject of investigation. One thousand miners forty-five years of age will lose of their number within ten years, just twenty persons where the farmers lost twelve, the carpenters, fifteen and the shoemakers sixteen, but the circumstances of their calling abundantly explain the larger average of death. They are liable to greater risks in going to and returning from their daily and nightly toil, their habits, as a class, are less temperate as well as less enlightened, and far down in the bowels of the earth where they pursue their perilous avocation they may be crushed by falling masses of rock or coal at any moment; may be drowned by a rush of water from abandoned workings; may be poisoned by the fumes of choke damp issuing through some accidental crevice, from the place where the foul miasma was imprisoned in close custody, by nature's forces, millions upon millions of years ago; or may be burned to death by the ignition of fire damp from an uncovered flame, such as many ignorant men persist in carrying when at their work in spite of all the monitions of science. Those

are but a few of the many exceptional causes which make the miners life especially full of risks, and vital statistics show how far these added dangers increase the death rate. The purpose to be served by this limited quotation of figures, where an endless variety is offered, is to demonstrate as nearly as may be possible with a few examples, the influence of exercise in fresh and wholesome air on health and longevity. For many years it was believed that our ancestors enjoyed greater longevity and better health, as well as greater strength than their descendants in the present day, but the idea is now all but universally abandoned. The armor which was worn by picked men in the highest civilizations of six hundred years ago cannot be worn by the average man of to-day, it is entirely too small. The swords and other weapons which they used cannot be wielded by the average man of to-day, as the handles are too small, and when so far as circumstances permit, we examine their houses without windows or chimneys, mere huts and kennels, there is no difficulty in reconciling the fact with our knowledge as to the part which ventilation must play in all such respects.

Kansas can give to its resident population a climate in which exercise in the open air is possible without serious inconvenience during three hundred days of the year, and its air is exceptionally dry. There are no marshes to exhale miasma, no defaults of drainage to increase disease. So dry is the air that meats can be kept without salting for long terms and be at all times fit for use. Persons whose lungs are affected, or whose bronchial tubes gave them increasing trouble farther east, are in this state very considerably relieved if not cured, more especially in certain parts of Kansas. There are medical practitioners who assert that the climate is specific for asthma, but there are no well established facts to sustain that position, still the circumstances quoted in support of their theory go far toward proving that Kansas can assist where it may not cure. Kansas embraces three degrees of latitude, consequently there is a wide range of variation between the northern, southern, eastern and western sections. "The plains," as they are called, have little rain by comparison with the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains, and the eastern slopes, although far from rainless, are less favored in that respect then the west, but those

features, in some form of variation, are common to mountainous countries. The explorers who have returned within the last ten years from Africa after finding the sources of the Nile, mention the conjuring tricks of the rain makers in that country, and the miserable superstition which accepts their Mumbo Jumbo as Gospel. Superstitions are very generally forms of aborted knowledge, and it is probable that their ancestors were wise enough to comprehend the practical means, by which rain could be increased in favorable regions, but the degeneracy and laziness of the class in modern times contents itself with necromantic tricks, and ceremonies, which, should rain follow within a brief period, will be credited with having produced the result, while the absence of rain is charged upon the superabundant sinfulness of the community, or the want of a sufficiently liberal present to the performer. Men of the priest class have generally a way prepared to cover every difficulty; when a Devonshire parish clerk handed up to the rector a number of requests for prayers, he made his commentary on every item, and upon arriving at the note which requested rain for the farmers in the neighborhood of Dawlish, the prayer having been three times repeated without result, the complacent clerk observed, "The fools ought to know 'tis no use praying for rain while the wind stays in this quarter." Perhaps there may have been some fault in the rector who was little better than one of the Japanese prayer mills, for when a lady of his flock sent him a note to the effect; "A mariner going to sea, his wife desires the prayers of this congregation." The official prayer master thus rendered the petition: "A mariner going to see his wife, desires the prayers of this congregation."

The region in Kansas in which the minimum of rain falls is considered very favorable to persons suffering from lung diseases, and dyspeptics find much advantage from prolonged residence here. Persons who have come through wasting diseases in different parts of this state, and in Colorado, come here as they approach convalescence, as the dry atmosphere assists them materially toward strength of body and a vigorous circulation. Nervous exhaustion demands rest which can hardly be found in a moist region without more than compensating dangers, hence, the reputation which this state is maintaining for healthfulness.

Should some enterprising medical practitioner establish in this region a first class hygienic institution for the recuperation of worn-out bodies and minds, by plain food, good sleeping, perfect rest from anxiety, and a minimum of drugs, he will make for himself a fortune, and a reputation equal to that of Vincent Preissnitz at Graefenberg, besides making the value of this country known far and wide over the whole world. The patent medicine vendors who in some states absorb a large share of every man's earnings find little profit in Kansas, so exhilarating is the air, and so general the tone of health in the community. The state combines the advantages of elevation, without being absolutely mountainous, and even in the lowest levels, where chills and fever were prevalent in former years, the progress of settlement and cultivation has almost effaced the last remains of the old plague. One of the essentials of health is good water. Soon after the first settlement of Terre Haute, Indiana, the river on which the city is situated fell considerably, the wells became exhausted, or were very much reduced in supply, springs failed, and for many years the region continued to be little better than a pest house. There were other local circumstances which helped to deteriorate the healthfulness of the region, but the want of pure water for drinking purposes was the chief factor. Kansas as a whole, in every section, east, west, north and south, has good springs, good wells, and good rivers. There are some few localities in the state on the high divides, and in isolated tracts elsewhere, where water cannot be obtained without an artesian bore, but they are few and far between, and in such instances the supply of rain water, which can be inexpensively stored in cisterns, will serve every purpose of health, comfort and convenience. In the extreme western sections of the state there are quicksands, in which streams disappear for some miles, when they reappear in slightly diminished volume, and a well sunk into such strata anywhere, must needs be fruitless. The presence of salts of various kinds in the earth in many parts, as instanced in the buffalo wallows, where a sulphate of magnesia forms on the surface in dry seasons as a white powder, renders it undesirable that settlers should depend on surface water, necessarily impregnated with such salts, but a little care in selecting proper spots for sinking will usually

result in finding excellent well water sufficient for every purpose. In many sections of the country the wells give perfectly soft water as a result of percolation and filtration through sandstone. Where limestone strata feed the wells the result is of course different, but the water is perfectly wholesome. Settlement has increased the volume of rivers and streams, and it is noticeable that springs have become of late years more common than formerly; it will follow also as a matter of course, that time will improve the quality of the creek waters, by reducing the quantity of salts in the soil or by distributing them in such a way as that they will be less liable to contaminate springs and running streams, but for the present, settlers will do well to depend on wells where possible, and in the last resort on rain water stored in cisterns. There could be no greater error than that which is involved in the statement, once commonly made, that Kansas lacks water for sustaining stock. There is no country better watered than that which we have described, through which numerous mighty streams flow for many hundreds of miles, fed by innumerable tributaries, and almost every day there are new springs bursting through the soil of the prairies in spots which have been comparatively arid until now, or only watered sufficiently by passing rains to preserve the carpet of living green. Early travelers were so circumstanced that they journeyed across the head waters of the several rivers, and remained unacquainted with the more prominent topographical features of the country. Those who have come into the state to settle and cultivate the soil find a condition of thing everyway more beneficial, and they are hourly reminded of the philosophical Frenchman who resolved to write an exhaustive history of New York state, when he had been three weeks ashore, but paused to collect and arrange materials after he had been a resident three years, and after a patient study of his subject during thirty years, concluded that he had not obtained sufficient information to proceed with a work of such importance. The men who pronounce *ex cathedra* on most questions, are those who from limited opportunities, or mental inaptitude, are least qualified to venture an opinion. Wherever the formation of the country sheltered vegetation from the once annually recurring fires, there are belts and

groves of timber of great size and age, but the open country is very largely denuded, save where new growths have sprung up recently. The eastern section of the state is most favored in this respect, and few farms in that region are more than two miles from bodies of timber sufficient for fuel, fencing and building. The quantity of stone available for building purposes makes the demand upon wood for the better class of residences very light indeed.

The western section of the state is less liberally endowed with timber, but cultivation and protection will soon remedy that deficiency, and meantime the railroads are bringing supplies from the pineries of adjoining and distant states, at prices which make the defect on our own hands hardly a misfortune. The soil, where treeless, is still fertile, and it is an advantage to be able to run the plow through an entire farm, without let or hindrance. When the settler has concluded to his own satisfaction, as to the quantity of timber land desirable on his estate, and the positions best adapted to serve the purposes of protection, for his home, his cattle and his crops, he can choose between allowing the native timber to grow up and supply his wants, and the better alternative of planting just such groves as will serve him best; in any case, the supply will very soon be sufficient to meet his demands for shelter, for consumption, and for beauty. It is noticed in this state as well as elsewhere that the wild grasses become modified by the fact of settlement, even where other varieties of grass are not introduced. The practice of curing and stacking, which has been introduced, leaves on the earth a better show for the young and tender shoot, and the wild hay cut and saved at the proper season contains all the nutritive properties of the feed in their best form. When the grass is allowed to harden on the land, cattle might just as well be expected to procure nourishment from dried twigs, and the younger growths are choked in the ground. Farmers depend very largely upon the wild grasses, which are numerous and varied, although they are covered by the generic term, "prairie grass." The prairies, in some sections, will produce three tons of hay per acre, without an atom of expense beyond the curing and stacking, but in some places the quantity falls as low as one ton per acre, and the cost of saving

is in the inverse ratio to the quantity on which the mowers operate. The bloom of the prairies, and the scent of the wild flowers in the air might afford themes for a whole volume of sentimental poetry. The soil which can give a larger average of production than almost any other state in the union, wherever due care is bestowed upon the conditions, commonly necessary to success, must be good, and yet the natural roads of the country are more generally clear of mud than such roads are often found, where the soil favors the occupation of the husbandman. Some men are of course ready to complain when they find themselves on rare occasions ankle deep in mud, in the best portions of Kansas. Perhaps it would do them good to reflect on the two extremes which they avoid in this happy medium, between the black mud on which Chicago is built, in which men and horses could at one time sink until they were with difficulty extricated, and the desert cleanness of Cheyenne, which has hardly as much soil as would grow a bed of radishes, unless the earth has been imported by the Union Pacific Road from beyond Laramie City, or by the line which joins that railroad from Denver, in Colorado. Dwellers in towns find refuge from such troubles in the prevalence of city improvements. With few and rare exceptions the natural roadways in this state are very good; the heavy rains which used to fall upon this area, before settlement came to modify the climate and the pluvial visitations have left certain portions of the divides almost as well adapted for driving or walking over as a graveled track, and except a few of the bottom lands which are away from the route of travel, there is hardly any wet soil to be found a few hours after the rains have ceased. In the cities limestone is being used to Macadamize the streets at very little cost, and in some places Nicholson pavement is being tried, as it is believed that wood will answer well for roadways in this country. The material available for bridging the principal streams where railroads are not made will soon cover the whole state with thoroughfares seldom equalled in a newly settled state, with such agricultural and mineral wealth at the command of its population. In the foregoing chapter we referred to the strong winds which prevail in Kansas, and which it would be desirable to modify by the cultivation of timber. There

are advantages which must not be overlooked in even the most disagreeable features of theory and practice. When earnest missionaries among the Kamtschatkians found that their preaching of eternal torment, as the punishment for sin, only resulted in more flagrant vice, they succeeded in ascertaining that the half frozen savages were trying to secure a long lease in perpetual fires, so that it was deemed advisable ever after to denounce the chastisement of thick-ribbed ice for transgressors. The winds of Kansas are plainly chargeable with the brisk and exhilarating character of the atmosphere, and wherever it is found necessary to use wind power in mills the supply is ample. When a small village in Scotland, after suffering much inconvenience for want of mill accommodations, caused a windmill to be erected it was found that the grinding power was not sufficient for the desired grist, but for some time, a second mill was pooh-poohed, as all the wise men agreed that there could not be enough wind in a small village to drive two such mills. There is no such dread in any part of Kansas. Machinery can be driven, wells can be pumped and any number of operations can be carried on by wind force. The quantity of coal, readily obtainable, renders the wind mill somewhat obsolete, but there are many regions in which it is convenient and profitable.

There are many exposures of bituminous coal in different parts of Kansas, and these exposures reveal the several measures to which they belong. The strata have been fully mapped by scientists to the depth of two thousand feet, but their calculations have not been exhaustively tested by borings, and may not be so established for many years to come. The eastern quarter of the state belongs to the carboniferous system, in which all the bituminous coal measures are found; but the upper carboniferous prevails, as the lower carboniferous only appears in the southeastern angle of Kansas. Besides coal, this measure contains limestone, sandstone, marl, shale, slate, fire clay and selenite, varying in thickness in different areas, and in some places it appears that different strata were more or less eroded by local causes, before the next deposits were superimposed. Borings alone can serve the purpose of demonstrating the presence or absence of coal in paying quantities in any particular spot, but the outcrop in many

localities saves the miner and the capitalist from risk, and it is evident that for all purposes of manufacture, as well as for domestic supply, there will be enough coal for this community for many hundreds of years. The deposit is supposed to cover an area of seventeen thousand square miles. The coal beds worked in Kansas have not exceeded four feet in thickness; some of the layers are too thin to be of workable value, but none have been found to verify the expectations of science, which pointed to beds seven feet in thickness. The immense deposits of sandstone and limestone known to be present in the strata, varying in thickness, the former from five feet to fifty, and the latter from one foot to thirty, will give employment to an immense aggregate of labor and capital. Magnesian limestone and beds of gypsum abound toward the west, in what is known as the upper and lower Permian system; but neither in that nor in the Triassic — or new red sandstone — has coal been found in such quantities as would pay for working. The cretaceous system carries on the earth's crust at this point to the foot hills of the Rocky Mountains, covering the whole western portion of Kansas. The fossils in the cretaceous formation are much valued by geologists in all parts of the world, and the strata in Kansas have contributed additional varieties. The soil which overlies the cretaceous rocks is customarily good, but in this state it is exceptionally rich, as the loam contains lime and organic remains in very serviceable proportions. An inferior description of coal known as lignite, about three feet six inches in thickness, is found near Wilson Creek, and from thence extending on either side it underlies a wide area of country. It is valuable as fuel, but it cannot compete with bituminous coal, either for present and immediate use or as an article of commerce. The Kansas Pacific Railroad Company used lignite as fuel for some time, but it would not give nearly so much heat, bulk for bulk, as coal, and the waste was prodigious. It will supply local demands for an indefinite time, and the quantity is supposed to be much in excess of present discoveries. Salt is found in very considerable quantities in this formation, and when works shall have been constructed to cleanse this valuable mineral from attendant impurities, there will remain enough pure chloride of sodium to supply all the dinner tables in the United States for the next five

hundred years at least. The limestone strata in parts of the cretaceous formation, run into a pure chalk, such as underlies the British channel, through which it is proposed to construct a tunnel connecting England with France, and such as appears in the world famous cliff, celebrated by Bacon or by Shakspere, whichever it may have been of the two worthies, to whom we are indebted for the Shakspere dramas. All these features combine to prove beyond doubt that the region now known as the state of Kansas was for a prolonged term submarine, and many of the most valuable properties now found in strata and soil are due to that period of submergence, a full consideration of which would amply repay the careful student. The inspired writer said: "Of making many books, there is no end;" but when the fullest investigation shall have enabled scientists to reveal the steps of progress, from the fire mist of the chaotic age, through a myriad of changes to our own era, his pages will be the delight of the thinking world. Quarries for building stone and exposures which will be quarried in course of time are very numerous in this state, and at least ninety parts in one hundred of all the stone so exposed consist of various shades of limestone, some of which permit of a finish almost equal to marble, and will endure tremendous pressure. The sandstone found in those quarries is also generally of very good quality, and the deposits of gypsum — covering sixty thousand square miles — will become invaluable in the operations of the agriculturist, the builder and others. There are but few faults in the geological formation of this state, the several strata overlie each other as they were placed in order by natural forces, and the contour of the country has been shaped into present forms by streams and winds eroding and abrading the several rocks, and disintegrating their surfaces where they come out on the banks of the rivers, until the rise from the river bed of to-day to the foot hills of the mountain chain represent a series of terraces bearing each a layer of soil composed of all the qualities most in demand among farmers. The settler upon the hill side can quarry his stone from the bed upon which his fertile acres stand, and in the process, if he has an eye for deciphering the hieroglyphics of nature, he will read by what wondrous mechanism the rocks were made and placed *in situ* preparatory to their

transformation into food, clothing, homes, wealth and culture for mankind.

Extensive works are now in operation preparing salt for the market, and in every analysis it is demonstrated that the rich deposits of that mineral contain no chloride of calcium, the ingredient which gives a bitter taste to salt generally, and which with the exception of the Kansas beds has been found in all the purest salts prepared for consumption. It is anticipated that Kansas will take a very high position in the production of live stock, and the shipment of carcasses and packed meats in consequence of the vast area of fertile land and nutritious food available for stock, the excellent and plentiful supply of water, and the superabundant store of salt available in the processes of curing. The salt obtainable in Kansas is especially suitable for the manufacture of butter, and will assist to give a high character to the produce of dairy farms in this state. An area more than twice the size of the state of Massachusetts is underlaid by coal in the state of Kansas, without taking into account the lighter formation known as lignite, and in many places these deposits are being worked, giving employment to great numbers. Near Leavenworth City a shaft has been put down more than seven hundred feet, and the vein now in work is more than two feet thick, but it is intended to sink the shaft about three hundred feet lower, as it is supposed that a layer at least three feet in thickness will be obtained at that depth. Even the thickness now worked pays moderately well. Some of the deposits are only worked from the river banks by a kind of quarrying process, but where the veins are thick, and in some places veins of nearly 50 inches have been found, the deposit is won by the more approved method of sinking shafts. Near Chetopa, in Labette county, mining is very extensively prosecuted, about three hundred men being steadily employed by one company alone, and fifty carloads per day are frequently shipped. The veins vary considerably, the thickest being about four feet, and from that quantity the variation runs down to twenty-four inches, and the quality cannot be surpassed, as the coal is singularly free from sulphur. The supply of fuel in Kansas is abundant. The next requisite after coal for a state aiming at greatness as a manufac-

turing p ower, is iron, and in this respect it is satisfactory to know that there is hope for Kansas. The western part of Kansas is supposed to contain immense quantities of iron ore. In Missouri iron ore is abundant, at a distance of only one hundred miles from the eastern border of this state, and in Colorado only three hundred miles from the western boundary, it is available in almost any quantity, consequently there is likely to be a great resource for Kansas also, in this particular. Many specimens of iron ore have already been obtained in different parts of Kansas, among which was one sample of brown hematite containing sixty per cent. of iron. This specimen was procured from western Kansas where it appears to be anticipated by scientists that the largest and best deposits will be found in the tertiary strata. Should the supply of iron ore or its quality not be found sufficient, the presence of coal will as a matter of course lead to the ores being shipped for manufacture from some region less favored with fuel. The time is not very remote when immense forests were hewed do wn to carry on the smelting process, and iron works were looked upon with dread by large and influential classes, but the discovery of the fitness of coal for such employment has revolutionized the iron trade, and now wherever coal can be cheaply obtained as at Chetopa where an immense deposit is reached at a depth of only a few feet, the growth of a great iron trade may be safely predicted. The discovery of iron ore within the state would give a status to its manufactures at once, supposing the quality to be as good as the sampl- of brown hematite already mentioned and the quantity abundant. There are lead mines in Kansas which were probably worked by the race which preceded the red men in the possession of this territory. Some lead has been obtained in small quantities in Linn county, Kansas, but the extent of the deposit can only be determined by experience, and the Indians display a great deal of unwillingness to assist, and jealousy to observe discoveries of minerals. They say that their Great Spirit forbids them to help in any such enterprises. Probably their sachems have told them to conceal the mineral treasures of the country, in the hope that by such means the march of empire would be delayed. When the Frenchmen first landed at Dubuque to experiment on the mines, the Indians were by no means

friendly to the movement, and as is well known, after the death of the leader of the white party, every obstacle was put in the way of the followers who would have continued their work. For some short time the Indians prosecuted the undertaking themselves, but their ingenuity or their industry was soon exhausted, and after that time the mines were idle, until white settlers came again. When the mines were reopened, the red men, by their actions, resembled the dog in the manger, they could not eat the hay themselves, and they were unwilling to let anybody else; but their fear for the anger of their Great Spirit did not prevent them coming in to carry away the wealth, which the white miners had made ready for removal, at the time that they were compelled to quit the mine and the settlement at Dubuque by the military. Osage county is said to be the *locale* of a rich deposit of lead ore, but the Indians who imply that they know about the matter, fall back on the Great Spirit, as their apology for silence on that score, and it may be many years before discoveries can be made. Near the excavations in Linn county there were *debris* which showed that the works had been rudely prosecuted many years ago, but whether the mound builders were the miners, or who the operators may have been, there are no means of ascertaining. The practical question is of course whether the mines are worth the trouble and expense; of working at that point, or at any other. The only point to be determined is as to the quantity; the quality is known to be good. Howard county is another location of lead ore, and a sample from the works there showed nearly eighty-seven parts of lead in one hundred. Franklin county is also supposed to be favored, but nothing definite is known, and geologists pronounce against the probability of the metal being found in such quantities, as would pay for the investment of capital and labor.

Tin is a very rare mineral; the number of tin mines in the world is very small, but the Indians have, on many occasions, in Kansas, produced fine specimens of rich protoxide of tin, and as it is tolerably evident that they could not have a temptation to fraud, nor a possibility of compassing a swindle in this respect, if they desired so to do, there is a reasonable probability that nature has some such surprise in store for science and industry, when

the crust of the earth shall be thoroughly overhauled. Should western Kansas reveal eruptive rocks in any part of its comparatively untested area, it will become more probable that the red men were honest in their statements. Meantime there are so many other lines in which industry and capital may be advantageously invested in the state, that we can well afford to wait for the solution of this problem. The presence of petroleum in Kansas is demonstrated, but it has never yet been found in quantities that paid for working. Much money has been expended in borings and experiments in Miami county, and in nearly every case oil was found, but the great returns necessary to pay for operations at a thousand feet from the surface have not been obtained. Possibly there is a great body of oil below the coal measures, but they lie deep in the many districts in which the oil has come to the surface, and it must remain for accident, or for associated effort, expending a large sum of money, contributed from many hands, to settle the mooted point, by boring in many different localities to a depth of at least one thousand feet, through the strata which may overlie the treasure. Among the other minerals which may be developed in the future of Kansas, alum has been found in combination with other matter, and in some instances in pure crystals. Lignite is found in two places combined with alum, and about twenty miles west of Fort Riley on Chapman's creek, a combination of lignite, saltpeter and alum has been found. The presence of alum in such combinations, and in pure crystals, as at Zeandale and in Wabaunsee county, on Mill creek, will give to our chemical works, wherever they may be established, great advantages in competing with manufacturers who are obliged to calcine and pulverize slate and other minerals to procure their alum. Hydraulic cement has been found in great quantity in several places, extending from the Arkansas river, in Cowley county, to within a few miles of the city of Lawrence, and it is quite possible that one vast bed underlies the whole of that extensive area. The quality has been tested, and the deposit gives an excellent article. Some of it has been under trial for many years, and it answers admirably. It is a brown hydraulic limestone, which extends over Leavenworth county, and through Atchison toward the southern and southwestern boundaries of

the state. Mineral paints, some of which are fire proof, have been found among the coal measures in many places, the bed near Parkville being fully ten feet thick, and it can be traced in the Missouri bluffs for the whole distance from White Cloud to Wyandotte, extending up the Kansas river to the city of Lawrence, and it is also visible away to the southeast at Mound City. South of Mound City at Fort Scott, a similar deposit has been worked very advantageously, and has become an article of commerce. At Osage City, there is a similar deposit which occurs at a depth of five feet from the surface, the bed being twelve and a half feet thick, three-quarters of a mile broad, and about one mile and a quarter in length. The stratum immediately underlying the ochre is limestone, after which clay and shale, limestone, slate and shale, coal and fire clay, give a series of valuable substances extending nearly thirty-five feet from the surface of the soil. Of this deposit ninety-eight parts in one hundred are ochre, the remainder, in equal parts, alum and lime. The paint is largely in demand. Clay for bricks is very plentiful and the manufactured article produced is admitted to be of excellent quality. Poor bricks would have no show whatever in competition with such stone as may easily and cheaply be obtained in this state, and the fact that the demand is considerable says everything that is necessary to establish the goodness of materials and workmanship. Fire clay is an important item in a state where furnaces will become the foundation of a vast manufacturing power, and it is satisfactory to know that the supply is ample and well distributed. Limestone, as we have already seen, constitutes about ninety per cent. of all the rock exposed in the state of Kansas; every farmer finds it underlying the soil of his estate, and he can easily procure enough for every building necessary upon his farm, as well as for the manufacture of quicklime, but usually he encourages division of labor, and procures his supplies from quarries near at hand, the article being customarily first class.

There was a time when the western portion of Kansas was referred to as forming a part of the Great American Desert; but since that period so many thousands of persons have passed over and through the country so libelled, that it is only necessary here to say that the slander has been entirely refuted. Buffalo, deer

and antelope graze and fatten in the territory thus described, and in that fact we have evidence that the land will amply repay the enterprise of graziers and raisers of stock. The plains before mentioned which comprise an area of from two to three hundred miles in width toward the south, and which stretch across Kansas northward into British America, a distance of fifteen hundred miles in all, are covered by fine pasture, on which cattle not only feed but fatten, the herbage ranging from three inches high to six. The grass on the plains is of a singularly profitable variety, or, rather, of several varieties, which would pay for cultivation. In some districts outside of Kansas, the buffalo grasses are found, growing on lands which are so strongly impregnated with alkali, that the traveler, carried over the surface at the rate of from twenty to twenty-five miles an hour, on the Union Pacific and other roads, finds his lips parched and cracking, and his eyes becoming inflamed, but there are no such regions known in Kansas. Cattle cannot thrive on such lands, not because the grass is wanting in nutrition, but because the surface water is strongly impregnated with alkali. When alkali lands are broken to cultivation and properly treated, they give splendid crops of all kinds, as many of the saints in the church at Salt Lake are well aware. The canons of Kanab have their patches of alkali, but the Danites, who now cultivate the arts of peace in that locality, are very prosperous farmers notwithstanding. Buffalo grass has many peculiarities which make it of special value to the farmer who is interested in stock and in dairy operations, but such matters of detail will more properly come under their appropriate heads in the further prosecution of this "round, unvarnished tale."

The fact is becoming apparent that stock raising will be one of the staple industries of Kansas. The lands which are now grazed by herds of buffalo, to the number of many thousands, will necessarily be made available for domesticated cattle, when settlement has banished or killed off the *ferœ naturæ*, and it will then be found, as it is now believed, that the short dark grass, with crisp, curled leaves, which practically cures itself upon the stem in autumn, contains a very large average of nourishment in its best form, which can be converted into profit without cost by the agriculturist, upon the very lands which have been spoken of so

slightingly by cursory observers. The land is admirably endowed by nature for such pursuits; the streams are numerous and generally fresh — the Saline river and the Solomon are brackish along only a part of their course, and in the valleys of these streams there are numerous tributaries to which cattle resort freely, and which would suffice "the cattle upon a thousand hills," should they come there to slake their thirst. Living and dead, Kansas contains all that is necessary for the successful prosecution of enterprises in which cattle can be converted into currency. The soil holds moisture, which, during the vicissitudes of an ordinary season, will ward off the evil consequences of drought; the winters are hardly so severe, as a rule, as to require that cattle should be housed, although the best care is customarily rewarded with the best results; the native grasses are plentiful enough to supply feed for all seasons, provided the farmer will preserve in the autumn what he will require for his stock during the winter, and "when the cruel war is over," and his beeves in the abattoirs are being made ready for shipment, if it is thought advisable to pack the beef, instead of sending the carcasses fresh to the nearest market, Kansas salt, exceptionally pure and wholesome, will afford him the means of cure without any of the deleterious ingredients common in the best salts procured in other localities.

In the valley of the Republican river, there is a great deal of land waiting for settlement, but so many persons have of late had their attention directed to its good qualities, that before long the whole of that territory will be occupied. Some of the settlers in that region write in the most encouraging terms of their prospects, and the beauty of the location is a theme on which they are never tired of expatiating. They have timber enough for present needs, and the young wood springing up in all directions will, in a few years, provide amply for much more extensive settlement. They find abundant mill sites in almost every section, as the incline of the country gives great force to the several streams. The fertility of the soil is beyond question, and the fact that for ten months of the year, on an average, the lands can be handled for cultivation, gives to Kansas a very great advantage over many of the neighboring states. Some portions of the plains are found to be particularly eligible for dairy farming, as they produce grasses

which are green all through the winter, and others which come up young and sweet in March, upon which cattle prosper, and from which the very best results are obtained in butter and cheese. What is known in New York state as the early June grass has its counterpart in this portion of Kansas, and when it is young and green it is in great favor with "the milky mothers of the herd." Some of the grasses are especially suited for haymaking, as they afford very nutritious food during the brief and not very severe winter. The region is liable to severe storms at times, and during their continuance it is an advantage for the cattle to be able to find shelter in groves or sheds. The blue joint grass is found on the plains to be slowly but surely supplanting the buffalo grass, and in the fall there is a variety of wild sage, which is apt to give a somewhat bitter taste to the milk; but as a rule there are very few herbs that unpleasantly affect dairy produce. The river water and numerous springs, which here, as well as elsewhere in the state, are found to be increasing in number and volume, afford generally all the water that is required for domestic use and for stock, and the quality is excellent. Where such supplies are in any danger of failing, a well and a windmill, such as readily can be procured and sunk at little cost, will give a continuous supply of the needed element for man and beast, at all seasons of the year. During nearly the whole of the winter cattle will graze upon the plains, finding quite enough food for themselves; but when snows come, as they do occasionally, it pays to house cattle and to give them as much food as they require, as they readily convert hay into wholesome beef, milk, butter and cheese. During the summer the heat is not excessive, as the elevation of this region secures fresh breezes and a dry, elastic atmosphere, and the nights are all but invariably cool, consequently the dairy farmer has in Kansas very favorable conditions for his business.

A gentleman, in every way capable of forming an opinion on the several subjects on which he writes, says that "Kansas can grow good beef and produce the very best of cheese, at prices which will enable that state, if need be, to undersell every other in the market, while in fact the quality of the products brought to market will command the very highest figures ruling." The same writer very reasonably concludes from those and other

premises, that "Dairy farming cannot fail to become one of the most profitable occupations in a state which will have a broader range of enterprises than any other state in the union." The old economists used to say, that "A man who can make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before is a public benefactor," and most assuredly a state which can produce and feed two cows at the cost which will only produce and feed one cow in another state must, other things being equal, be on the high road to fortune. From the Alderney cow raised and fed in Ohio, the average yield of cheese is found to be slightly in excess of one pound from ten pounds of milk, that weight being the representative of one gallon, and similar cows raised and fed upon the buffalo grass and the blue joint grass upon the plains in Kansas will give on an average more milk, and from their milk, bulk for bulk, one-seventh more cheese. The settler will bear in mind, that in addition to these undoubted advantages of superior richness and less cost, he has two months longer in the abbreviation of the winter season, during which he can pursue his dairy avocations with advantage. The demand for dairy produce is usually large in the state of Kansas, and the market has never yet been glutted, fair prices ruling generally. Rice county is one of the counties through which the river Arkansas flows, and the region is abundantly drained and watered by numerous tributaries of the great stream which empties into the Mississippi, after a course of about two thousand miles. The county is very sparsely timbered, but the soil is very fertile, and there are many localities in this area exceedingly beautiful. Settlement is rapidly advancing in many parts, and the Arkansas bottoms have proved very productive in corn. Some of the tributaries of the Arkansas are very well timbered, indeed wherever shelter has been secured by some local cause, timber is commonly plentiful all over the state, and the supply will go on increasing. The valley of Walnut creek is one of the favored spots in which timber abounds, and it extends, with varying breadths, for about one hundred miles, the bottom lands yielding splendid crops, and so far as experience has yet gone, no one has suffered from inundations. The timber prevailing in the district is that indicated by the name of the creek, and some of the wood is of very fine

growth and admirably grained. The buffalo grass which has been several times mentioned as very sweet and nutritious for cattle, and which we have mentioned as being supplanted by blue joint grass on the plains, is said to be a peculiar growth, which dies out when the soil is loosened by cultivation, and immediately thereupon a better product comes to the front, as nature is seldom content to carry only one arrow in her quiver. Mr. Darwin, in his "Origin of Species," mentions many instances where the soil of a region having been burnt over, another variety of plants, such as the oldest inhabitant had never seen in that area before, immediately appeared. Similar results were observed when soil from considerable depths was spread upon the surface of the land, and again when the subsoil was brought to the surface in many cases there were distinct flora theretofore unknown in the country, or found only in rare instances at some distance, unless the soil had been disturbed. Still more curiously it appears, that in different localities the succession of varieties can be calculated upon after a few experiments, with very great certainty. Whether these changes are produced by seeds latent in the soil biding their time, or whether the same roots are capable of sending up varieties under different circumstances and surroundings, it boots not now to inquire; the one fact in which we are interested is, that the buffalo grass when giving place to the blue joint or any other variety, when the conditions of growth vary, merely repeats upon our Kansas soil the same law of progression and development which has been seen in operation during the era of observant philosophy in which man has been content to take his facts as from God, and to shape his theories tentatively and reverently in accordance with what may seem to be all that can be known on the subject. Men who cultivate on the plains and elsewhere, wherever the buffalo grass has been the staple pasture, need only plow about eight inches deep and they suffer no further intrusion from the old possessor of the soil. The plains, when treated in that way, may well become the granary of the west, so rich is the earth in all the mineral ingredients which stimulate growth, requiring only plowing and irrigation to produce largely from any seed that may be committed to the earth. Texas cattle are a considerable source of profit to dealers in this state, and many

breeders are turning them to account by crossing them with the best varieties, claiming that a large profit results. The cattle in question have descended from animals taken to Mexico by the Spaniards, soon after that time when Cortez and his followers

"Stood silent on a peak in Darien."

In all the time that has since elapsed there has been no care bestowed upon them except that the calves were corralled and branded at certain seasons of the year. All the rest of their development has been due to natural selection, but they are really fine grained animals, well worthy of careful cultivation. The diseases which are supposed to belong to Texas cattle, always and everywhere, are not found among them in their *habitat*, but are contracted during the long and tedious journey overland under the lash of brutal, ignorant, and impatient drivers. Much profit is procured by men, who buy their cattle in Texas, carefully remove them to Kansas, and there fatten them for the market, as the quality of the meat thus obtained is first class. The men who make this their business say that the feed of the plains will suffice for all their wants during an average winter, although they have been accustomed to a much warmer climate, but they must have free access to salt, and plenty of good water, and unless some unforeseen accident occurs to mar the operation, the graziers, on an average, can clear from fifty to sixty per cent. upon their original outlay, after liberally paying all expenses of travel, attendance and feed, and allowing for losses. The success which has attended such operations in Texas will necessarily lead to many modifications of such enterprise for many years to come, until the very best breeds have been obtained and a very high class of stock will displace the inferior cattle now handled. Even then it is probable that crosses with the best specimens of Texan stock will be occasionally found advantageous. Numerous experiments made by very careful raisers, who have made allowance for modifying circumstances, have led to the conclusion that twenty-five bushels of corn may be saved on each steer by husking corn instead of feeding in the shock.

The care of sheep in this climate requires a peculiar training, and unless men have been accustomed to such pursuits before-

hand, they are bound to pay dearly for their experience, after they have entered upon their business in this state. The squatter or sheep farmer in Australia has a climate which never demands care for sheep, in the way of housing or shelter, in winter. It can hardly be said that he has a winter to contend with, as there is not a day in the whole year when water will freeze in the open air. Usually the temperature of the rainy months, June, July and August, does not fall below 50 degrees above zero, and 58 degrees comes nearer the average. In that climate, with all the advantages incidental to an immense range of country, so that the squatter can reckon his flocks at from fifty thousand, to twice or three times that number, the proprietor of a run must be a man of great experience in the business, or he must have an overseer whom he can implicitly trust, if he would avoid losing a fortune. Foot rot and scab will kill off his flocks, or will impoverish them and destroy the value of their fleeces, until there will be little or no return upon his capital, after paying the expenses, incidental to his otherwise lucrative pursuit. In Kansas, men who have had no experience at all in the line, and even boys, have begun sheep farming or shepherding on the supposition that the person who is not known to be fit for anything else must be a shepherd. There is no greater folly possible on this footstool. The care of sheep requires special training or peculiar aptitude. A farmer, beginning with a small flock and carefully studying their wants and ways, can of course gradually increase his number with advantage as he gains experience, and in the end he will probably net a fortune, but if a man proposes to enter upon such an enterprise, largely from the first, without knowledge of a practical kind in his own brainpan, or in that of some trusty assistant, he must be a heavy loser in the transaction. The country is well fitted for sheep, but there is fitness required in the manager also. Pasturage is well nigh boundless in this state, and it is excellent as well as plentiful. Sheep crop the grass very close, almost eating down to the roots, and in that way they secure very sweet and nutritious food on the plains. Many flocks have been brought into Kansas suffering from foot rot, and have been cured by the dryness of the surface over which they feed, partly in consequence of this peculiarity in their method of consuming the grass, as there remains no harbor

for heavy dews to rest in, and their systems recover tone on the well drained soil. East of the Mississippi the air is damp, the ground very often less drained naturally, and the sheep pay the forfeit of their owner's lack of judgment, in choosing a location for his enterprise. Salt can be easily and cheaply supplied and water is plentiful everywhere, consequently all the requisites for summer feeding are available at scarcely any cost. Winter demands special treatment in this state, such as alternating corn or sheaf oats with good prairie hay in the western section of the state. In eastern Kansas blue grass and winter rye will afford admirable pastures during the brief season of inclement weather, unless snow lies deep on the ground, but in any case, it is found necessary to give shelter from the storms and cold if the profit sought is to be carried to its topmost limit. With care of the kind indicated, sheep rearing can be made a very profitable venture in Kansas. Where the buffalo grass is available in western Kansas, the dry air and perfect drainage incidental to the altitude make a perfect paradise for sheep, except that they fatten so readily as to command the sacrificial attentions of the butcher at an early age, but their limited reflective powers are supposed to save them from a large per centage of trouble on that score. The winter rains in this region are very light, consequently little shelter is required except such as the bluffs afford readily, and the grass is of about equal value at all seasons. Water is plentiful and pure, and foot rot or other diseases, common among sheep in other countries, seem to be hardly known in this region. When mutton, or wool, is ready for the market the railways are at hand to convey the product to any point in the union. In Colorado, sheep raisers are nomadic, as they follow their flocks over wide ranges of country, traveling at the rate of about five miles per day, with about two thousand sheep, except that when they find particularly good camping ground and grass, they will stay longer, but no such course is necessary in Kansas, where the soil yields grass more abundantly at all seasons of the year. Where lands are high in price and comparatively small in range, sheep farming is not likely to succeed as it does and can here, and it is not only the comparative cheapness with which wool and mutton can be produced, but the excellent staple of the wool and the quality

of the meat are as great if not greater advantages for the flock master. Sheep are liable to suffer from scab in the winter unless they are carefully tended, and one sheep so afflicted will communicate the disease to the whole flock, but a decoction of tobacco applied immediately destroys the insect which is the cause of all this trouble. Experienced men say that no man should meddle with sheep unless he is prepared to give personal inspection to his flock, and then he should not start in with less than from eight hundred to one thousand in a flock. The wool will then pay all expenses and the lambs will remain as clear profit. There are numerous books on sheep farming obtainable, but one man who had gone into the business, with a determination to know everything on the subject, found in his catalogue from a New York house, "Ruskin on Sheep Folds," he made the remittance, procured the work, and was disgusted on receiving a very artistic production on church architecture.

Mule breeding is found very profitable in Kansas, and the men who are most competent to pronounce on the subject, say that with a moderate capital wisely invested and carefully attended to in this line, any man can make a fortune in ten years without excessive labor or undue anxiety. There are but few enterprises in more settled communities which, with the same outlay in money and labor, can be expected to pay so well. So much has been said about buffalo grass and prairie grasses that it may be necessary here to repeat what has been said or implied in many places already, that tame grasses, such as blue grass and timothy or clover, will flourish anywhere in Kansas; and in many parts of the state it is spreading rapidly from early experiments made by traders among the Indians, and by an old missionary to the Shawnees many years ago. Blue grass has been found very successful indeed. Osage orange hedges are rapidly extending in eastern Kansas, making manifest improvements in the aspect of the country, as well as providing cheap shelter for stock, and protection from their ravages on cultivated land; and it is found that an impregnable hedge of this description can be raised for fifty cents per rod; with this advantage over fencing, that it protects against the weather, and after being once brought to perfection, it may be said to be a perpetual hedge. But little trouble is

necessary to preserve the line of demarcation, by planting afresh in any spot in which accident may have damaged the enclosure. Kansas is found to be eligible as a fruit growing country; but there are vicissitudes in every climate under the sun, and it is not to be supposed that Kansas will be free from them. The settler has, of course, to wait many years before his apple trees will bear; the world was not built in a day, and Rome took longer, so the fruit grower will wisely adapt himself to circumstances, make his orchards, and, while waiting for their produce, give his attention to small fruits, which are almost invariably successful. Among the most certain of these we note strawberries, raspberries, grapes, blackberries, and pieplant or rhubarb, as safe investments always. Apples and peaches are very risky fruits everywhere, but they are not especially so here in Kansas. The profits on grapes are very considerable, and when the practice of raisin-making has been matured in this country, it will be still more advantageous to convert large areas into vineyards.

Having thus honestly and fairly glanced at the general features which make Kansas worthy of more particular regard, it devolves upon us now to look more especially into details, in considering the growth of towns and cities, the establishment of counties and townships, the growth of agricultural communities, and industrial enterprises of all kinds, and their influences upon the æsthetical development of the state. The subject is as broad as human history, and as deep as the soul of man can penetrate; but conscious of all short comings, we shall try to present the subject in such a manner as shall make it worthy of perusal for its own sake, if not for the style in which it may be handled. The reader who has accompanied us so far will have no difficulty in continuing to the end.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY HISTORY.

The French on the Missouri — Spanish Amenities — Indian Warfare — French Fortifications — American Settlement — Mormon Farm — Mexican War — Fort Leavenworth — The Gold Fever.

THE French government was much more energetic in the matter of colonization two centuries ago than we find the same power to-day. The nobility of France, cut off from trade by the rules of their exclusive caste, could only hope for distinction and wealth in warlike pursuits, or in the colonies, and war was no longer the lucrative undertaking that it had been. When the great Duguesclin was constable of France, an officer who spared the life of an enemy in battle held him at ransom, just as the brigands of to-day in sunny Italy are apt to do, and a few prisoners might enable a fortunate soldier to realize a competency. There was, of course, a possibility that "the shearer might come home shorn," if he came home at all, after an unsuccessful raid. The chivalry of France made little booty at Crecy, Poictiers and Azincourt, but these were blanks such as might come in any lottery.

The colonies were open to men of *esprit*, and the Baron La Salle had displayed considerable enterprise in penetrating the interior of the western wilds, long before the states were dreamed of. In the fall of 1681, the Baron ascended the Chekagon river from Lake Michigan with four canoes, and making a portage to the Illinois, found his way to the Mississippi. He had reached what is now known as South Bend, and using the portage at Kankakee — then known as Hankiki — had entered the Illinois valley eleven years earlier, but he now had reached the Mississippi along the track explored by Father Marquette, eight years before; and his colony in Illinois continued without much growth for many years, his successors in the work falling to the level of their surroundings. A valuable map of Lake Superior was published in Paris in the year 1672, under the direction of the

Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and the relations established with the Indians enabled the French to procure information and aid from the native tribes. The Mississippi having been reached by Baron La Salle in 1681, and having been explored as far south as Arkansas in 1673, by Marquette, it is not wonderful that, in the year 1705, after an interval of twenty-four years had made the French familiar with the red men and their country, an exploring party ascended the Missouri river as far as the mouth of the river Kansas. The natives were very friendly, as savages usually are when first approched by civilized men, and until the worst specimens of the superior order have found opportunities to poison and destroy the confidence of the barbarians. For some time thereafter, certainly for more than a century, the intercourse then begun, continued, and a very profitable trade was carried on with the Indians by the Canadian *voyageurs* and their employers.

In the year 1719, fourteen years after the adventurers on the Missouri had established themselves and their trade, the governor of Louisiana, M. Bienville, equipped an exploring party under the command of a young officer named Duquesne to ascend the Mississippi river and extend the dominions of the king, his master. It was the era of the Regency of the Duc D'Orleans in France, and John Law was master of the situation. The famous Mississippi scheme, a financial bubble, was to enrich all the world and the madness of Europe had extended itself to Louisiana, only, what was frenzy in the old country became attuned to sober and manly enterprise on this continent. Defoe, describing a similar mania which prevailed in England under the name of the South Sea Company, the last word being changed to "bubble" in history, said:

"Some in clandestine companies combine;
Erect new stocks to trade beyond the line;
With air and empty names beguile the town,
And raise new credits first, then cry 'em down;
Divide the empty nothing into shares,
And set the crowd together by the ears."

The Mississippi company was formally incorporated in 1717, with exclusive powers to trade on the river Mississippi and with Louisiana on its western bank, the expectation being that gold and silver, and indeed all the metals, would be found in abund-

ance, and that a very profitable trade with the child-like savage would replenish the coffers of the nation, all but ruined by the wars of Louis XIV, and the revocation of the edict of Nantes. John Law and his scheme have been blamed far beyond their demerits, because the madness of the time could not keep within bounds the expectation of business like profit. The scrip of the company rose so rapidly in value, that what had been originally obtained for one dollar was eagerly purchased at $100, and could then be sold within twenty-four hours at cent per cent. advances, day after day. Men accustomed to the hazards of the gambling table abandoned *rouge et noir*, because it was tame and unevent ful, to become dabblers in stock. The government participated liberally in the scramble, the Regent breathed gold and dreamed *billets de banque*, and while this charm was working in Europe, M. Duquesne, the young French officer, acting under inspiration from Paris, was commissioned by the governor of Louisiana to explore the river and the country, which was to justify these extravagant expectations. Thus it happened that a military expedition on a very small scale ascended the Mississippi as far as the Sabine river, in the year 1719. The eventual collapse of the Mississippi bubble, the ruin of John Law, the absolute bankruptcy of France, and many other events which the next twelve months saw consummated, will not affect our history, as the conscription of men levied in Paris in 1720, to work the gold mines, which had not been found in this country, never came to Kansas, and this volume is not further interested in their operations, than to show how the perturbations of court life on the banks of the Seine brought a gallant and successful band of explorers along the Mississippi to widen the domain of France. M. Duquesne traveled westward from the Mississippi after reaching the Sabine river, until after about three hundred miles of rocky, broken and timbered country had been passed, as nearly as he could judge by what the sailors call dead reckoning, he came to a village of Osage Indians, not far from Osage river, probably about five miles from that stream. The village contained about one hundred wigwams, but the warriors were generally absent engaged in hunting or in warfare. Other tribes were visited, the Pawnees to the northwest, about one hundred and twenty miles, and westward from them

about four hundred and fifty miles, a tribe whose name, as spelt in the documents of the time, comes nearer to the sound Pawnees than any other, the appellation being rendered Paonis. No gold had been found nor any sign of silver, but the brave Frenchman erected a cross bearing the *Fleur de lis* of France, and in the name of his sovereign, claimed the whole country, by a right, which, of course, the persons most interested in the operation had not a chance to comprehend. This was in September, 1719, on the twenty-seventh of that month. From that point M. Duquesne marched back with his little band to the Missouri river, finding a tribe of that name in their village near the bank of the stream. The expectation of gold on the banks of the Mississippi was not a wild speculation from a French point of view. Columbus and his followers expected gold, and they procured some from the natives in the West Indian Islands. The followers of Amerigo Vespucci were moved by the same hope. Cortez and Pizarro, with their followers, not only sought but found it, in such quantities, that Spain was enriched suddenly, and ruined by the reaction, and Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and other English commanders could fill their own pockets and the treasury of Queen Elizabeth, by capturing Spanish galleons laden with golden ingots and coins on their voyage from South America to Spain. French courtiers and merchants would naturally assume that the whole continent was auriferous and argentiferous, and even within our own time, Iowa has had its rush of gold finders, the participants in which process could not be disillusionized by months of hard work without reward. The Spaniards were on the *qui vive* for dominion, and as soon as the expedition of M. Duquesne became known, the troops of that nation moved into the debatable country to make themselves masters of the territory before France could make a demonstration in force. Their intention was to hold the Missouri river and the adjacent country against all comers, to maintain for their sovereign one bank of the Mississippi at least, and to restrict the French into as narrow bounds as possible, of all that remained. Colonizing was not so much an object as mere military possession, from which wonders might be evoked by a magic or black art, little known to modern times.

To secure the country against the French, it was necessary to

subjugate the natives, by whom the French party had been favored, and the tribe of Missouri Indians had first to be exterminated. The Peruvians and Mexicans had been so easily overpowered by a handful of men in each case, one portion of the natives being set against another, that the Dons went to their work with perfect confidence. The Pawnees and the Missouris were at war, and it would be no difficult matter to form an alliance with the first, to destroy the second. The proposition went on merrily, the hostile Indians were found, the scheme suggested, a reply in the affirmative was only delayed until they could assemble their warriors, and then in the night, within two days from the first proposal, two thousand braves, in their war paint, fell upon the Spanish Caravan and destroyed the whole body, except one priest, whose tonsure probably saved him, and he returned to Santa Fe to explain the mystery. The Spaniards had mistaken the village of the Missouris for that of the Pawnees, and had requested the confiding Indians to assist in the destruction of their own tribe. The Missouris had temporized until they could answer with tomahawk and scalping knife, and the battle of Fort Leavenworth, a *camisado* in which no combatant on the Spanish side escaped, made it possible for the French to come in as friends and establish their fortification there, near the banks of the Missouri. Fort Orleans was the answer of the French to the insolent and fatal advance of the Spaniards, and a large force ascending the Mississippi to the Missouri, then following the Missouri from their junction, made their fortification on an island in the last named river, above the point at which the Osage river discharges itself. From this point treaties of commerce with the Indians were carried on, and friendly missions were prosecuted which secured for the subjects of Louis XV all the advantages they could reasonably desire. Bourmond, the officer in command at Fort Orleans, leaving an officer in charge of the island fortress, made a tour among the lodges of his allies which continued from July to November, 1724, and his diplomacy had been perfectly successful. That was "the be all and end all" of the Gallican expedition, trade and military possession being the purposes of the advanced post, and settlement being a matter entirely beyond the genius of the people. The colony in Illinois was destroyed, in 1812, by our forces, be-

cause the Indians, half castes, *voyageurs*, and others who made up the village on the banks of Peoria lake, were known to be in sympathy with the enemies of the United States, and Louisiana had become American by purchase from France. The genius of France does not favor colonization. It makes Noumea or New Caledonia a convict settlement in the Pacific, but it is not a colony. It sends an army into Algiers, and it roasts Arabs in caves, where they have taken shelter, but it does not colonize the country. It possesses Cayenne, but it is only as a place of terror for political prisoners, and the idea of a colony, in its best sense, has yet to dawn on France. When the purposes of the moment had been served, a trading post remained, and the men who had initiated commercial relations with the tribes in 1705, carried on their peaceful operations none the better, if none the worse, for the presence of the *Fleur de lis* and the soldiery of the kingdom of France.

Ninety-nine years after that commercial invasion, Messrs. Clark and Lewis, under a commission from the general government, conducted an expedition up the Missouri river, the lands along which were still almost a *terra incognita* to the citizens of the republic, and across the continent from the head waters of the Missouri to the Pacific ocean. Where the Kansas river flows into the larger stream they made a temporary camp, and procured plenty of game. They found no white men on their journey, but near Atchison there were the bones, as it were, of an old fort and village, remaining from the days of the French occupation, and at another point a house and a trading post, but the men who left those signs had long before passed away. The Indians were curious and friendly, but they had not been civilized by the long intercourse their fathers had enjoyed with their French allies for very nearly a century. Major Long, who, in the year 1816, had surveyed the Chicago river, was, in the year 1819, in command of a small steamer, the first that ever plowed the waters of the Missouri along the borders of Kansas. That officer, with a corps of engineers detailed for topographical duty, was on his way to the Yellowstone, and his duty did not involve any action in which Kansas as a state is further interested.

The value of the fur trade along the Missouri river had been

recognized for many years, and traders had reaped enormous profits from the traffic. During the fifteen years immediately preceding the expedition of Clark and Lewis, the aggregate value of the furs which were handled in St. Louis amounted to $3,056,250, on a moderately close estimate. The first white men that occupied the soil of Kansas to make a living there were hunters and trappers. The men who were engaged in such undertakings discovered the south pass, which made the journey to California and Oregon the easy possibility that it now is, instead of compelling millions to endure the horrors of the voyage round Cape Horn, or the still more onerous discomforts of the passage by Panama. It is not placing the figures at all too high to assert that during the period from the expedition in 1804, until settlement rendered the prosecution of the business no longer profitable in the region mentioned, the income from furs must have aggregated $12,000,000, and when commerce, agriculture and manufactures came to assume the place which the trappers and hunters had so long possessed, the advantage was continually increasing on the side of property and comfort.

From the year 1823, a trade with Santa Fe commenced to grow, the state of Missouri being the starting point, and within a few years the traffic averaged $50,000 annually, increasing to $100,000 afterwards. The general government assisted to the extent of surveying and establishing a wagontrack for the journey, which remains a much frequented line of travel, especially interesting to certain interests now flourishing in Kansas. The Indians were for a long time inclined to be troublesome to traders, on their way through their territory, sometimes to the extent of destroying life, and very frequently stealing property and stampeding cattle, so that it became necessary to form strong caravans for mutual protection, such as the merchants and traders crossing the Arabian desert wait for, if they wish to avoid the depredations of the Bedouins. The point where the traders bound for Santa Fe used to rally their forces, preparatory to a start, became known as Council Grove, and the vast assemblage of wagons, mules, horses, oxen and their owners and drivers that corralled here, afforded themes for novelists and sketch writers, and paragraphs for the press, which were read all over the states by persons

interested in the adventurous trade across the plains. The grove was, as the name implied, well timbered, and the plentiful supply of water for stock was also of much importance in determining the location. Kansas soon attracted attention as a very desirable point of departure for traders engaged in this lucrative traffic. Independence, in the state of Missouri, was the principal depot from about 1832 to 1848, but during nearly all that time Kansas had been growing into favor. Where Kansas city now stands was the site of the first depot attempted near this state, and goods were landed in 1834 to form part of an equipment for the caravan to New Mexico. The increase from that point has been steady, and now almost the whole of the business over the wagon road is transacted in the stores at Kansas City and at Westport. This has been the case almost entirely since the year 1850. The value of the business secured may be gathered from the fact, that the transportation alone involved an outlay in one season of nearly $2,000,000, and that in the year 1860, there were nearly six thousand men, more than two thousand wagons, over four hundred and sixty horses, close on six thousand mules, and very nearly eighteen thousand oxen in the caravan. Leavenworth rose into notice in consequence of a fort being established at that point to protect the interests of the traders just mentioned. The cantonment commenced in 1827, and the name of the city was taken in honor of the colonel of the regiment which was stationed here in 1832. The importance of the position was more fully recognized when the Mexican war broke out, because it afforded a remote base of supply until the end of that era of hostilities. The gold fever, which spread all over the world the fame of California, was still more momentous to Leavenworth, because the men who proposed to reach the diggings overland naturally desired to postpone to the last moment the purchase of an outfit which must become an incumbrance as soon as the bargain had been made which transferred the goods of the trader to the shoulders or to the wagon of the enthusiastic gold seeker. When Missouri became a state, the general government conceived the design of removing the Indian race west of the Mississippi. "Go west young man," was the advice of Horace Greeley, "go west and settle and grow up with the place." Just such advice was

tendered to the red men by the government; and they came west, tribe after tribe, until about the year 1850, the last tribe had crossed the Mississippi, and the western country was literally and entirely in the hands of the Indians, so completely, that no white man could make his home in Kansas without the consent of the tribe or tribes upon whose possessions he was held to be intruding. The white population was to increase and multiply within the states; the territory was to be for the Indian, his heirs and assigns, forever. "Man proposes but God disposes," is the terse proverb of the French, and the outcome of that intention illustrates the fact. Nobody supposed that the Rocky mountains would be crossed by hundreds of thousands of men and women within a few years, when the first train of emigrants were led toward Oregon by that route in the year 1844. The following year saw the Mormons assembling near Atchison to commence their pilgrimage across the plains. They were a prudent people, and moderately well generaled. Atchison was the rallying point for all their stragglers for many years after this date. Some of their party, compelled to leave Nauvoo on any terms, had been forced to winter in Iowa, facing an inclement season with hardly any provision against its trials and privations, forced to scrape bark from trees to make bread, and suffering terribly in consequence, many dying in agony as the result; but all that lived were under orders to come on to this point as the rallying spot before the final start was to be made. Salt Lake was to make amends for all cares and sorrows. The streams flowing from the Wahsatch to water a paradise of orchards and shade trees would soon wash out all signs of grief, when the faithful could comfort each other, and no Gentiles would be at hand to cause them pain. The farm which was established here as the rendezvous of the saints is known as Mormon Farm still, and the house which they builded long remained to prove that they understood that kind of business at any rate. They had not a great deal of money, for whenever they had left a temporary settlement, on their way to this spot, they had been forced to leave their improvements, small or great, for whatever price might be offered by new settlers who had to rely on stout thews and sinews, rather than on bank accounts and plethoric pocket books, but they honestly

did their best, and it was manifest that they meant to make friends every where as their passport to safety and to empire.

The year 1845 saw an immense gathering of troops at this point, and the commissariat destined for Mexico was concentrated here en route, and when the celebrated march to Santa Fe was undertaken by Gen. Kearney, the plains of Kansas were the first to welcome the tramp of his soldiery and the music which heralded the way to battle. Kansas was now the highway of the nation. Across its prairies marched the troops that were to win honor in a war which had been commenced in a manner by no means creditable to our chief executive, but the men who fought and the officers who commanded were not responsible for anything beyond the duty which they accomplished, like the heroes they undoubtedly were. Along this highway came, when that war had ended, the army of gold miners, the bones of thousands of whom were to whiten the plains across which they traveled in search of wealth. It has been estimated that ninety thousand persons passed through or skirted Kansas in the two years, 1849–50, on their way to the Pacific slope, mostly stopping by the way at Leavenworth, St. Joseph or Kansas City, to make up parties sufficiently strong to defy the assaults of the Indians on the way. Regiments and armies miles long would organize and start out upon that tremendous pilgrimage. We, who have only gone over the ground by the Union Pacific Railroad in Pullman's palace cars, may think that we know something of the discomforts of the journey, but we cannot imagine even the beginning of their hardships. The journey which cost them a week of toil we passed over in luxury in less than half a day, without watching for the stealthy advance of the Indian, or having to spend hours in recovering cattle which had strayed, to say nothing of the meals which we were able to secure in luxury at Cheyenne and Laramie, at Ogden and elsewhere as a set off to the destiny under which they were toiling along, bearing a burden of necessaries which they were hourly tempted to throw away on the track, as thousands had done before them, because of the absolute despair and indifference which overpowers manhood, in the realization of deep physical fatigue, intensified by mental exhaustion. The Mormons, men, women and children, who had gone over that

ground before this army of gold miners, yoked to handcarts and in many other ways full of toil, facing the desert, as the plains were called, had endured more privations than fell to the lot of the hardy troop, whose course we are now observing, and the wonder increases as we consider the facts of their journey, that they should have lived through it. Nothing but faith, or fanaticism, its most effective substitute, could have sustained them; as hungry, ragged, footsore and weary beyond the power of words to tell, they came one winter into the mountains and were "snowed in," without food sufficient to sustain life, if they dared attempt the herculean task of moving the heavily packed banks of obstruction, which snow plows and extra engines are often unable to overcome for days at a time, on well made iron roads, with all the advantages of snow sheds into the bargain. They would have been possessed of sufficient food, but incompetent leaders, who had lingered too long by the way, had encouraged if they had not induced them to leave food and other essentials behind, taking only as little as could be made to serve their purpose, on a forced march across the salt plains, if they were able to proceed without a halt; and now they were "snowed in," the bleak canons towering above them snow-laden, the ground covered deep, so that they could neither move over the obstruction nor through it, even though they should abandon all their baggage. The prospect of leaving their bones in the wilderness had not been so cheerless and terrible, as this realization of death with the fleecy robe of winter for a winding sheet, and strong men, more readily than maidens, sat down and wept. In the very agony of their despair relief reached them. Brigham Young and his council in Salt Lake city, knowing that the train of emigrants were on the way, had hourly looked for their arrival, and when days and weeks beyond the proper season of travel had passed, and still they came not, every available man and horse in the settlement was despatched with food on numberless wagons, and with tools to quarry a way through the snow, if the sufferers could not otherwise be reached. It seemed a crowning mercy, when the voices of friends came through the freezing air to their ears, as they were mourning their desolation, and their impotence suddenly became strength. Beyond the snow there were shelter,

and wagons and food, and better than all, loving friends. They tore the snow with their hands, throwing it to the side of the track. They trampled it under their feet until it became solid as marble; they shouted songs of joy, and they embraced each other in their delirium, as they heard the cries of their deliverers even at a distance. The scene, when they could thank the relieving force hand to hand, face to face, beggars words. The shame for humanity is overpowering, when we remember that the men who helped in that emergency, and many of those who were rescued in that hour from death, were participants, a few years later, in the Mountain Meadow massacre, when more than one hundred unarmed men, women and children were treacherously shot down, and beaten to death in cold blood, when they had come over the plains to Utah, on their way to their chosen home in California.

The wagon route was a lively scene in the early days of the gold fever. Every "prairie schooner" would start for the nearest point for its loading at St. Joseph, Kansas City or Leavenworth, and having been freighted, would return to its allotted camping ground to abide the directions of the commander. The poet tells us that, "Order is heaven's first law," and in a rude rough way, there was order and discipline in that cursing, howling camp. The roar of the vast multitude filled the air, every man making ready for the cry which would start them on their course. The last straggler is in his place, the number is complete, the leader is on horseback, the prudent drivers are in their places, the word is passed through the throng and they are moving, but so vast is the turmoil in that crowd, that considerably more than an hour elapses from that time before the monster of traffic has uncoiled itself and the last wagon has got upon the track. Mules oxen, horses, men, are on the march. The schooners of the prairie, large wagons covered with double canvass, broad wheeled to make travelling easier over the sandy waste, drawn by five span of mules to each load, or six yoke of oxen, move leisurely along at a distance of about thirty-five yards from each other, to avoid choking in each other's dust, and the music of their advance can be heard on the otherwise still air many miles ahead. Some of the dandy sort of gold miners have brought along fancy wagons

and light carriages which will hardly endure the pull over the salt bush plains, and it is easy to see that when the mountains are reached they will not be worth the trouble of further hauling. Their dandy manners disappear even before their vehicles, and they are not bad fellows at all in spite of their crotchets, so that when the camping ground is reached and the wagon master halts the train, there is joy and contentment among the motley components of that singular gathering. But they have got beyond our territory on their journey and our concern is for Kansas only, so we bid them good bye as they disappear, sinking below the horizon of the plains, convinced that while they keep together with their staff of cooks, drivers and extra hands, added to the pluck, enterprise and appetite of the throng of adventurers, no savage will dare molest them, nor hunger long invade the sacred epigastria which they bear onward to the gold begemmed mountains in which some few will find wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, and not a few a sensation of rheumatic pain that will be their chief residuum from the gold fever.

CHAPTER IV.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY.

The Nebraska-Kansas Bill — Pro-Slavery Manipulation — Gold Miners Seeing the Land — The Missouri Compromise — Missouri Customs — Mean Whites — Aristocrats — Lukewarm People — Gen. Atchison — Slavery in Kansas — The Irrepressible Conflict.

We have seen that Kansas territory was in the hands of the Indians, and that white settlers would be intruders there unless the native tribes, on whose lands they might sit down, were consenting parties. That was the condition of affairs when the Nebraska-Kansas act became law. There was a purpose underlying the action of the proslavery party, and it was not difficult to see at what they were aiming by such measures. The Missouri compromise was, in principle, a limitation upon the power of the slave states to increase, but the party, which should have been

bound by the spirit of that arrangement, was already seeking to abrogate even its letter, illustrating for the millionth time in history that

"Vaulting ambition, which o'er leaps itselle,
And falls o' the other side."

Kansas was to be hermetically sealed against white settlement, unless the black stain of slavery could be incorporated into the act of colonization, and to that end all legislation on the side of the oligarchy, and the social manipulation which they could more certainly control, tended. Slavery would extend its borders by all means. The free states should be "cribb'd, cabin'd and confined" in perpetuity. The press said the country was a desert, in which wild cattle and Indians could barely exist, and therefore there was no opening in such a territory for farms, towns and cities, such as might flourish in free states elsewhere. The maps were just as emphatic in describing the country as valueless. Political parties were practically, the democrats, who went in for slavery everywhere and always, as a peculiar institution, heaven appointed for dark complexioned people; and the whigs, who were afraid to express an opinion of any kind on a question so debatable. *Polonius*, uncertain whether the cloud looked like a whale or like a weasel, was just their type in that era of whig development. The men who formed the free soil party were alone consistent, but they were as yet only a handful in the community, and the mere outcry against "abolition," served for a long time to answer all their arguments outside of the state of Massachusetts. Still it was doubtful whether the tone of public opinion, which could endure the denial of the right to memorialize congress on the subject of slavery, and which could brook a refusal on the part of the government to convey abolitionist matter through the post offices, might be willing to allow the area of the slave owners to be extended openly, so the manipulators borrowed the tactics of Richelieu, and when the lion skin would not reach, they eked it out with the hide of the fox. For fully one hundred miles beyond the limits of Missouri, the country was made safe against obtrusive white settlers of uncertain opinions, by grants to the Indian tribes, which were guarantied forever as the homes of the red men. Traders, missionaries and Indian agents were the

only persons, except Indians and half castes to whom the country was open, and they were generally in the service of the dominant party, obeying instructions which compelled them to turn away from God, and to bow not merely the knee, but body and soul to mammon. Missionaries, agents, traders were owners of slaves, and they were inducing certain of the chiefs to become proprietors of human chattels, so that slavery had become one of the institutions of Kansas, in contravention of the law, while the territory was yet closed against free white settlement The elements of growth were thus, so far as adroit contrivances could roll back the tide of time, made secure on the side of the proslavery party.

We saw, in our last chapter, ninety thousand gold miners and adventurers, crossing the so-called "Great American Desert," and these men had among them as good judges of soil and position as could be found anywhere in the world. When the men who risked a journey toward the Golden Gate wrote back to their friends about the country through which they passed, they were enthusiastic in describing many parts of the so-called "Sahara" as a terrestrial paradise, and in that way one of the barriers against white settlement was broken down. Some of the miners came into the territory as settlers themselves in due time. The scheme of aggrandizement, which had been artfully prepared, was not fated to win complete success, so true it is that the

> "Best laid schemes of mice and men
> Gang aft agley."

In spite of all such revelations there were very few people in the eastern states who knew much concerning Kansas in the year 1854, except that it was somewhere in the region of the setting sun, if not indeed a trifle "farther west." It was now proposed by one of the representatives from Missouri, in congress, that the territory of Kansas should be organized and settled, and about the same time that the measure in question was being incubated, it was thought expedient to propose that the Missouri compromise should be repealed. The language that was then commonly used among the leaders of public opinion in Missouri, concerning the suggestion that Kansas might come into the union as a free state, betokened the most deplorable want of moral tone. Mule drivers,

addressing their most obstinate cattle, could hardly have excelled in profanity the phrases which were used by Missouri orators in addressing the mob on this specially exciting theme. Northerners were called "nigger thieves," "vermin of the north," "—— northern cattle," by one of the United States senators for Missouri, and his words were applauded to the echo. Nebraska should become a slave state; that was the undisguised resolve of Missouri, and Nebraska was Kansas also. "Furniture, mules and niggers" should continue the properties of their possessors, whether they remained in Missouri, or were carried into the new territory. "Bayonets and blood" were invoked as a means whereby the end should be accomplished should other means fail. The time had come for the repeal of the "Missouri compromise," in the interests of a brutal oligarchy, and it was very evident that the end would justify any means in the then inflamed condition of Missourians. Many allowances must be made for the common people who were carried along in the train of such fiery and outrageous talkers. Schools were not only not sought within the state, but they were not allowed, except under such restrictions as made them valueless, and at least one college, established in Iowa, was raided and burned by the same ignorant rabble, because the instigators of the outrage feared that education would expand the minds of the commonalty, and thus that the peculiar institution would be endangered. Just such men as those were they who cried, "Not this man, but Barabbas," preferring a convicted thief to the Messiah, and the language of common sense and sound reason were thrown away upon them. Their passions, inflamed by whisky, were the only rules from which no appeal could be permitted. The life of any one who would dare to contravene their will and dispute their views on their own soil, whether he advised temperance or advocated any other system of reform, would not be insured by any company that meant to pay its risks, even though the premiums might be calculated to cover extra risks, and property was about as safe there as it might have been if left unguarded at the Five Points. Missouri was "a good state to emigrate from," as Daniel Webster said of New Hampshire, but it differed from the native state of the great lawyer and orator in one respect; it was not a good state in which to be born, if a person

could be allowed to have a choice in that particular. "Flattery," saith Shakspere, "is an oil will soften the toughest fool," and that maxim was acted upon by the demagogues who roused the feelings and inflamed the arrogance of the crowd in Missouri at the time named. There has been a great change effected since that era, and Missouri audiences are critical enough now as to the matter that is placed before them. The baptism of fire and blood has called a new spirit into existence; but the people still suffer by comparison with the populations in many states, because schools were so slowly permitted to diffuse their ameliorating influences over popular manners. There are two ways in which the populace may be improved. First, and best, by public schools, where all classes may advance in common toward the domains of learning, science and literature; and next, where the school cannot be brought directly to bear on the class whose amelioration is sought, the reflex action of good training may do something. Had the Missourian gentleman of that day been the chivalrous personage he was assumed to be, his power over the people would have been beneficial, because he would have helped materially to create a better public opinion. Neither of those powers have come into operation until within the last few years. The school fund was large enough, but it was unused, and the language quoted from a Missouri senator represented, not the drunken ravings of some unimportant personage, the accident of an hour, but the deliberate utterances of a man who served in many offices, as major general of militia, as circuit judge, as representative, and as United States senator, a candidate, moreover, for the presidency of the United States, Gen. Atchison, who laid the foundation for a much better career by graduating in Transylvania university. The men of education in Missouri were obliged to pander to the mob or keep silent, so terrible was the menace under which life and property were held in a slave state such as we are describing. The rich Missourians were impelled by self interest, the law of self preservation, to uphold slavery, and they were wise enough to know that a law of nature will not allow stagnation to coexist with vigorous life. Their policy must advance or fall, and they were determined it should go forward. The glove of silk, which covered their hands occasionally when they touched affairs of

statecraft, concealed a grasp of steel which could hardly be shaken off while life remained. Such men are inexorable. The poorer class of whites in Missouri were obsequious to their wealthy neighbors to an extent which it is difficult for Americans to understand. They had learned to a degree, happily uncommon in this newest and best fruit of civilization, —

"To bow the pregnant hinges of the knee
Where thrift might follow fawning."

Ignorance was the least of their many vices, but it increased them all, and they were accustomed to be spoken to, and of, as "sovereigns" whose will must needs be law. Their flatterers were not in the habit of telling them how many millions of "sovereigns" the United States contained; therefore they had concluded that liberty of conscience and of mental power meant the right on their parts "to think as they pleased, and to compel everybody else to think the same." The fact of the people being "sovereign" must be a claim for wider culture and more extensive knowledge. The poor unlettered peasant in Europe, but few degrees above the recently liberated Russian serf, and very little above the French *sans culotte* of 1789, might remain in his besotted darkness without immediately affecting the despotism under which he lives, because his voice counts for nothing in the affairs of a nation, and he has no vote to cast. Very different is the state of affairs in this country; the lad whose brain is now being prepared for the active business of life, in grammar school, high school and university, is not only a fragment of the universal sovereignty himself, but he learns that every other member of society is coördinate with him, and able in an electoral sense — the least informed of the whole race on this continent, as well as the wisest — to neutralize or overrule the decision, at which he arrives. "*Noblesse oblige*" is the fine old French maxim, which for many centuries modified human action among the most powerful men in that country, when the government was aptly described as "a despotism tempered by epigrams;" but in this nation, the nobility which should control every human being belongs not to a special class in the community, but it inheres in the body politic, and the civilization and enlightenment of our

governing family does not embrace only the *cultus* of the wisest, the spirit of the best, but it is, and must be, the resultant, from the ignorance and passion of the basest soul, colliding with the magnanimity of the noblest. That knowledge makes him his "brother's keeper," and in proportion to his love for the country of his birth will be his zeal and prudent effort to make the collective sovereign, the whole people, worthy of the great destiny to which they are called. He cannot overpower the hydra headed fellow sovereign and hold it down, he must instruct, and inform, and train to the fullest realization of responsibilities, as well as importance, the man with and by whom he is to work for the best aims of humanity. In Missouri, during the "irrepressible conflict," the best men were compelled to remain silent spectators of great wrongs, which they were powerless to assuage, for many years, but "verily they had their reward." Many men from the east and north were among the noisiest and most obstreperous demagogues for a time, just such creatures as the mere camp follower may easily become, but their hearts were repelled from the "institution" which they had not been taught to consider sacred, and when the time came they fell away from the ranks which they had only increased in clamor and numbers, not in actual and enduring strength. The worst class of all was that which had "defiled the ark of the covenant," the men vowed to the service of the eternal, who had gone back upon humanity, refusing justice to God's creatures, turning away from men and women, as though they could be less than "the least of these my little ones," and denouncing, in the language of intolerance and hate, all those who presumed to say that slavery was other than the Divine will, finding justification for their fanatical rage in the stringing together of texts, irrelevant to the circumstances in which they and their times were placed. Such men gave the sanctions of religion to the wrong cause, and the spirit in which too many of them them read their scriptural lessons, reminded one of

> "The selfish sensual crew,
> To carnage and the koran given,
> Who think through unbelievers' blood,
> Lies the directest course to heaven."

The preacher of average abilities who was so placed between

two fires, that he must be untrue to his conscience, or find himself *minus* a congregation, may have our sympathy, but he cannot share our admiration, if he chose "the flesh pots of Egypt," rather than the higher law; and there were thousands of such men in the south, who, with a quaking of their own hearts, were fain to make a louder outcry than their neighbors, lest they should seem to be uttering "an uncertain sound" on the dread issue of their generation. The very few that were faithful found themselves surrounded by a menacing public, living under censure, secretly applauded by a minority that dared not speak, and almost daily recipients of some brutal message, which kept before their eyes the possibility of outrage, perhaps murder, from the rude loafer class of the population, who were anxious to please the more wealthy and refined of their side, by doing deeds which no good man could approve. The preacher so placed had no option but to leave the state. His mute protest was practically without avail. His church almost always had deserted him, and an attempt to exercise his vocation in the streets might have procured him a coat of tar and feathers, but could hardly reach the hearts of the slave tinctured populace, with whom it was in vain he tried to wrestle.

Many of the slave owning aristocracy must have dissented from the course which the rabble pursued, but they were outnumbered by the crowd of wealthy men, inferior in mental endowments, whose riches depended almost entirely upon the maintenance of slavery, and who possessed enough sagacity to be aware that unless an always increasing area could be obtained in which to trade off the slave, their raw material and manufactured article, the basis of their eminence must crumble away beneath their feet. Such men knew, long before Mr. Lincoln uttered the truism, that slavery must subjugate the whole union, or must be subjugated by it; and they were resolved to keep their side uppermost, "come what come might," hence the blatant talk about "northern cattle," whose demands were to be answered by "bayonets and blood," before the new territory should be admitted to the union as a free state. Such were the unpromising elements of which society was composed in Missouri, and the press was the only power remaining in the absence of schools and church. The

power of the newspaper press as a reforming agency is vastly overrated. The advertising sheet lives only by its acceptance among the public, consequently it cannot afford to run counter to public prejudices on any of the great questions of the day, unless some party strong enough "to run the machine" assumes the responsibility of maintaining the paper. Suppose the proprietor rich enough to dare public opinion in that respect, and to utter his thought, what could he hope to accomplish if no man read his fulminations? In Missouri, at that time, he would not have had to complain of indifference, for his office would have been wrecked, his house burned, and he would have been "ridden on a rail" across the borders. Newspapers are very much like other business ventures, and although some few offices are strong enough to utter the voice of conscience irrespective of popular clamor, the great majority would and must cry with the crowd, "not this man but Barabbas," rather than see a subscription list depleted, the advertising columns empty, and the compositors feeding on their own pi. Many of the directors of the press in Missouri were not bad men, but their views had been shaped for them in the growth of a depraved sentiment, in which they had been conceived, nurtured and developed, and it needed the strength of a giant to tower above such surroundings. They were chivalrous fellows many of them, but they were, unfortunately for themselves, and for society, enrolled under the wrong banner, hemmed in by circumstances, and going with the "multitude to do evil," without malice *prepense* in their own natures, illustrating the maxim of Hood, that

> "Evil is wrought by want of thought,
> As well as want of heart."

Hence the popular sentiment in Missouri was entirely on the side of the slave power. Gen. Atchison, whose influence for many years was all powerful in that state, while the Missouri compromise repeal was being agitated, was a violent demagogue. He is older, and may be wiser, at any rate he has the discretion to be silent now; but a few words concerning him must form part of our history. He was a Kentuckian by birth; he became Missourian by adoption, having moved into that state immediately after

quitting the university in which he had graduated. Learning is said to soften manners, but the young graduate with his *emollit mores* became immediately one of the most violent representatives of popular thought, or want of thought, in the locality to which he had migrated. He was a lawyer, and he had mastered his brief, winning notoriety, if not fame, by his intemperate zeal in a cause which could hardly be advanced by better means. He was sent to the state legislature in 1834, and again in the year 1838. In the year 1840, he was defeated, but was soon afterwards made a circuit judge. While in the legislature, the young Kentuckian was made major-general of a militia force, which saw no service, but which might have been called upon to act in an Indian war, if the war had only transpired. The title "general" sat more gracefully than his shoulder straps, upon the warrior, and that was the only memento by which the state was ever reminded of that time of bloodless strategy. He became United States senator in the year 1843, for part of an unexpired term, and continued to fill the position until 1854, when he was elected to stay at home. Popular sovereignty was his continual theme at the time of his defeat, and in proof of his conscientiousness he became for some time one of the most distinguished leaders in the disgraceful proceedings in Kansas which were to have made the rifle the means of determining the question, not whether slaves should be owned in that territory, but whether any free man should be allowed to remain unless he could be led to the ballot as the mere retainer and liege man of the slave owners. The general had been one of the loudest talkers about bloodshed and the bayonet, as desirable alternatives compared with Nebraska as a free state, and he strove to live up to his declarations. Missouri was resolved that Kansas and Nebraska should extend the range of slavery as well as increase its voting power in congress, and Gen. Atchison was with his party, or rather ahead of his party, in all the worst demonstrations of the time. It was his aim to be president of the union, and the violence of his demeanor was considered one of the best planks in his platform, so rampant was democracy in that era, so dark was the hour which immediately preceded the dawn. In considering the further developments of the Kansas difficulty, we shall have frequent occasions to mention

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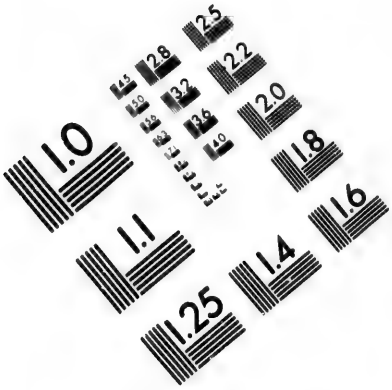

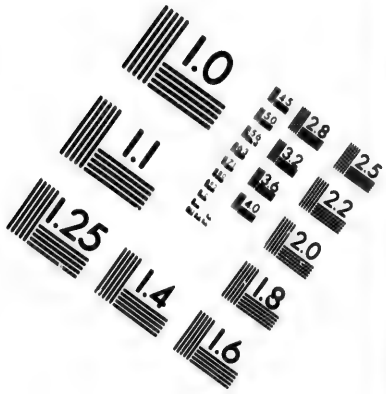

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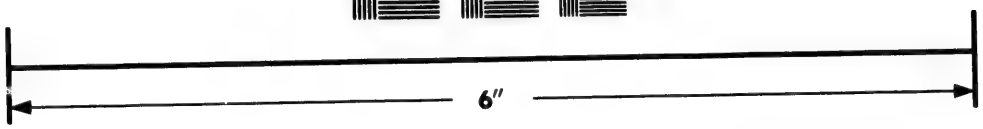

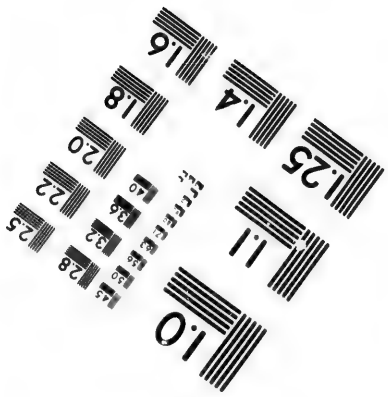

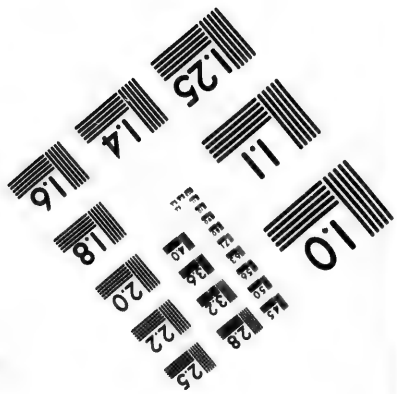

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the general, and for that reason it was necessary to introduce him in due form. His talents were not brilliant, but he possessed considerable powers of adaptation, and like *Falstaff*, he had "a kind of alacrity in sinking" to the level of the class which he hoped to make useful for his advancement. The general will need no further introduction.

It is not sought to make it appear that the Missourians were worse than other men similarly placed might have become. The great historian and philosopher, Buckle, lays it down as an axiom that there never was a class of men possessed of irresponsible power which they did not abuse. Probably he was correct. The party which disgraced itself in Kansas, by such scenes as it will fall to our lot to describe, was too well represented in congress by the chivalrous gentleman who felled Charles Sumner to the floor of the senate. "You do not gather grapes from thorns," and it is proverbially difficult to "make a silk purse from a sow's ear." The poison infused into the early training of the proslavery party rendered it impossible to make them believe that abolitionists "had any rights which they were bound to respect." We have seen what manner of men formed the rank and file of the Missourian force, and the type of character from which their leaders would be chosen has been glanced at. Sir Walter Scott's celebrated etching of *Dugald Dalgetty* might have been made from some of the soldiers of fortune who hated nothing worse than "those piping times of peace," when their peculiar talents were not in demand. Not only Missouri, but the whole of the south, was overrun by such gentlemen at large, who sat a horse as though Centaur had been realized, and who could have tamed the steed that bore Mazeppa across the desert. They had courage for anything except soiling their hands with hard work, and they had no convictions of any kind except such as a judge and jury might have helped to fasten upon them. They were "free lances" of the nineteenth century, and it happened that the slave owners who wanted their services were the men with whom they were nearest in sympathy, because they also thought that it was beneath the dignity of a gentleman to work. There was just so much in common between the man and his master, and when the oligarchy of the south used such tools, it is useless to pretend that they were

in any considerable degree better than their acts prove them. They may in some instances have said *mea culpa*, and have turned from the error of their ways since then, in which case their misdeeds may and will fall into oblivion, but such deeds can never be justified, and they cannot honestly and fairly be glozed over. When Missouri, by her representatives and senators, worked in congress in the sessions of 1851–2, in favor of organizing Kansas territory, there was a foregone conclusion in the minds of all the parties to that movement that slavery should be engrafted upon the soil. True the Missouri compromise should have rendered it impossible for the party to entertain such an idea; it was morally as well as legally wrong, a violation of the letter as well as of the spirit of a deliberate undertaking for value received. The men of the south were unable to see their way to such an act as Gen. Atchison proposed; it did not seem possible that it would succeed, and for that reason the bill was allowed to die, according to the forms of congress. The conclusion arrived at by the slave owners and their friends was, that it would be better to allow the territory to remain in the hands of the Indians than to risk the possibility of its becoming a rallying point for the "free soilers," and events proved that they were right in their calculation. The scheme was not abandoned, it merely changed its form; the Protean suggestion came now in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, coupled with a definitive assertion that the Missouri compromise must be repealed, and that the settlers in the state at the time of its organization should be the authority in the exercise of sovereign rights as a state, to determine whether slavery should be one of the institutions of Kansas. The language implied a choice on the part of the people; the intention was that the settlers should be coerced into voting in favor of slavery, in the event of their sovereign will inclining against the peculiar institution. "My son," said a thrifty Scotchman, "get money, honestly if you can, but, my son, get money." That was the idea also as to additional territory for the profitable working off of slave stock. Honestly or dishonestly, it mattered very little which, the end was to be attained, and the cry about the rights of sovereign states, the specious plea for popular sovereignty, so taking at the first glance,

was like the dead sea apple, fair to look upon, alluring to the eye of the uninitiated, but ashes and bitterness within.

Slavery was to be the domestic curse in Kansas, as already it was the curse in every one of the states, which vaunted it as a blessing, and on that issue arose the "Irrepressible Conflict" once more; but this time never to be truly pacified, even for one day, until the north and south had met in a death grapple, and the race which had committed and allowed the crime, had rained blood upon the dishonored soil of the union, and had trampled out the wrong — so far as moral turpitude can be effaced — by one of the most stupendous efforts that the world has ever seen. The Missouri compromise was repealed, and in the fact of that revocation it was claimed that there had been an understanding; not an argument in so many words, but a tacit arrangement to the effect that Kansas would be permitted to assume slavery as one of its conditions under the constitution. The settlement of the question in that way was, to the Missourian instinct and hope, reasonable, natural, inevitable, and on that basis northwestern Missouri committed itself to the work of organization.

Geographical limits determined the views of men very largely then as now, and perhaps to a greater extent, because the press and its supporters were narrower, less cosmopolitan. When a very moving discourse had been preached in an English village, in which an able orator had explained the necessities of the poorer class of his parishioners, enforcing their claims upon the sympathy and aid of their wealthy neighbors, every eye was wet with tears in the vast auditory, save the optics of one stolid farmer, who listened with intelligent interest, but exhibited no signs of emotion. After service had ended the tearless man was asked to explain his immobility, and the answer was a perfect solution from his standpoint. He did not belong to that parish! Missouri had rights, interests and sympathies within her own borders, enough to close every aperture against the ideas prevalent in the free states, and it long remained a mystery that any statesman should doubt the perfect right of the slave owner, not only to his human chattels as long as they remained in his possession, but also to their restoration to his custody, should they escape

and be recognized flying through the states, where slavery had happily become repugnant to the law. The sacred rights of property in that light outshone every other consideration, and the people had become so bounded by the sentiment prevailing in this region, that conscience as much as self interest seemed to be their motive power. We must give due weight to that circumstance, or else we fail to render justice to a large class that meant to be honest, but could not see their way in the darkness that prevailed, where the press was but a borrowed light at the best, and where the lurid glare from many pulpits distorted the facts and objects upon which they shone. The picture of "*Holy Willie*," which was given to the reading world by Robert Burns, the plowman poet of the eighteenth century, had counterparts innumerable among the occupants of Missourian pulpits, and their violent self sufficiency was their best passport to the hearts and minds of their hearers. The mint-marks of religion were freely stamped upon every enormity, and the people were thus strengthened in their course, which however intrinsically wrong, had for them extrinsic authority, and the highest pretensions to righteousness. The other side, with broader views and a more subtle comprehension of human rights, was just as determined as Missouri, and when the organization of Kansas first won their favor, it was with a full understanding of the Missouri compromise and its obligations, which left no room for doubt that whatever additional states might come in, must reinforce the free states in congress, and lead the way toward a proper solution of the slavery problem. The idea of introducing slavery into the territory, although it had been carried into practice years before, was never mooted in congressional circles until the thirty-third session was far advanced, and the suggestion awakened the hot indignation of almost every class in the middle and eastern states. Many of the more prudent had doubted the wisdom of their extremists, because they could see the terrible revulsion which must dislocate society, should the great wrong be righted in a precipitate manner; and they were inclined to repeat the old form of prayer in their daily lives: "Give peace in our time, O Lord," but they could see now, as never before, that unless they could stamp out slavery, the black stain would cover the whole union. Standing

still was no longer a possibility, and with the alternative of a retrograde movement staring them in the face, they prepared for aggressive action. Their more logical neighbors, who had for many years talked and printed abolitionist ideas at all hazards, became more powerful with every step toward the appropriation of the Nebraska-Kansas territory by the southern party. The teaching of their lives was being verified by outcropping events, and their voices had now the ring of prophecy in them when they limned the inevitable future, unless Kansas could be brought into the union with every constitutional guaranty against slavery. The opposite sides were setting their battle in array, natural allies were drawing together, and there would soon be a vigorous but friendly emulation for the fore front of the conflict. Congressional action defeated the free labor party, but the struggle was relegated to Kansas itself, and it became an object to possess the land with men ready for every emergency. The men who went to Kansas upon that errand, did not know until they had "set their hands to the plow," with what completeness their antagonists had prepared the way for victory, nor would they have turned their backs upon the conflict, even if they had known that the act of organization had been carefully elaborated by several of the ablest lawyers in the land, skillful in veiling a purpose with words, which yet would bear only an interpretation exactly securing the object, of which a casual reader would never dream. They did not know the terrible odds against which they fought, but they were ready for any fate, save eventual defeat. They could say even to death itself, in the words of Fitz Greene Halleck:

> "To the hero when his sword
> Has won the battle for the free,
> Thy voice sounds like a prophet's word;
> And in its hollow tones are heard
> The thanks of millions yet to be."

Under the act before mentioned, slave property could be held in Kansas, and there was no enabling power under which the territorial legislature could defeat the machinations of the slave owning party. The people were powerless against the wrong which unjust congressional manipulation had perpetrated, until

the time — which could be advanced or set back by Missouri — had arrived, when the state constitution should be framed. The president favored the slave power, and it rested with him to appoint every territorial officer. Missouri could send a whole population across the dividing line to locate claims, and to simulate, if not create public opinion. Slave settlement was already acclimated in Kansas, and had been pushed forward into the territory for many years in furtive but irresistible ways; and against all these agencies and powers there could only be opposed the enthusiasm of the free soil party, which said in the language of Henry Wilson, "The past is yours, the future is ours;" and which, daring the chances of annihilation in a noble cause, addressed its members in the language of the hero:

> "Strike — for your altars and your fires;
> Strike — for the green graves of your sires;
> God, and your native land."

CHAPTER V.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY.
(continued.)

Missouri Crossing the Boundary — Securing Claims — Shepherding Selections — Tone of the Press — Nebraska-Kansas Act in Operation — The Slavery Propaganda — Choose Ye whom Ye Will Serve — The Dark Hour before the Dawn — Light Shines in the East.

TIME had become an object among men who had resolved to make Kansas a reflex of Missouri, and in consequence, we find the more active and unscrupulous, including many of the wealthier class, crossing the western boundary of the slave state, before Kansas territory was legally open for settlement, determined to take time by the forelock. There were two purposes to be served by their precipitancy, the first being possession of the soil for its own sake, as although many libels had been circulated through the press, to the effect that the country was a desert, the population

near at hand had long known the virtues of mesquit and buffalo grass, and the exceptional fertility of the prairies, plains, and bottom lands of Kansas. The second object, was for many of the emigrants, scarcely less important than the first, and it was enforced by all the powers of persuasion possessed by the popular leaders, who were found using in the press, the organs of their party, and no other press could exist in Missouri, such language as, "Let every man that owns a negro go at once into the territory of Kansas and settle, so that our beloved northern brethren may have the advantage of seeking a location further north. 'Stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once.'" Those who came very early were able to procure the best selections so far as their journeyings extended, but the whole country was a garden in the month of May, when these operations commenced, as spring opens in February in this favored region. The bottom lands were not so much an object, as the higher and drier ground, among the men, who really meant living in the territory, as Missourian experiences had made almost everybody wise as to certain hygienic conditions, but very many who came had no intention to reside on their claims; they wanted merely to secure so much territory, in such places as would in effect take the eyes out of the country, leaving, as they hoped, a residuum of unattractive land, upon which colonies from the eastern and middle states would have no desire to settle. In many cases they were content to perform the preliminaries for the erection of a cabin, as a colorable pretext of settlement, or they would mark the chosen spot by driving stakes in the unsurveyed land, so that at some future time their inchoate rights might be revived, as a means of profit in some instances, and in others to assist in annoying such settlers, as might come in the interests of the free soil organization. The best parts of eastern Kansas were staked, blazed and claimed in various ways, before settlement was possible under the law, but there was an understanding among the Missourians, that as between themselves, there should be no notice taken of such trivial irregularities, and when every man had laid out his estate upon his own magnificent designs, the selectors returned to Missouri, to abide the time, when they might become squatters, and begin to realize the pleasures of Kansas sovereignty. The Indian title had not expired, and the

men who were now disregarding all the guaranties which had been extended to the tribes were the same persons that had been seen and heard most clamorous in demanding the maintenance of public faith, by the exclusion of white settlers, so long as the sachems and their braves were the principal defense against the formation of a free state. There was hardly one man in the state of Missouri who had not done something in the way of securing a claim in Kansas land, and when parties were formed to make tours of selection, it is not wonderful that hundreds concluded to transfer all their possessions into the territory, which was so soon to be organized. Men who had been accustomed to the levees of the Mississippi, and to the slowly moving waters of the Missouri, found in the region which they now explored swift flowing rivers hundreds of miles long, running between high banks, on which mills and factories could be erected, to use a never waning supply of water, and they could leave the exhausted lands of the older settlement, for virgin prairies surrounding such aids to fortune, without one sigh of regret. The parklike areas, with here and there a few groves and clumps of trees possessed beauty such as might well fascinate the observer, and but little examination was necessary to convince the initiated that the soil would produce crops of almost every kind with such profusion as Missouri had never known. Thus, many who came only to establish claims remained to make homes in Kansas, and now that the midsummer madness of their first entrance has been outlived, they are to be reckoned among the best citizens in this state. Manufactories, commerce and agriculture, aided by free labor and inventive skill, have long since convinced them, that the true slaves, the only Gideonites, whom it could serve the purposes of civilized men to employ in their undertakings, are the rivers trained to do their bidding with never ceasing regularity, the winds in their circuits preparing their food, drawing their supplies of water, and performing other such desultory labors, and the steam engine which will carry them against winds and tides across the ocean, convey farm produce from the Atlantic to the Pacific, pump dry the mines, quarries, and morasses, transport iron as easily as man himself can convey straws, and increase the food of human kind, while easing and multiplying their labors, if only fed by a few

tons of carbon and sunlight per day, which were stored in the bowels of the earth, a hundred million years ago.

The elements will be our slaves if we will only use them, by means of science, and the mechanical appliances which have been made possible by scientific knowledge. In your room as you now write, there is a button in the desk or in the wall within easy reach of your hand; it represents a saving of human labor equal to the possession of many human chattels, and it degrades no man. Messengers waited in the ante rooms of the great only a few years since, ready to be summoned by the sound of the human voice, to perform a duty which caused perpetual toil in its continuing recurrence, and which was too often ineffective for want of speed. See now the way in which science has come to your aid. Your ancestors were not persons of distinction; they were artisans and tradesmen, nothing more; centuries after "Wamba, son of Witless, was the born thrall of Cedric the Saxon," and as his fool, was expected to amuse his master and owner, by the antics of folly. Yet you possess in that button by your side such a talisman as Richelieu in France, Charles V, in Spain, or Henry VIII, in England, would have given a fortune to possess, as it would have secured to either of them a mastery over his subjects, or over his enemies, worth more than the discovery of the fabulous stone, that would change all metals into gold. You have also affairs of state, for manufactures and great engineering works are subject to your direction, and the results of your cogitations must be conveyed without delay, from one side of a continent to another, or even on occasions round the world. Richard III, in England, and Louis XI, in France, had horsemen and stables of swift animals, waiting at intervals along the principal roads in their kingdoms, to despatch important messages post haste, and they were conveyed on an average at the rate of seven miles an hour. You are not a king, but you desire to send your message, and having no lamp such as Aladdin used to rub when he wished the services of the genii, you slightly touch that button. It is the connecting point of an electric bell, and it is answered by your telegraph clerk in two seconds. Your instructions are given in as few words as will secure a full transmission of your meaning, and within an hour,

you have your answer from New York or from San Francisco, within half a day your intentions are comprehended and repeated from Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburgh or London, your correspondents have been found and have replied to your communications, without further trouble than a few message boys taking a saunter through the streets of the capitals of the world. With such slaves as the elements waiting upon our every caprice, it seems a brutal fancy that would desire to hold our fellow men in bondage. The masters of slaves are not often persons for whom the world is solicitous, and where the slave owning is the only claim to distinction they never can be. Æsop is remembered and his fables are quoted by tens of millions, who do not recall the fact that he was a poor, deformed man and a slave, but out of a million readers you shall not find one who will give you the name of Æsop's master, or tell you of one claim that he ever possessed to be remembered. But the men who were swarming over into Kansas from Missouri had no such thoughts to interfere with their movements; their main idea at the outset was to shut out "northern cattle," and "nigger thieves," from the territory soon to be opened for settlement, and they sometimes quoted an old saying that, "Any stick will do to beat a dog with." The lands which they did not want to settle would do to hold against the new comers whom they were prepared to hate, so they "shepherded" claims and selections, staking them off and lying by after discharging some petty duty, performing some infinitesimal labor, which would enable them to say that they were enrolled among the settlers in Kansas, and could speak like the centurion of old, "as one having authority" on matters pertaining to the future of the prospective state. The big talk which was indulged in on Salt creek, in Kansas, in June 1854, immediately after the Nebraska-Kansas act became law, and at many similar meetings in various quarters in the same territory, was little other than the *brutum fulmen* of unscrupulous politicians who wished to produce an effect at a distance which might deter the better class of people from coming to the field of emigration which they had resolved should be monoplized for the benefit of the slave power. The pretentious "Whereas" with its designing and deceptive preamble had no more weight with the class which the movers

proposed to affect than such blank cartridge deserved, and the "therefore resolved," fell powerless. While the district was known only as the Great American Desert, it was easy to shut off the tide of emigration, but the Californian exodus and gold fever disposed of that barrier, as the observations taken by the miners *en route* to their destination had gone broad cast all over the world. The trade to Santa Fe was confined almost entirely among Missourians and their dependents, who were not likely to publish among northerners the results of their experience. Many of the wealthiest Missourians had amassed their gains in that life of adventure, consequently they knew well the country which they persistently decried and were determined to possess. The abolitionists having had their attention called to the subject in many ways, since the debates in congress upon this territory first arrested notice, there was a large and important organization which would not be silenced nor could be deluded, on the score of the fertility and manifold advantages of Kansas; and all over the country now the press teemed with lucubrations on this most interesting subject. Correspondents, special and general, who would have paid forfeit with their lives if they could have been identified, wrote from Missouri full particulars of all the intentions of the oligarchy and their supporters. Editors, more and less informed, commented in glowing terms on the latest items of news, and discoursed on the newly discovered charms of the projected state. Abolitionists, who had ventured into the forbidden region, wrote back as with pens of flame, vivid descriptions of events which caused the nerves of men to tingle as they read. One person who had been brought to trial for having taught a slave to read, although the accomplishment had been conferred, with the full consent, and at the request of the proprietor of that chattel, sent back into civilized society a narrative of his perils, and a description of a tyrannical combination which aimed at overriding all law by the jurisdiction of Judge Lynch, and generally the public tone was growing more and more resolute on the question of the day. In the southern states generally, and in Missouri more especially, the tone of the newpaper press on this question was vaunting and defiant, and the demands of the slave power became every day more perplexing to democracy in the middle

and eastern states. Such men as Stephen A. Douglas could not break away from their old associations, sufficiently to keep on terms of amity with the southern branch of the vast party, which they sought to wield. They were under the necessity to apologize to eastern democrats for concessions to southern feeling, which were not large enough to placate the men whom they were intended to win; and the press of the world looking on from a distance, in which passion could hardly affect the observer, pronounced oracularly a thousand times within ten years, that the union would be destroyed in the death struggle between the manufacturing and commercial interests of one party, and the chivalrous instincts of the other. There was almost by common consent on the part of the British press, a conclusion that the spirit of the old Cavaliers of the days of the first Charles could be seen among the gentlemen of the south, but in that case the courage and fortitude of the Roundheads, the brave old Puritans, who were the Ironsides of Cromwell and the Pilgrims to Plymouth rock, lived in the ranks of those who fought and won the battle of freedom for the second time on this continent; and as for the absurd worship of the titled gentleman in which John Bull is just a trifle too apt to indulge, it might be well if that old worthy would remember a distich which was very popular among the working class of his countrymen in the days of Wat. Tyler.

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?"

The working men and their newspapers had no such sympatny with the south, and when Lord Palmerston might have been persuaded to give his adhesion to the proposal of Louis Napoleon, to recognize and sustain the south, the tendency of the aristocrat was controlled and held back by the strong popular sentiment in favor of liberty, which Britain had long before given to her slaves. The English operative is almost always a republican, and only in a very moderate way a respecter of titles. For a lord *per se* who possesses no other claim upon his regard, he has the same feeling that was expressed by Burns in his quatrain:

"See yonder Birkie ca'd a lord,
Wha' struts and stares an' a' that,
Tho' hunners worship at his word,
He's but a cuif for a' that."

The press which represented that sentiment in England was true to the union, but it had necessarily very little weight with the unreading south, and Missouri drifted on toward her share in the Kansas difficulty. The faculty for organizing had been cultivated with such effect, that it had long been dangerous in that state for any man, whatever his position, to show a disinclination for promoting their domestic institution, "to hint a fault and hesitate dislike" concerning the abominable crime of negro slavery; and now that system of organization was being extended beyond Missouri to cover and to blast the territory of Kansas. The Nebraska-Kansas act had come into operation, and it was time to move if there was to be any substantial advantage gained by the Missourians in the contest with their resolute opponents, the much abused "northern cattle," of whom, in spite of all the bluster so long indulged in, the slave power was very much afraid. Some men, who had only selected lands in the territory, came now in hot haste to occupy and improve their locations. Others, as we have seen, came to hold mass meetings, and to feign a confidence which they could not realize in the righteousness of their cause, and the success for which they were prepared to hazard everything. They had learned that a society had been formed in Massachusetts, which had for its object, the rescue of the land from their ownership, and the conversion of its fertile acres into additional temptations for the escape of the negro from bondage. They had learned that the society was already incorporated with a capital stated in millions, and they did not know how many millions, but they were sure that the capital would be practically without limit, and that the object, over and above all pretenses of colonization and settlement, meant the establishment of "underground railroads" for the more effective conveyance of slaves away from their lawful masters. Their rage knew no bounds. Every syllable of information on the subject which could be procured came tinctured with the passions and the prejudices of their leaders, so that within a few weeks the tempers of men had risen to white heat. The press teemed with stories every day, setting forth the operations of the abolition party in "stealing niggers." The idea of the negro stealing himself was never mooted. The enslaved race were but "dumb driven

cattle" in the estimation of their owners, and the responsibility of their evasion must rest upon their abettors. In that aspect of the case, every emigrant from the free states must be an object of suspicion until he could purge himself to their entire satisfaction, but if he came under the auspices of any of the various emigrants' aid associations, of which they had heard, he might be shot down in his tracks, failing all other means to neutralize him, or to remove him from the soil where he endangered their sacred rights. The shameful manipulation resorted to in congress, to relegate this question to the vote of the people, after every guaranty for an honest decision had been removed, was answerable for a condition of affairs which menaced the land with blood. Men were coming into the territory, not by tens and twenties, but by hundreds, soon mounting up to thousands, and the proposition was made, as in the names of "distinguished statesmen in Missouri," that the newcomers should "be met at the very threshhold, and scourged back to their caverns of darkness." They were to be "met and repelled," and the parties to such declarations were not over scrupulous as to means. One meeting, the type of a great many others which convened under the same general direction, set forth the reason for present action, in the assertion, that "Kansas was to be colonized by fanatical persons," and by "eastern and foreign paupers," who would exclude "citizens of slave holding states, and especially citizens of Missouri, from settling there with their property, and would establish a trunk of the underground railroad, * * where thousands of our slaves shall be stolen." That was the indictment preferred by the slave owners, say rather, that was the cartel of defiance, the declaration of war; for to an indictment the accused person might be expected to plead, whereas here, the culprit, for as such he figured from the first, could do nothing but submit to condign punishment, unless he came ready to "do or die" in the quarrel upon which he had entered. The action to be taken in the premises by the Missourians, was thus tersely stated in one of their own documents, approved by a mass meeting in Clay county early in 1854: "Therefore, * * we do resolve, that Kansas ought to be a slave state, and we pledge ourselves to cooperate * * in any measures to accomplish such ends."

They would remove emigrants peacefully if the intruders would go upon the first warning, but, "will ye nill ye," they must go. "Hanging and drowning" were discussed as among other "measures," perphaps the best adapted to such "ends," as the Missourian organization contemplated, and officers were appointed with powers such as good men would shudder to be invested withal, for any purpose, to secure the exclusion of free negroes from Kansas, to punish all abolitionists immediately. "I am ready to go," said one of the speakers, and he was applauded to echo, "I am ready to go whenever it shall be announced that the emigrants have come, and with this right hand, I will help to hang them, every one, upon the first tree." That was the pleasant prospect and the warm welcome prepared by the Missourians for their northern brethren. It was almost enough to justify one in saying, with the pagans of old, "How these Christians love one another."

Secret societies were now originated; not one, but many, but all with one object, to facilitate the removal of emigrants, and the *Dugald Dalgettys* of the border, at whom we have already glanced, were initiated brethren and grand masters in every such organization. "The piping times of peace" had gone forever, and in the prospect of war with the emigrants, they could see long vistas of glory for themselves, with just a possibility of profit also arising out of the transaction. Every society had its different degrees; the mean whites could join the grades which accorded with their condition in the body politic, and as members of that class they were entitled to know just as much as the wealthier and more interested grades thought that it would benefit themselves to communicate. Under such sanctions crime became very soon a word without a meaning, unless it meant "free emigration into Kansas," and justice had but one symbol, "a livid wretch dangling from a tree." The secret societies were to stand by each other against all odds. The ribbon, or other mark of affiliation, was to be the all sufficient appeal for aid, and the person denounced by one of the accredited, must be dealt with on the principle that "dead men tell no tales," unless he could be otherwise made amenable to the rule of the slave power. Should it appear that political action of any kind was to be taken in the territory, the societies, having

their cordon of spies, would immediately be informed, and thereupon the forces available could be mustered at the points most convenient, ready to cross the boundary on the day when the poll should be taken, to vote on whatever questions might arise in the interests of Missouri. There was no difficulty in raising funds for such purposes, and their modes of operation were effective. Should it appear after all that the free soilers could outvote them, they were then to prevent the poll proceeding by whatever means might be available, and as we have seen, the officials of the territory being all appointed in the interests of slavery, with a knowledge that their instant decapitation might follow the most trivial act of seeming disloyalty to their friends, the slave owners, there was but little danger that they would forget "the fleshpots of Egypt," as long "as the ox knoweth his master's crib." The slavery propaganda was thus in order of battle, and men were able to see how much of liberty there was for the white man where the peculiar domestic institution was in full sway. The day was gone by for quoting texts of scripture now, unless some passages from the Old Testament could be used to justify the extremes of punishment. The five hundred priests of Baal who had failed to bring down fire from heaven, had been slain, under the orders of the man of God, and every act of murder was to be excused by that, or some such reference, in which missionaries always figured as God's weapons, or avengers, and when their prayer failed to bring fire from heaven upon their enemies, they did not hesitate to supplement their other abominations by cowardly acts of incendiarism. The common people were not expected to understand anything, and if ever there lived upon this earth a man whose daily life dishonored humanity, that person could be found in the "mean white." Often unable to read or write, seldom, indeed, able to think, never troubling himself further on any question than to know on which side his employers would take action, he took his fill of whisky whenever the opportunity offered, blasphemed against the living God by dishonoring the negro, and all his friends, and stood ready upon the first call to offer violence to, or to shed the blood of any man who might be indicated to him as a person inimical to the interests of his masters. Truly, could the mean whites only have seen it, their interests lay with

the free soilers, against whom they were to operate, but a view so far sighted was beyond their powers of vision. They could have believed almost anything that the oligarchy might tell them, but even though their masters had told them so, it would have been impossible for them to credit the truth that the free soil men were fighting their battle. They were even more zealous than the better informed, outstripping the commands of their superiors in their anxiety to do enough. The goldsmiths of Ephesus had an interest in crying, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," but these men were as the ignorant rabble that swelled the throng, creating more riot, and effecting greater ruin than the goldsmiths themselves. When the men who owned property in their fellow men resolved that "Kansas was of right, and should be a slave state," they were intelligently pursuing their own immediate gain, at whatever ultimate cost, because they were striving to secure a territory and a state in which their slaves could be made more profitable than they had been for many years in Missouri; but when the "mean white" associated himself with organizations formed to secure such ends, he was condemning himself and all his following, so far as his acts could degrade them, to be, and to remain for all time, just such Pariahs as the mean whites then were, and as he exemplified when he stood prepared to hang men for differing from other men in their views as to property, and for trying to provide for himself and his children better conditions in life. These miserable tools of the oligarchy were not long before they found means to distinguish themselves in the exercise of their sovereign will. A man who had voted and trained with the democratic party from the days of Thomas Jefferson had come into Kansas territory to settle. He was from the neighboring state of Iowa, and he had endured many opportunities to see slavery in all its forms; but having looked upon the picture he was not desirous to secure its presence in his own household. When Iowa was first organized, many Missourians were found owning slaves in the free territory, consequently there were few of the earlier settlers in the territory or state of Iowa who were not conversant with slavery by actual contact, or by the daily conversation of their surroundings. This man knew quite enough on the subject to be resolved that, whenever the time should come for casting a

vote, he would range himself against the proposal to make Kansas a slave state. Immediately after his arrival in Kansas, he had been interrogated by the spies of the secret organizations on this subject, and not knowing anything about the insolent *Vehm Gerecht* that would sit in judgment upon his misdemeanor, he disclosed his views and intentions with some freedom. That was enough. There was no pretense that he was one of the "northern cattle," but all who were not for them were against them, so before the man could build the house which was to shelter his sick family, he had been tried and sentenced. He must leave the country within twenty-four hours, or be seized up like a culprit and flogged on the bare back, receiving fifty lashes. He was but one man, with a sick family dependent upon him, and they were legion. He had no option but to succumb, and he left the territory to escape worse consequences.

Another man was accused of being an abolitionist, and he was brought to trial. The only evidence against him was that he had addressed words of sympathy to a negro, and the witness was the negro to whom the language of sympathy was said to have been addressed. Against any man, accused of any other crime save that of being an abolitionist, the testimony of the slave would have been nullified by his color; but the black enormity of abolition bridged every chasm, and the man was convicted and sentenced within the hour. His hair was shaved from one side of his head, and so disfigured he was allowed two days within which he must quit the country, or submit to receive one hundred and fifty lashes on his bare back, unless he died before the punishment could be completed, a result by no means improbable. Another man was accused of having allowed a negress to ride in the same vehicle with him, and if he had not justified himself by reference to the common practice among slave owners of carrying their servants with them occasionally in their carriages, there would have been another victim. Wrongs such as these were of daily occurrence. The slightest suspicion was held to justify domiciliary visits, during which papers were subjected to an examination, which might have given hints to the French police, and in the event of any ambiguity being discovered or imagined, the property and the life of the person honored with a call were alike in danger. Many

persons thus threatened were obliged to become parties to outrages against others in order to acquit themselves of suspicion. Such raids became almost insufferable, even in Missouri, but in Kansas they were removed from jealous inspection, and the men who suffered were aliens, so there was less likelihood of local disturbances arising. Before the first day of September, 1854, so intolerable had the demeanor of the proslavery societies become, that in the city of Weston, in Missouri, a mass meeting of the citizens was called to denounce the action of the so-called "Platte County Self Defensive Association," on that day, on the grounds that the quiet of their families, the honor of their sons and daughters, the security of their property, their means of living, their lives and their good name were threatened by mob violence, having for its object the coercion of every merchant and trader to make their purchases only of slave owners, or in cities in which slaves were held, and to compel every man, of whatever degree, to expend his money among those traders who should be indicated by the organization as specially worthy of patronage. The sauce that would do for the goose was not found suitable for the gander. The modes of operation intended for Kansas provoked such angry protests in Missouri that the Platte County Association was at length absorbed into other societies. Among other demonstrations, there was an order issued that all the blacks that were not slaves should quit Weston city and Platte county, naming a time beyond which they could not be permitted to remain. Some of the more timid of the poor creatures fled on the first intimation, but the citizens would not allow the *ukase* to be enforced. The order was repeated twice, and on the last occasion the would-be rulers came down in force to compel obedience. The public protest was treated as of no account, but there was a final appeal which could not be so lightly put aside. The armed rabble came in force to the confines of the town, as brave as such persons are apt to be while there is no enemy in view; but when they learned that the men who had denounced them in public meeting were also prepared to riddle them with rifle bullets rather than permit the city to be raided, there was a brilliant retrograde movement, and the negroes were no further menaced. Some colonists had arrived at the place where the city of Lawrence now stands, and

in the absence of better shelter they had provided themselves with tents, within which they rested from their labors. Here was an opportunity for the negro expellers to try their courage upon white men. There was no doubt that they had now found their proper antagonists, regular free soilers, and men who meant business. One of the tents had been pitched, so it was claimed, upon a lot which had been selected by a Missourian, and that afforded a plea for an advance in force. The mode of operation had long since been defined; it only remained to reduce theory to practice. The emigrants had come, the trees were at hand, and "a long rope and a short shrift" would have ended that phase of the difficulty, but that there was just a possibility that the invading force might find themselves at the wrong end of the prescribed rope. The Missourians came down with colors flying, with all the panoply of war and whisky, with wagons conveying their commissariat and themselves, with rolling drum and shrieking fife, and to the number of one hundred they encamped themselves on the other side of a ravine, and sent their pursuivant to command the emigrants to remove the tent which it was said was standing upon an allotment which one of their party had selected. The tent must be removed, and if the emigrants did not comply with the demand, their assailants would remove it themselves. "Touch our property at your peril," was the effective reply. The fire eaters did not wish to monopolize the glory of an encounter, so they extended the time within which the removal might be effected until the next morning. The emigrants were not inclined to trust the enemy during an armistice so mysterious, so they stood to their arms all night, and their pickets kept vigilant watch on the enemy. With morning there came a reinforcement of fifty men to the Missourians, making their force one hundred and fifty, while the emigrants could muster sixty men all told. The time was now extended until two o'clock in the afternoon; but at that hour the abolitionists must leave the territory, bag and baggage, never more to return to its emerald sward. The hour came, but the men were not on the march; they were ready for business, but not that kind of business. They had gone through their drill in front of their tents, and they handled their weapons like fellows who knew exactly "where they would do the most good." Two o'clock came

and with it another herald extending the time for thirty minutes only, and unless they were then ready to march double quick, "war to the knife" would be the only alternative. The emigrants did not scare in the least, and the tents were still standing when the fatal thirty minutes had expired. "Too late, too late, ye cannot enter now," sings Tennyson, but the brave Missourians were not quite so unrelenting. They had the strength of giants, but the mercy of lambs, and a further extension of time was accorded unasked. The tent could be moved within an hour, and all would yet be well. When the latest extension of time had been disregarded, their patience was exhausted. They determined to parley no longer with the occupants of the offending tent. All that could be asked on the score of forbearance had been allowed; every man looked to his weapons; the indomitable troops surveyed the foe, as brave men only can look upon an enemy that in a short time will be seen no more. A few words of consultation and command, and the Missourians advanced *pas de charge* — to their wagons, leaving the enemy in possession of the field, and amused by their threat that within one week they would return a thousand strong to obliterate the colony. A man of poetic instincts and good memory, who was one of the patient sixty encamped that day upon the tented field of Lawrence, said, with sad emphasis, as he gazed upon the wagons, which, with their whisky soaked occupants, were being driven back toward the frontier of Missouri:

> "The king of France, with forty thousand men,
> Marched up the hill, and then marched down again."

So true it is that history repeats itself, and what a sovereign of France did in the eighteenth century, the sovereigns of Missouri eclipsed in the third quarter of the nineteenth.

The men who had repelled the first invasion of Kansas had chosen whom they would serve. They were not waifs and strays driven hither and thither by the surroundings of the hour, but men filled with a great purpose and resolved to abide the issue. They had seen the other side, had rejected it, and the threatening manifestation had disappeared like the morning mist, like that Satan that tempted Christ in the wilderness. They did not sup-

pose that all the proslavery party consisted of men of that mould, but they had nerved their minds for deadly conflict, should need arise. The thought if not the words of the old rhymer occurs occasionally to every resolute soul when petty difficulties beset a course already planned and entered upon for an end worthy of pursuit:

"Tenderly, you touch a nettle,
And it stings you for your pains.
But grasp it, like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains."

These men had grasped their nettle in the same spirit as that which had erstwhiles animated the citizens of Weston, and precisely the same results had followed. The nettle that would have hurt its surroundings upon more gentle treatment, shrunk away, like a sensitive plant, from ruder and more muscular contact. The band of marauders that could assault men, in detail, threaten them with stripes, or with hanging on the nearest tree, if they were old and defenseless, had found that there were men in their own cities who would not submit to further pressure, and now they had ascertained that the emigrants from the eastern states had the pith and marrow of true manhood which could compel respect. The forces of Mammon which in his own day John Milton had described in his unrivalled language, had not greatly changed their plan of operations. Still the garish light of day abashed them, and sober courage did not draw forth their better qualities, they shone best in the dimness of twilight, or,

"When night
Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
Of Belial, flushed with insolence and wine."

The rabble had chosen whom they would serve, and the slave power would find in them thews and sinews when better brain assumed direction. The intellects of more favored regions must needs supply that want in the ranks of the oligarchy before "the atmosphere of Kansas would be darkened by their negroes." Such men as Stephen A. Douglas could stand by them up to worse outrages than had yet been committed; and adopted sons in various grades were to assume the direction of their affairs, supplying mental power only, while the slave power gave the

impulse which continuously surged on and on toward final disruption, when many of the ablest minds warped to that service, fretted by the consequences of their errors, had been abandoned on the march, and had perished unwept by either side. It is necessary to be forever on the alert to avoid stooping to the wrong expedient for the way back is full of toil and shame, and the consequences of error are crushing to the soul of the thinker. The thought comes down from the Greek; the expression only is modern:

"Though the mills of God grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small;
Though with patience He stands waiting,
With exactness grinds He all."

This was the darkest hour in the dark days of the union There were millions halting between two opinions, darkening counsel with words, all but leagued with the destroyer; only a few here and there had made their choice. The violence and intimidation which had prevailed so long where the friends of slavery were in the ascendant had never, until now, been properly revealed to the free states in all their native enormity; and it was necessary that the revelation should be complete. There are but few minds capable of hating a theoretical wrong; and good honest hate is one of the virtues of humanity. Wrong must become embodied in act, and be brought home to persons in whom we are interested, before we fully perceive how hideous are its proportions. The men of the eastern and middle states were now being aroused to complete wakefulness on that score. Their sons, brothers and friends were being assailed daily by the oppressors of the negro, and every letter which came from the territory told them of domiciliary visits and high handed outrages against free men who wished only to live in a free state. The man who is at the proper moment ready to fight is the benefactor and peacemaker in society, but he must be well informed as well as resolute. We owe great obligations to our fighters. The time and the spirit as well as the action were inopportune, when Peter smote off the ear of one of the custodians of Christ; but the Master said, "I come not to bring peace into the world, but a sword." That is for all time the function of him who would

introduce needed reforms. He is certain to find the old ways rutworn, yet sanctified by custom for many minds, until the most trivial variation costs almost a prodigious effort, and an attempt to grade the track afresh has all the terrors of a revolution. The defenders of old ideas are not ready to remember that there was a time when the thoughts now crystallized into orthodoxy were heterodox innovations; and they fight for the ancient faith, as they are pleased to call it, in precisely the same spirit which animated the Inquisition. The yielding souls of some men shrink from the conflict, which then necessarily impends over society, and but for the backbone possessed by others, the race might fall into the tame stereotyped condition which we see exemplified by "the heathen Chinee;" yet thanks to the "fighting souls" that shape the destinies of nations and of races; the new idea is borne to the front, the battle is won for the good old cause of progress, and the men who have aided toward the end have fulfilled the inner purpose of the all, which says:

"Build thee more stately mansions, O! my soul,
As the swift seasons roll,
Leave thy low vaulted past,
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
'Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell, by life's unresting sea."

If Oliver Wendell Holmes had written no words but these, he would have vindicated his claim to be considered a poet and a prophet among the sweetest singers of our age, and we may well pause to study his lesson, in "The Chambered Nautilus." Our fighters, who championed innovation, were building "more stately mansions" when they vindicated the independence of the union, as also when, later in the work of development, they conquered its foes in the bloody strife which had commenced long before that fateful first gun was fired at Fort Sumter. They were full of the same spirit which filled Huss, Jerome and Ziska, in Hungary, which possessed Wycliffe, in England, and Savonarola, in Florence, before the mantle of command fell upon the shoulders of Luther and Melancthon. The fighting instincts of the grand old Puritans, and Presbyterians, were the artillery which battered down the tyranny of the past, and

"For ever and for ever,
As long as the river flows,
As long as the heart hath passions,
As long as life hath woes,"

the same work must continue to be done in the same way, that the purposes of the Supreme may be fulfilled, in the disenthralment of human souls. The prayer may be offered as of yore, "Father forgive them, they know not what they do," but the wrong must be battered down without mercy, or rather the work of destruction must be accomplished, in mercy to "the millions yet to be," whose souls lie pent up and dying in the shell, the no longer valuable form which has brought to the point of birth, the new life which comes into the world only by the death of its predecessor. The mystery of mysteries, life itself, contains every problem in science, in art and in social being which comes to be fought out upon its stage. The age was shaping a wonderful new birth, but the agony of travail cast a gloom over society. John Brown, and such as he, realized an intense joy in the perils of that season, but to millions the dark hour before the dawn carried with it almost the presage of death. Gethsemane was being re-enacted in many minds, because they feared that what always had been, always must be; that it was the destiny of mankind to see

"Right, forever on the scaffold,
Wrong, forever on the throne,"

but even while they knelt to say, "Father, if it be thy will, let this cup pass from me," the old confidence came back again, and they said, "Thy will, not mine, be done." The sweat of blood, the weakness of flesh, had passed away, and they stood every man in his place, ready to do and dare everything to upraise humanity. You have stood on the deck of the laboring vessel, away on the silent sea, no sound, save the creaking cordage, the straining plank, the play of the rudder chains as the man at the wheel keeps the ship to the course prescribed, the plash of the waves as they come up in sport to dash against the wooden walls of that heaving barque, the moaning of the wind through the distended canvas as the graceful expression of the builder's art turns her furrow in the ocean; and as you have doubtingly cast your inquiring glance

upon the wild waste of waters, that image of a maze without a plan, there has come shooting up from the horizon the pale grey light of dawn, a tremulous pencil stroke which says, "have faith; the dark hour of your trial has gone down into the limbo of oblivion. Have faith; the broad light of day is coming." Then as the sounds of that admonition still seem to be murmuring their cadence in your ears, you find the pencil stroke has become a powerful sunbeam, harbinger of the master who is at hand, and the very clouds which sullenly barred the coming of your hope now stand arrayed in the rosy tints of golden fire which already reveal the day, before it has come above the line of the sea. You have seen and heard the prophecy of God in the world, and you see in the onrush of every wave, a new witness to the power by which his will shall be accomplished. Thus was it also in that ship of state, in which watchful men at the wheel were obeying the dictates of a pilot, such as no ship upon the ocean had ever seen excelled. The menacing waters might look dark as Erebus itself, the thousand fanciful forms might seem to tell of breakers and a hurricane, in which the mighty timbers should shiver into nothing, and the crew be played with in the billows, like snowflakes in the wind. But while their ears and their hearts were yet full of the sounds of portent, really describing to the accustomed mariner the triumph over so much of distance and trial, the spring of the yielding timbers which bend to their work with a will, the strain of canvas and cordage truly fulfilling a great trust, the clank of the mighty chain which serves for the ship the guiding purpose, which in the human heart is made invincible by a nerve, the doubt is driven off from every soul by just one gleam upon the horizon, one pencil line of promise now radiating into a thousand gleams of light, which convert the clouds into an adornment, paint tongues of flame upon the waves as though a pentecost were there, and soon the blessed light itself, the molten gold which gives life to the river and fertility to the soil, comes forth to say, "Ye may not look upon me, but I come, and the wrongs, which only an hour since seemed eternal, are already banished beyond the recalling power of king or oppressor." The men upon their farms in Kansas had passed into their hour of trial, and were coming through it into the glorious dawn of freedom. They had

been faithful in a few things; they should be made masters over many. They had seen their undoubted rights derided by brutal mobs, their properties made the sport of incendiary fires; they had been forced to fight hand to hand, man against man, in odds that seemed overwhelming; they had seen their brethren and neighbors shot down in defending their homesteads; their memories were often busy with mysterious reminders of the past, as though some pulsation of a spirit played upon the subtle chords of the soul, and challenged fulfillment in another of the great aims which had been all but won by him,

> "The young and strong, who cherished
> Noble longings for the strife,
> By the roadside fell and perished,
> Weary with the march of life."

Every death among their comrades sanctified the struggle, in which so many good men had fallen, and helped to render it impossible that they should ever turn their backs upon the foe. Their light was already streaming from the east, not yet the perfect day shining down from the zenith, but the penciled line of promise. The word reached them by every new comer that thousands were on the way, many coming of their own strong will, having converted every vestige of property into coin, to be spent in Kansas in building up a home, which should be a fortress against slavery, some coming from Boston, from New York, some even from Baltimore, helped by emigrants' aid societies in such ways as were most likely to be effective, in securing possession of the land upon which the slave masters sought to imprint their curse. Every town in the eastern states had now some ramification of those societies, which were the nightmare of the south, and when letters arrived from home, there were almost always words of cheer for the sturdy band upon the fertile prairies of Kansas, who seemed to be rather standing in order of battle, than pushing their fortunes upon the lands, or building their homes in the cities, where commerce would yet flourish, but every word in their letters seemed to say as in the language of the olden writer, "Fear not little flock; it is thy Father's good pleasure to give thee the kingdom."

CHAPTER VI.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY.
(*continued.*)

Retrospective — Emigrants Aid Associations — Limits of their Action — Pen Pictures of Kansas — Popular Enthusiasm — Widening the Circle — Systematic Advances — Levy *en masse* — Founding a City — Tactics of the Slave Owners — Progress of the Struggle.

WHILE we have been busy here in Kansas watching the progress of events, not only in the territory whose fate hangs in the balance, but across the border in the slave state Missouri, where secret societies and defensive associations are being organized to control the movements of colonization in the interests of the slave power, it was hardly possible to do more than just indicate by a few passing words, the efforts that were being put forth in Boston, in New York, in Connecticut, in Washington and elsewhere, to make Kansas a free state, by sending west to occupy the territory, a population that could not be intimidated by even the dread presence of death itself, into compliance with the will of the brutal mobs of the proslavery party. June and July, 1854, were busy months among the free soil organizations, but although there was a great deal of talk among the Missourians, about the lavish employment of money by the manufacturer-capitalists of the eastern and middle states, in procuring free settlement in Kansas, the actual work was accomplished rather by diffusing information than by advancing money. As early as the month of March, 1854, Mr. Eli Thayer, of Boston, Mass., had conceived the idea of forming a vast emigrants aid association, which should have for its object the settlement of Kansas by free soilers, as a special and particular work, while generally helping to relieve foreign immigrants from those vampires, "the runners," who victimized new arrivals without let or hindrance from any organization. The society which Mr. Thayer then proposed to establish, with a capital limited to $5,000,000, did not in fact come into

existence, although a charter of incorporation was procured from the general court of Massachusetts in April, and the charter was duly signed by the governor of that state on the 26th of that month, in the year before mentioned. There were difficulties in the way of organizing the proposed company, and the scheme fell through, but inasmuch as there was a society afterwards established upon a similar basis, although with a smaller capital, by the same men, it will be worth while to examine and condense for the benefit of our readers, the report, in which the committee which was nominated for the work in May, submitted to the public, and to the society then in course of formation, the main bearings of their movement. The document has historical interest, because it reveals from the best sources the animus which prevailed in the best informed circles, and the determination with which the conflict was to be fought out to its bitter end. It was necessary to show first, that such a society as the charter was meant to incorporate ought to be formed, and therefore, the stream of immigration across the Atlantic formed the preamble. The fertility of Kansas and the attractions offered by that region figured next in the programme, as the native born citizens of the Bay state were being induced to look beyond Iowa and Missouri, to the unsettled region which public interests and social considerations rendered it desirable should be possessed by men opposed to the extension of slavery. The foreign arrivals in the ports of the United States, during the preceding year, had aggregated nearly five hundred thousand of all ages, and it was estimated that the movement westward during the same time had engrossed more than two hundred thousand, with a reasonable prospect of a still larger exodus during the then current year, consequently there would be no lack of material upon which the society could operate. The cruel frauds to which emigrants from Europe were subjected continually under the irresponsible system, which left the strangers at the mercy of any scoundrel that would practice on their ignorance as to our customs, formed the next item, and inasmuch as the association was expected to return a money profit to its investers, the reasonable implication followed that the people to be benefited could better afford to pay honest friends for good service, than to submit to the speculations of the agents then fat-

tening upon them. From the foreign emigrant, the transition to the native born American was of course natural, and the inconveniences and dangers which then attended upon individual settlement in the west gave a theme which touched hundreds of thousands who themselves contemplated moving into Kansas, or who had received word from their friends in that territory as to the form in which Missourian philanthropy proposed to welcome free men.

To mitigate as far as possible, where it was impossible to obviate, altogether, the frauds, inconveniences, accidents and dangers incidental to immigration always, but then, more especially, the society had been incorporated nominally to organize and systematize the movements of the mass of humanity then tending toward the west; but, actually, could the purposes of Mr. Eli Thayer and friends have been prudently stated in the plainest language, the description of their intentions might have been, to become a council of advice and aid to the colonists who would guaranty Kansas against slavery in the future, to unfold the designs of their enemies and of the enemies of the human race, in that matter of holding the black race in subjection, and compelling free settlers to submit to a still more galling yoke, and to assist so far as means would allow in making the possession of the soil by free men a safe and economical venture. Then followed a description of the agencies which were to be tentatively employed. The capital of the company was placed at $5,000,000, to be called up in ten years should occasion require the whole amount, but no such probability was anticipated, and in reality, when the society, which came into existence upon the basis which failed to organize the first, the amount of money expended was very small indeed. It was believed that the steady returns to be expected on an investment of one-fifth of the capital would plant a free state and give very substantial profits to investers. The moneyed man *per se* could not be induced to see things in that way, and necessarily it devolved upon men who were prepared to invest upon the principle, that "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord," and they carried out the undertaking without any considerable outlay until the end had been attained. Among the many societies projected and formed, this band of

men came first to the work and alone remained until Kansas became a free state. The emigrant was to be helped by being protected from frauds on his journey; reliable and comprehensive information would guard him in that direction, and the same watchful care would attend him after his arrival at his destination. Then followed the most important item, like the postscript to the communication of a lady friend: the emigrant was to be mainly protected by the presence of neighbors, upon whom he could rely in any emergency which might arise, in the certainty that he could obtain "combined assistance," and "division of labor;" important considerations in a country where hanging on the nearest tree was the reward of individual exertion. The proteges of the association would move in large numbers, hence they would encamp as an army of industry, with whom the slave power would not dare to meddle. The colonies so planted would carry with them the safety and the other ameliorating influences which attend upon the older civilizations. There would be a section of society moved with its churches, schools, police and press, instead of the mere desultory aggregation of atoms from which these several items of the machinery of progress would gradually accrue. These designs were well worthy of the care to be bestowed, and in addition to all these, the association would provide cheaper transit, immediate shelter upon arrival, trustworthy intelligence as to locations, and material aid in procuring titles where no other help would be accepted. Such an organization might well be an object of dread to Missouri, because, whether the aid so proffered to the public was accepted or not, the old maxim, "forewarned, forearmed," came into play, and the people who went west carried with them a full knowledge of the difficulties to be encountered. Practically, it is known that the number moved by the direct assistance of the society was small, but when men wanted information, the offices of the association, guarantied by the good names which stood sponsors for their abnegation of "the world and the devil," could and did render essential service to the good work. There were diminutions of rates of travel as consequences of the operations of such societies, and the influence exerted made known through the press of the eastern and middle states the charms of Kansas soil and scenery,

which would have repaid a crusade, if it had been necessary, to relieve the territory from the domination of the infidel. With such forces in operation, Missouri had no possibility of success, in that proposal, to carry all the emigrants to suspense account, and to leave the fruits of such labors pendant from the limbs of trees. There was nothing possible for the slave state except such overwhelming defeat as many of the more prudent citizens foresaw from the first. The society was to afford cheap shelter to emigrants while they were engaged in preparing homes for their families. Steam saw mills, grist mills and other such machinery, together with printing presses, were to be forwarded to the settlements, to be leased to approved persons where convenient, or to be run by the agents of the association; and wherever such boarding houses, mills and machinery might be located, the company would seek to acquire titles, but in no other places; and in every instance, as soon as the territory became a free state, the properties so acquired should be sold and the moneys realized therefrom be used in assuming similar duties elsewhere in multiplying free states. There was a disinterested earnestness in these men which looked horrible from a Missourian standpoint, and it is not matter for wonder that rewards were offered for the arrest of Mr. Eli Thayer by the organizers of secret societies, and that the press of the slave state discussed the several modes of "hanging" and "drowning," with the purpose of deterring further proceedings on his part, but with the effect of rendering human life less sacred among a people already too low in social status and in moral tone. The activity of the several agents was not abated an iota by such brutalities of expression, and when words were reduced to deeds, in many instances, the antagonism which was evoked would very speedily have emptied the whole population of the Atlantic states upon the territory, if it had been found essential, to conduct a migration of such an immense force to secure the end desired.

When the barbarian hordes came down upon the cities and the forests of Europe, in the days of the decline of the Roman empire, there was not such an overwhelming force of humanity back of that emigration as now existed in the descendants of the same races of men in that quarter of the globe, and they were

crossing the Atlantic by hundreds of thousands every year. They were men inured to toil, hating slavery, accustomed to self government, and capable of self defense. Give them direction only, and they would acquire such a hold upon the territory as in a few years would make them irresistible. The rill, the stream, the torrent flowed over Kansas, and Missouri shrank back before the power which its own fatuity had evoked. The spirits, called "from the vasty deep," had answered with terrible emphasis, and they could not be exorcised by any charm of "bell, book and candle." The society established communication with the agencies for German immigration, and by such means the vast populations which, in the beginning of the Christian era, overspread the old continent, were made conversant with the special attractions of Kansas, its loveliness, fertility, and future greatness, the water power in its unimproved rivers, the mines which waited only for *exploitation*, and the climate which might well seem a paradise to the millions who were invited to come over and possess the land. The end to be achieved was well worthy of an effort, and the vast power which could be moved for the purpose was irresistible. The few that formed the advance guard might be annoyed and driven in upon the main body, but when the engagement once became general along the whole line, God help the assailing force, which had brought down upon itself a crushing power, greater than that which followed Attila, the Hun. Men moved westward by thousands every year, and now the whole energy of the free soil party was directed into the work, to make the very best class of emigrants from the free states settle in Kansas. Societies for mutual aid were formed in many cities, and colonies were projected into Kansas, whereby men who had known each other for many years, if not all their lives, moved in concert to their new home. The discussion of rights and wrongs in congress had been slow and tedious, and in the end there were no such results as could satisfy the community, or settle the questions in debate, but when the doctrine of sovereignty had been reduced to practice in this simple way, the manipulators and wire pullers from the lobbies at Washington ascertained that there is an appeal back of every representative and servant, however high his title, to the people themselves, whose voice must be final and conclusive

wherever the sound could be heard. The court of final appeal was being constituted in Kansas, and with every step toward the desired consummation, the community in the middle and eastern states pressed forward more earnestly to participate. Massachusetts, with her teeming factories and workshops, saw that in such an extension as was proposed there would be an additional area opened to her productions, the more certain to continue because of the unity of feeling which would result from the operations of such societies, and the more liberal in its dimensions because of the high tone and of the enterprise which must distinguish such a people. From every standpoint advanced thinkers in the east saw the advantages of the movement which they were helping to develop, and every day increased the volume and velocity of the stream which they were directing. The redoubled efforts of other organizations made the success of every society more probable, because the aims to be accomplished were not the personal gains of the promoters, but the general good of the community; still every city was urged to contribute liberally toward the colonization fund, by promises that the cities to be founded in the west by the means so provided should be named in honor of the cities in the east which had most largely provided the capital on which they were to operate. The society first projected was not duly organized, but another society was formed by the promoters on the same basis, with less money liability, and a charter as the "New England Emigrant Aid Society." The purposes were precisely the same, and the capital was limited to $1,000,000, the trustees of the association, Amos Lawrence, John S. Williams and the much abused Eli Thayer, being foremost among the foremost contributors. Other such societies were operating elsewhere as we have seen, and the territory of Kansas became the focus toward which the forces of the abolition party converged from all parts of the union. "The war was to be fought out on that line if it took all summer." The general success which resulted did not come from any one of all these organizations, but it came from the mental and physical activities of an aroused people, able to see the tyranny and the wastefulness of the slave system, and determined to have none of it in the future of the union. Missouri hated the aspect which affairs had now assumed, but the main

features were but answers to her own aggressive conduct, and in the abstract every citizen deserved to applauded, when he gave from his purse and his energy to increase the area available for free labor and free government. The cities of the east had masses of population, which sought good outlets in regions where their own customs and institutions could be preserved, and if slavery had not been a giant wrong, which ought to die, and which was already doomed by the fiat of nature, the prairies of Kansas would have afforded an excellent area upon which to test the slave system and the free system, in communities established side by side. The oligarchy wanted no tests and no comparisons. They wanted territory on which to sell and to employ slave stock; "the very head and front of their offending had that extent, no more," until they concentrated upon themselves that avalanche which overwhelmed their puny efforts, by proposing to lynch every free emigrant that ventured into Kansas. Once a state of war had been produced, of course each party exasperated the other, and the deeds which require enumeration were but the inevitable outcome of events.

Where the city of Lawrence now stands, the first colony was planted by the concerted action of the free states, in the early part of July, 1854, and we have seen by what means and with what results, Missouri interposed, up to the time when the "roustabouts" retired from the contest without striking one blow, under cover of a threat that they would come up one thousand strong to wipe out that little force of sixty men. The Missourians had not exhausted their ingenuity, although they had completed that demonstration. The force of arms having failed, they had recourse to oratory and manipulation. Many a man who could be conquered without difficulty in the stricken field can exhaust his most powerful opponents if they will only let him talk, and Thersites had many disciples in Missouri. The news had been conveyed into the state that on the first day of August, there would be a meeting of settlers, at Back Bone Ridge, to establish regulations under which squatters might take up and improve their selections, with a tolerable degree of certainty that their rights would be respected. Such an opportunity was not to be lost, and the several organizations sent up a considerable force to overawe

the new comers; if possible, to override them by noise and foreign voting power, in any case, and to give them a taste of the quality for which Missourians on the stump had become famous. An Indiana lawyer named Dunham was the orator, and he was very powerful in his particular line, but his friends suffered as much as did his enemies, and like *Dogberry*, it is probable that he regretted that there was no man present to write him "down an ass." Every stroke of the piston in an air pump removes one-half of the atmosphere from the receiver, and the eloquence of Dunham acted in the same way; the free state men adjourned, the Missourians went "from labor to refreshment," and after the orator and his friends had taken their accustomed inspiration for two hours, the settlers reassembled, adopted their constitution and by laws, completed the business of the day by electing officers, and brought their proceedings to an orderly termination. The chief justice chosen by the settlers was the Hon. John A. Wakefield, and the recorder, Brier W. Miller, a selection well worthy of the occasion. The Missourians were nonplussed for the time, but when it became necessary to remodel the laws of the community, the call of the executive was communicated to the slave owners' party once more, and numbers poured in to disturb the little assemblage, but after a narrow escape from a resort to the *ultima ratio* force, the difficulty was accommodated upon a basis which secured the election of Judge Wakefield a second time. The foundation of this little community was laid in July, 1854, when the agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, Hon. Chas. H. Branscombe, since distinguished as one of the representatives of St. Louis, in the legislature of Missouri, selected the site of the city of Lawrence for the first colony. There were persons located on the ground before the free soilers arrived, but their rights had all been purchased, and the few improvements attempted had been liberally considered in the sale. The name of the city, "Lawrence," was not determined until the sixth of the following October, when the appellation was adopted by the association in honor of Amos A. Lawrence, the first trustee of the society. Before that time the settlement had been augmented by several new arrivals, the first colony of thirty having been joined by three reinforcements of larger proportions. It was while the founders of

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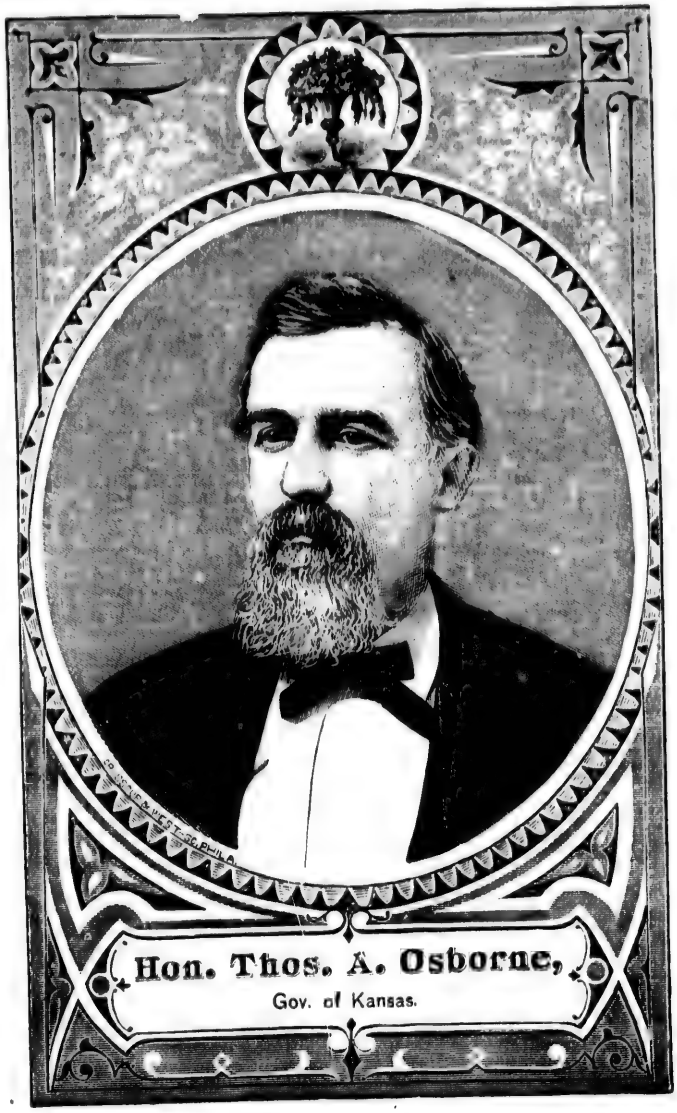
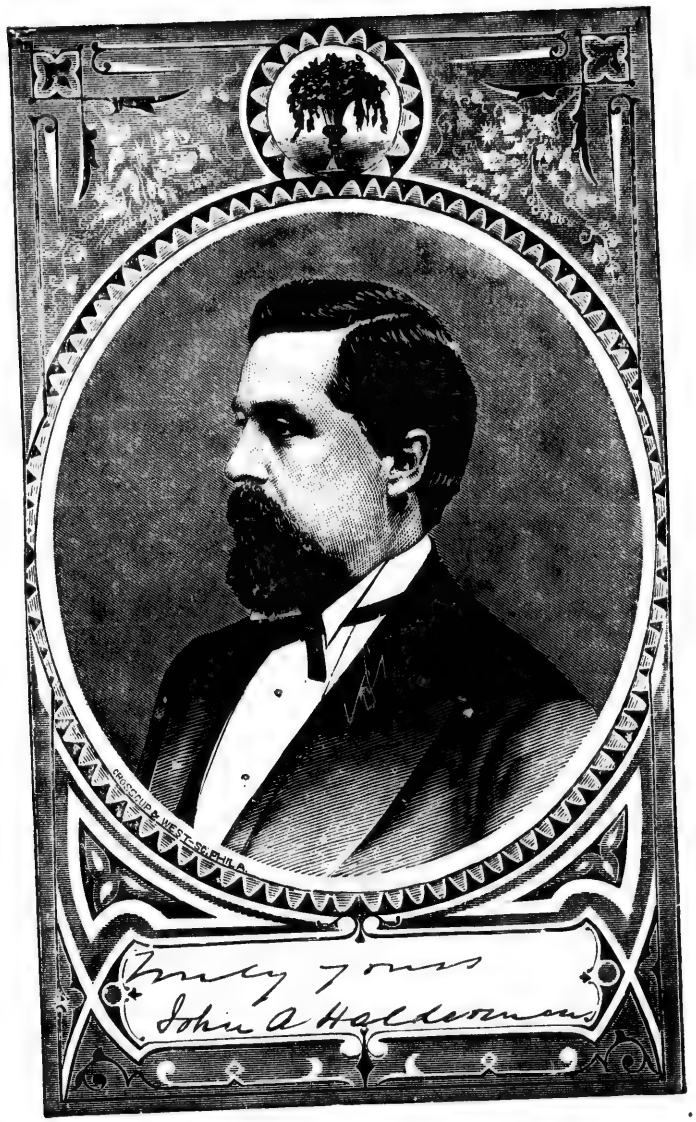


Hon. Thos. A. Osborne,

Gov. of Kansas.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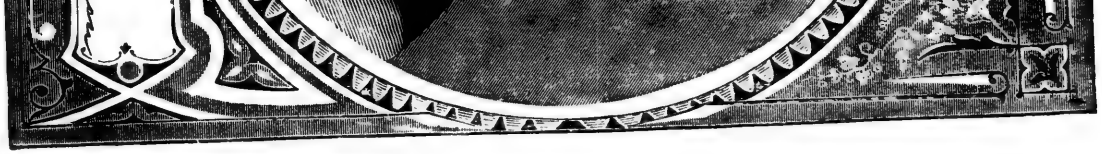

the colony were yet encamped in their tents upon and around Mt. Oread, that the military evolutions, before described, were performed. The spot was chosen July 17; the first party to arrive numbered thirty, and they came on the first day of August; the second party, of about twice that number, came fourteen days later. The name bestowed upon the settlement by the Missourians was Yankee Town, but the appellations which were most in favor among the settlers before the name of Lawrence was definitely accepted, were Waukarusa, New Boston. The tents served well as long as they were not visited by strong winds, but Kansas, then more than now, was accustomed to lively breezes, and it soon became necessary to provide more durable edifices, such as would be suitable to meet the inclemency of the winter. "The Pioneer Boarding House," was a primitive affair, but it was substantial, and the long slanting roof of poles tied together at the ridge, and thatched with prairie grass, afforded such shelter as many thousands were thankful to procure before better could be obtained. Log houses of various dimensions were constructed by the settlers for their own families, and there was no difficulty in procuring all the help that any man wanted, as it was understood that the willing crowd rendering assistance on any occasion would all in their turn require to be paid in kind. From the city the settlers spread out over the country, but usually with an eye, half military, to the possibilities of support and defense, so that it was a rare thing to find an isolated claim. Neighborhoods moved in one group, as we see sometimes when a landslip occurs, there are cottages, forests, and churches in one remove, so in those days all the machinery of social growth and protection was comprehended in the migration. The people coming from England, Scotland, Wales, and the North of Ireland, were even more resolute on the slavery question, if that may be thought possible, than the Americans, as they came fresh from the excited tone of public opinion in their own country, where Mrs. Stowe's book, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," had been read by millions, and had been dramatized with very great success, having all the force of a revelation on the subject with which it dealt. Communities reinforced by such men were strengthened for all contingencies. The men who could recite how their forefathers defended Limerick

against an army of barbarians, officered by the French, were not likely to fail in an emergency, where their hereditary courage and constancy could make them heroes. Many of the choicest parts of Kansas were taken up by little settlements, compacted of many races, but all united on the one point against slavery. Twenty-five persons founded Topeka in December, and early in the spring of 1855, the number of residents was largely increased by immigration, the town from the first aiming to be made the capital of the state. The first territorial legislature convened in Pawnee, in July, but when the convention was called together to prepare a free state constitution, in October, 1855, Topeka was the spot selected for the assembly, and so conclusive was the course then taken as to the future action of the state, unless the ordinary methods were abandoned, that the slavery propaganda may be said to have declared war upon the instant. But we are travel. ing too fast, and it is necessary to return to the narrative of events in their proper order. Topeka soon became a busy centre, and hotels and stores were erected for the accommodation of the rapidly arriving emigrants, a profitable business being transacted almost from the beginning.

Manhattan was the name given to a settlement at the junction of the Big Blue river, with the Kansas river, to which a strong party known as the Manhattan company came from the city of Cincinnatti, Ohio, in the spring of 1855. The location is very beautiful, and the citizens have enjoyed a remarkable average of prosperity. The fourth party of emigrants from New England made the selection of a site which has been so largely indorsed by circumstances. There may have been, from first to last in the year 1854, about five hundred persons that came into the territory under the auspices of the society in Massachussetts, but that does not represent a tithe of the good that the association accomplished for free settlement and organization. Grasshopper Falls obtained its name from a small descent of a few feet in the bed of the Grasshopper creek, near where a settlement was made in 1854, and of course our readers are aware that the town has been very successful. There were many other towns laid out and settlements made, but we can only glance at the principal places at this stage of the history. The other societies which were called into exist-

ence by the strong public feeling which rescued Kansas from the taint of slavery did very little for the territory beyond directing the attention of men and families to the promising field for emigration which the territory presented, but the New England Emigrant Aid Society, directly assisted at least two thousand persons to locate in Kansas, and the help afforded was all the more beneficial to the emigrants and to the several settlements, because there was no taint of pauperism in the assistance given and received. The mass of the populace did the work that was required, in a manner highly creditable to the community. When the society already mentioned, built mills and school houses, as was done at Ossawatomie, Topeka and Lawrence, as well as elsewhere, assisting in the development of the localities, the investments were made on what proved to be sound bases, and the returns eventually justified the outlay. Hotels were built by the society in several places, but only as business ventures to help the free soilers, by employing capital in a way which the new settlers could remunerate, but which would have been burdensome upon their resources had they been called upon to supply the outlay themselves. The soundness of the calculation made early in 1854, as to the small sum of money that need be expended was fully borne out by the fact, that out of the capital of the society which was finally organized, only one-tenth, or $100,000 was actually employed in all that was accomplished by the aid of that association. When the orators and the press of Missouri denounced the "northern cattle" that were coming upon Kansas with the promise of permanent occupation, all the bluster of the loud voiced talkers and grandiloquent penmen, only widened the circle in the eastern states which steadily converged toward and marched upon Kansas. We have seen already the kind of bluster that was meant to terrify the free soilers, but the enthusiasm of the people answered every defiance with fresh levies and better system, which speedily reduced the Missourians to the alternative of submission, or to the worst of all arguments, hard blows. Doubtless these proslavery men thought themselves among the most reasonable, and the best abused people of their day. They only wanted to expel free negroes from the country, to refuse all traffic between slaves and white men, to deny the right of slaves

to hire their own time from their masters, and to punish all persons who differed from them, as to their opinions and objects, and lo! they were denounced, as if it were not the highest and dearest privilege of a free man, to hang such of his neighbors as dare abuse the privilege of thinking for themselves. No man was to be hanged unless somebody condemned him, nor even then unless that somebody was one of the presidents of an irresponsible society, whose opinion was endorsed by at least two men, out of a society of one thousand. Unless a man objects to hanging, on principle, it would be hard to conceive of a kind of machinery better adapted to make the process pleasant, but there were men who objected to be made victims even by the Platte County Self Defensive Association, and we are bound to assume, in the absence of testimony to the contrary, that our abolitionist friends were really conscientious in their scruples. The slave owners and their supporters boldly enunciated that labor in any form is slavery, and that women who work for their daily bread are invariably disreputable persons, many of those who talked that way in the year of grace, 1854, cannot be induced now to admit that they ever uttered such abominable heresies, but there were some men of note at that time, who declared that unless slavery could be sustained in Kansas, the neighboring state of Missouri must cease to be a place in which a gentleman could continue to live and bring up his sons as honorable men, his daughters as virtuous women. The names of the persons who identified themselves with such views may well rest in oblivion. Many have never repented, and such persons have no place in history, others have repented in mental sackcloth and ashes, and they are entitled to such lethean consolation as may be afforded by silence.

The several secret societies whose movements have been referred to, were not organized in Missouri until late in 1854, but they had long been in operation in the older slave states. They came now into sudden activity, and there were few men who dared incur the odium of remaining outside such organizations. The brethren of the "Social Band" recognized a modified respectability in "Blue Lodges," "Sons of the South," "Friends Societies," and such like institutions, of which there were many more than it would be convenient to name, save in an appendix, but

all the fraternities joined in looking with suspicion, which might soon eventuate in hostile acts, upon any man who declined to affiliate with such machinery of evil. These societies were part of the force which was to be utilized in conquering Kansas. The lodge meetings were of value because every member of the brotherhood was a spy upon free soilers, abolitionists, and indeed upon all who were suspected of thinking or doing anything that slave owners did not approve, and it was important that every atom in the body politic in Missouri should be held in readiness to carry out the projects of the leaders. When the movements of the Massachusetts society became known it was pretended that all the organization resorted to in the slave state, was rendered necessary by such signs of activity in the east, and had not existed until such modes of operation made it the duty of every man of property, that is to say, of every slave owner, to prepare for "the bloody arbitrament of the sword." Doubtless there was more rage and more activity in Missourian circles after the "New England Emigrant Aid Society" was incorporated, but for many years before that time it had ceased to be safe for any person to express a doubt as to the wisdom and the justice of slavery, and preachers who defended the ghastly abomination in their pulpits:

> "Proving their doctrines orthodox,
> By apostolic blows and knocks,"

found it difficult to speak with sufficient *vim* against the men and the views which their owners — for they also were owned by the oligarchy — looked upon as the latest spawn of hell. There were men in the community who could not be relied upon for a *levy en masse*, should Missouri conclude to make war upon Kansas, in order to exterminate the free soilers, and it was time to separate the wheat from the tares. Traders were now told with whom they should have dealings, and merchants were instructed as to the persons from whom they should make purchases, and all the terrors of the odious *Vehm Gericht* were to visit those who might venture to disobey. The action of the city of Weston in the premises has been seen, and that fact demonstrated to the great annoyance of the oligarchy that there was division in their own camp, while the enemy was massing his forces in front of the

coveted position. The ridiculous assault upon the negroes was another *fiasco*, and the truth began to dawn that the *levy en masse* would be more likely to bring down the New England states in a body, than to bring out a respectable muster of their own citizens to repel the attack. Free emigration in Kansas had given heart to men who for many years had endured persecution in silence, so that for the future there would be an added element in the disquietudes of the slave owners. The struggle was brought home to their doors, when the men with whom they had been trading for years could assemble in public meeting to assert, that they loved the union and the law better than they loved slavery and the south; that they disapproved the conduct of the proslavery organizations, and the sentiments which were embodied in such movements; that they held men to be worthy of respect and confidence irrespective of opinion, as long as their conduct proved them worthy; that they held labor in such high regard as could enable them to speak of its dignity as compatible with moral and intellectual status; that they thought the Nebraska–Kansas act gave equal rights in the territory to every citizen from whatever state; that they were competent to say who should dwell in their community, and that they would not allow an irresponsible association to decide such questions for them; that they did not think suspicion a ground for punishment; that they did not approve of mob-law, and would not tolerate it until all other law had failed. Never in this world was there ever seen in type or heard in public meeting a defiance more square and complete than that which was embodied by the citizens of Weston in their *pronunciamento*, and as we have seen, when their words were treated as idle wind, they took up arms to vindicate their consistency, and put the disorderly rabble to flight. Times were changing with the slave owners in Missouri, and the struggle might be, not for the territory of Kansas, but for the continuous possession of their own state.

CHAPTER VII.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY.

(continued.)

Act of Organization — Governor Reeder — Inauguration of Government — Congressional Delegate — Proslavery Tactics — Free Soil Candidates — Voting Early and Often — Stuffing the Census — Courtesies of the Ballot Box — Popular Sovereignty — Vote or Die — Series of Invasions — Governor Reeder's Certificates — Some New Elections — The Good Time Coming — Reign of Terror — Power of the Press — Expelling Preachers — Vigilanters at Work — Rights and Wrongs — Saluting the Governor — The President's Action — Members of Legislature Expelled — Powers of a Majority — Missouri *versus* Massachusetts — Shawnee and Pawnee — Log Rolling — Proslavery Law — Governor Reeder Removed — Cause and Pretense — Conduct of the Governor.

In every legislature in the world there is a power, seldom used, which will allow of the suspension of standing orders, and permit a bill, the provisions of which are already understood, to be read, in some stages, by the mere enunciation of the marginal notes. In the present stage we propose to read the act of organization almost in that way, and the standing orders are suspended accordingly. We need not read the whole act, and we do not propose to do more in this line than is necessary to the comprehension of affairs, consequently we commence with section 19, which enacted the then established limitations of the territory, from Missouri to the summit of the Rocky mountains, between the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth parallels of north latitude, with some unimportant exceptions, with the express provision that the constitution to be adopted by the territory should determine the admission of the state to the union with or without slavery, and a proviso that congress should retain power to divide the territory into two territories, or to attach parts thereof to any other state or territory. The exceptions before mentioned referred to the rights and titles of the Indians to certain portions of the territory, and the powers retained by the government to make suitable provisions, regulations and treaties with, and in regard to,

the Indian tribes. Section 20 enacted that the executive power of the territory should be vested in a governor, to be appointed by the president for four years, subject to be removed by the appointing power, or to continue beyond the expressed term until his successor should be appointed and qualified; the governor to command the militia, exercise the usual pardoning powers, commission proper officers, and enforce faithful execution of the laws. Section 21 enacted that a secretary should be appointed, and prescribed his duties, among others that in the absence, resignation or death of the governor, the secretary should be *locum tenens*. Section 22 enacted that the legislative power of the territory should be vested in the governor and a legislative assembly consisting of a council and house of representatives; setting forth also the numbers for each body and duration in office, as well as the mode of increase in numbers and final limits of representation. The section further defined the qualifications to vote for, and to be elected to such bodies, and set forth that a census should be taken to ascertain who were residents entitled to vote. Beyond these provisions the responsibility of carrying out the elections equitably devolved upon the governor only, and on his appointees, until the first assembly should have been duly constituted, after which, law, would, of course, define everything. Section 23 prescribed who should be entitled to vote in the first election, viz: Every free white male inhabitant over twenty-one years of age. Section 24 dealt with the limitations within which the legislature might enact laws, subject to the suspensive veto of the governor, and the powers of the two chambers to override such veto by majorities of two-thirds in each chamber. Providing also for cases in which the governor might not exercise his veto, but might retain the bill in his own hands, instead of sending it back signed or otherwise. Section 25 was an enabling clause, giving to the governor power to appoint officers, not otherwise provided for, but necessary in the premises, said officers to hold their positions and discharge the required duties until the end of the first session of the legislature. After that time all such officers were to be appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the legislature. Section 26 was a disqualifying clause. No member of the legislature should, as such, hold an office created by the

legislature of which he was a member, nor until he had ceased to be a member of that body, upon the expiry of his term, at least twelve months. United States officers, with the exception of postmasters, were also to be ineligible to be chosen as representatives, or to hold any office under the territorial government. Section 27 provided for the establishment of the judicial power, to consist of a supreme court, district courts, probate courts, and justices of the peace, and defined the limits of their several powers, together with the duties devolving upon them, with special provisos as to disputes between persons as to titles to slaves, fugitives from justice, and slaves escaping from their masters; in which cases there were such provisions as left no doubt as to the power to hold and to recover the custody of slaves, the advantage to be always on the side of the slave owners. Section 28 expressly enacted that the laws enacted by congress to assist in the capture of slaves escaping from their masters should be in full force in the territory of Kansas. Section 29 provided for the appointment and payment of an attorney, and also of a marshal for the territory, to be removable at the pleasure of the president, but otherwise to serve for four years each. The same clause defined their duties and emoluments. Section 30 provided that the governor and all the officers of the territory should be appointed by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and defined the oaths and obligations devolving upon the said executive. The same section defined the salaries of all the said officials, and the amounts to be paid to the members of the legislature, and to their official staff, from the United States treasury, limiting the powers of all officials as to unauthorized expenditure. Section 31 located the government at Fort Leavenworth, temporarily allowing the use of buildings not required by the military, under the direction of the governor, for purposes directed under the act. Section 32 provided for the election of a delegate from the territory to the house of representatives of the United States, limiting the powers of the delegate first elected, and expressly declared that congress would not intervene to uphold or to prevent slavery. Section 33 provided for the erection of suitable public buildings, under the direction of the governor, at the seat of government, and for the purchase of

a library, to be kept at the same place, for the use of the executive and the legislature. Section 34 provided for the reservation of certain sections, numbered sixteen and thirty-six, in each township as reserves to be applied to school purposes in the territory. Section 35 gave to the governor power to create judicial districts temporarily, and to assign the judges to such districts, pending the first session of the legislature, when all such powers should be subject to the will of the assembly. Section 36 provided for taking due security from territorial officers for the faithful discharge of their several duties. Section 37 provided that all laws, treaties and engagements entered into with the Indian tribes by the United States, so far as they affected the territory, should be rigidly observed, and that all the agencies and superintendencies connected therewith should remain in force, with the same powers and duties. This act was approved on the thirtieth day of May, 1854, but its provisions were familiar to the leading minds on both sides long before that time, in consequence of the debates in congress which preceded the passage of the measure.

The first governor of the new territory was the Hon. Andrew H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, and considering the course of events which followed, it is evident that the societies which were being organized in Massachusetts and elsewhere, exerted an influence on him if not upon the president and the senate. Certainly the state of Missouri had nothing to hope from the sympathies of such a man, however much it might succeed in extorting from his fears. The first act of Gov. Reeder showed a desire to fit himself for his onerous labor, as we find him making a comprehensive tour of the region in which it was his duty to inaugurate representative government. According to the ideas of Missouri, such an act on his part was a waste of precious time. It was only necessary to consult them, as to what should be done, and the body we have already seen at Lawrence would come up reinforced a thousand strong, or more, to wipe out the little colony, and possibly, unless there was more regard exhibited for their interests, they might see it to be their duty to wipe out Gov. Reeder with the rest of the obnoxious community. Hamlet said of his mother, the Queen of Denmark, that he "would speak daggers, but use none." That

was for the time the programme with the Missourians on Kansas territory; they would swamp the powers of the resident population, in the ballot box, and in that way wipe out their foes. The tour occupied about fourteen days, and within that time the governor had made himself acquainted with the settlers, by whom he had been welcomed most cordially. Parties were formed in every locality to escort him through the region over which the colony was to spread, and beyond doubt there was a common desire that the integrity of the community should be preserved from the assaults which were already discussed, without reserve, across the border. The man would have been unworthy of a place in the territory, however humble, unless he was desirous that the people inhabiting the country should control their own affairs. His first duty was to divide the territory into electoral districts, to enable the residents to cast their votes for a delegate to represent them in congress, for the remainder of an unexpired term. On the tenth day of November, 1854, his proclamation was issued, and he required the several judges of elections who were appointed by him to refuse the votes of all persons whom they believed to be nonresidents in the territory, having come into Kansas merely to vote, while their domiciles were elsewhere. The then present *bona fide* intention to remain and make a permanent home in the territory was set forth by the proclamation as an essential qualification for the act of voting, and the judges of election were sworn to reject the votes of all persons not so qualified. Whatever doubts there may have been in the minds of the Missourians were now resolved, and "the winter of their discontent" came down on Gov. Reeder with chilling effect. Five days after the proclamation was issued, there was a convention of the propagandists held in Leavenworth, the people coming by hundreds, on horseback and in wagons, from the neighboring state, to denounce the governor as a free soiler and abolitionist, or as one favoring such abominations by his proclamation, and by deferring the election of the legislative assembly. Every day that the process was deferred increased the number of emigrants from the free states with whom they would have to contend, hence their haste, and they were confident that as soon as the legislature should be convened, their machinery would en-

able them to control the affairs of the little community. A delegation was appointed to wait upon the governor to request immediate action, but Gov. Reeder could not be deceived by the pretense that they were actual residents in Kansas. Such a small community as that at Fort Leavenworth was soon recognizable, man by man, and these persons were strangers whose incursion and whose objects were well known. The governor courteously but resolutely demanded further particulars as to the authorization and the proceedings of the convention, but no such information could be afforded without a full declaration of their identity and aims, so the delegation, defeated for the time, withdrew in high dudgeon. When the parties to that movement attempted to prejudice the public at a distance, by giving a false version of the whole affair, Gov. Reeder answered the memorialists in a document which became a manifesto to all the free states, disclosing the fact that the men who had presumed to dictate to him the line of duty which he must pursue were Missourians mostly, and not entitled to an atom of consideration where the free government of Kansas was involved. The reply was crushing in statement and rebuke, but it completely destroyed all pretenses of fairness on the part of the Missouri convention, and from that time it was patent to all observers that the governor meant to secure for the people over whom he ruled all the essentials of home rule, so far as the means at his disposal could be made to cover that purpose. The tempers of men were becoming roused, and it was evident that there would be some feeling exhibited in the pending election of a congressional delegate. The free soilers were divided between the Hon. John A. Wakefield, an avowed advocate of free state ideas, whose name has been mentioned in these pages before, and the Hon. Robert P. Flenneken, a friend of Gov. Reeder, who had come out to Kansas, with the Micawber like expectation that "something would turn up." He hoped to win votes from free soilers, and proslavery men also, by adopting the *role* of the independent candidate, from whom both parties might hope as much as they pleased, while he probably would have put in practice the maxim ascribed to the legal profession of old time, saying to the clients, "a shell for thee and a shell for thee; the oyster is the lawyer's fee." Like most men,

halting between two opinions, neither hot nor cold, he was nowhere in the contest. The proslavery candidate, Gen. J. W. Whitfield, was a Tennesseean, resident in Missouri, and he depended upon being chosen by Missouri votes. He knew whither he was tending, and later in the day he held a position of some prominence among the rebels in arms to destroy the union. He was a man of fine appearance and some talent, not so trustworthy as the old chief justice, not so shrewd as his other opponent, but more successful than either, because the strong and unscrupulous propagandists could rely upon his sincerity. The convention at Leavenworth, at which we have already glanced, composed mostly of men who had not a shadow of right to meddle in Kansas affairs, nominated the general as the Missourian candidate, and the slave state could send over voters enough to secure his election. The legality of the movement was of very small concern to the party which meant to conquer Kansas by mere lawlessness and the right of the strongest.

The return of a delegate to congress did not commend itself to the newly arrived emigrants as an affair of much moment; the delegate would be a person of small account in the general management of the affairs of the union; they would not gain one vote in the momentous affairs in which his voice might be heard, and they were busy preparing for winter, then near at hand. Some were expecting their families in a few days, and it was not yet certain that the climate would favor them during the customarily inclement season beginning with December and closing with January. Many were too busy to attend meetings or to vote. Some who attended to such duties were of opinion that Mr. Wakefield could be of more service in the territory, where the question "Slave or Free?" was to be decided, than in congress, from whose deliberations the matter had already passed, and in consequence there was never a doubt as to Gen. Whitfield's success, even supposing that the brutal tactics of Missouri had been omitted. The day of election came, and long before the 29th of November, the secret societies were primed and loaded, ready for any kind of work. The societies were manifold in their purposes. Under their manipulations money was to be collected to pay the expenses of armed bands of illegal voters to be sent from Missouri

to secure the election of proslavery men to every office. They were to induce proslavery men to make Kansas their home for like purposes; but their main hope was, that they would be able to intimidate free soil men, or otherwise disgust them with their location, so that they might secure for the proslavery organizations supreme control in Kansas affairs. To that end the lodges of the societies were used to discuss the probabilities of the successive elections, and the numbers which must be sent to different points on the day of the polling in each case, to overawe as well as to outvote the free soil party. It will be seen that against such an organization, so powerful, and so unscrupulous, there was no chance for the residents in Kansas, a mere handful against thousands. There was concerted action moreover to prevent reinforcements reaching Kansas from the eastern and northern states. Most of the immigrants came in the river boats up the Missouri, and bands of armed men were detailed for the special duty of boarding every steamer at Lexington, and at other landing places *en route* to Kansas City, to compel northern emigrants, should any be found on board, to give up their arms in any case, and, when possible, to intimidate them, so that they should turn back. Such operations became common, and at length the more peaceful gave up all idea of reaching the territory, while those who were not to be deterred reached their destination through Iowa and Nebraska, at very much greater cost. By such tactics Kansas was to be conquered, or else there was no magic in the charm by which the proslavery party sought victory. As against the men in Kansas they were certainly strong enough to dictate terms; but the difficulty arose for Missouri when it appeared that the free states were to be as one man against the tyrannical demonstrations on which the slave owners depended. Democrats as well as free soilers and the more resolute whigs were united on that issue in sentiment, and very largely in action also. The election held in November, 1854, was openly carried by roughs of the worst description, who worked out the policy prescribed for them by their leading orators and their leading journals. General Atchison urged every county in Missouri to send its young men to overpower the free state vote, and many of the speeches made and reported were utterly unfit for publication. The Missourians

were urged to do their duty by voting in the neighboring territory in the name of "God and their country." The town of Lawrence was specially favored with a demonstration, the invading host coming by hundreds on the day before the polling was to take place, and that night one of the judges who was appointed to act on the following day was threatened with hanging unless he would consent to dispense with the oath as to residence, which it was understood he meant to exact from the men who had come over, fraudulently to affect the election. Unable to obtain from the judge a promise of malfeasance, they so far intimidated him that he failed to put in an appearance at the polling place the next morning. There were two judges absent from their post that morning, but nothing in that way could trouble the veterans who had the business in hand. They dispensed with the necessity for the governor's intervention by electing two of their own party to act as judges, and at once installed their men without the slightest compunction as to the flagrant illegality of the proceeding. The men who carried the election in the neighborhood of Lawrence were from Westport and Kansas City mainly; and the other districts were reached from the points in Missouri most convenient. The proslavery party did nothing by halves. In one district where only thirty-five legal votes were polled, they put in two hundred and twenty-six illegal ballots. In another electoral district where one hundred legal votes were recorded, they answered with two hundred and six illegal ballots. In another place they answered seven legal votes by putting in two hundred and thirty-eight fraudulent ballots; in another case twenty legal votes were swamped by five hundred and eighty-four illegal ballots, so that on the whole, eleven hundred and fourteen *bona fide* votes were neutralized by seventeen hundred and twenty-nine men, who had no more right to vote in Kansas than they had to exercise the same privilege in New York City. Gen. Whitfield was of course elected by an overpowering majority, and a certificate being issued by the governor to that effect, the worthy representative of Missouri took his seat as the delegate from the territory of Kansas. Personally no doubt, the governor was aware that fraudulent means had been resorted to, but it does not appear that he was duly informed of the fact by other parties.

Consequently it did not devolve upon him to refuse to certify. Further, it may be mentioned that when a congressional inquiry was made into the facts, it appeared that all the violence and fraud resorted to were surplusage, as Gen. Whitfield received a majority of the legal votes that were polled on the 29th of November, 1854.

Popular sovereignty, as Missouri understood and practiced that nostrum, meant overriding the will of the inhabitants of the territory, by an irruption of mercenaries and ruffians who were urged on by gentlemen of property and position to enter Kansas on election day, and "to vote at the point of bowie knife and revolver." The difference between a despotism such as the Russian serf endured, and that which the free soiler was compelled for that time to submit to in Kansas, was not entirely an advantage to the citizen in Kansas. However, there were other duties besides voting to be attended to, and due provision was made for the several judges, and for their judicial districts, so that justice might be administered. Justices of the peace were also appointed, and the times for holding the regular courts were fixed. The next election would necessarily be for the territorial legislature, and to that matter all Missouri was ready to contribute. Gov. Reeder came into the territory, a lifelong democrat, and it appears to have been assumed that he would allow himself to be manipulated by the slave owners and their tools. It is not certain that president Pierce entertained such an idea, but it is known that when complaints were made by the slave owners and their friends against Gov. Reeder, the chief executive made very little delay in decapitating the offender. Before his appointment to fill this position, it is probable that Mr. Reeder like many other democrats in Pennsylvania, had but a very dim idea of what slavery was. He soon became the possessor of strong views on that subject. Chief Justice Lecompte, who was nominated by the president at the same time as Mr. Reeder, became one of the most violent of the proslavery party, and he was honored as well as retained in office, the town of Lecompton being named for him, but the other judges appointed at the same time, having declined to become partisans, notwithstanding that one of them was a slave owner, were both decapitated at the same time that Gov. Reeder

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The Inglorious Raid on Lawrence.

Escape of Gov. Reeder down the Missouri River in a Skiff.

Escape of Gov. Reeder down the Missouri River in a Skiff.

was removed. Of three judges that were appointed in succession to fill the two vacancies thus caused, it may be worth while here to say, as a commentary on the state of society in Kansas, that one resigned his office in disgust, after discovering what was required of him, and that another refused to assume the duties of his office, after visiting the territory and seeing for himself the condition of affairs that prevailed. Coming back to the subject of the legislature, the governor thought it necessary to have a census taken before the election, and knowing what might be done by the people across the border to thwart his design, he caused all the steps to be taken during January and February, without any publicity being given to the fact. The Missourians saw in that fact additional evidence that the governor ought to be recalled by the president. In some cases they did cross over and procure themselves to be enumerated among the residents, but as a rule the precautions taken by the governor sufficed to make the return obtained reliable, as such documents usually are. Some of the proslavery men railed at the governor, and talked assassination, others threatened him with removal by the chief executive, and others contented themselves by striving to bribe or to intimidate the census takers to embody in their returns fraudulent lists of nonresidents, as though they actually lived in the territory. When the census was taken there appeared to be eight thousand, six hundred souls in the territory, with a sum total of voters numbering two thousand, eight hundred and five. The census showed the governor not only the extent of the population, but the localities in which the voters resided, a consideration of some importance in preparing to elect a legislature. Immediately after the returns were made, Mr. Reeder issued his proclamation calling for the election of the legislature. The returns were completed on the third day of March, the notice appeared on the eighth, and the choice was to be made on the thirtieth of the same month in 1855. There seems to be no reason for assuming that the governor wanted to favor the free soilers; he only wanted to see fair play, and being a lawyer by profession, all his best instincts were trained to desire the fulfillment of the law. As a democrat he was more likely to have favored the other side, and had he wished merely to be on the side of the stronger party for the

time, he might, without seeming to do anything reprehensible, have played into their hands, but he merely did his duty, and the same angry rage which made them a few years later abandon Stephen A. Douglas on his way to the presidential chair, induced them to denounce Mr. Reeder now. If he had wanted to favor the free soil party by allowing time for men to come in from the free states, he had made the appointment much too early, but that was the pretext for the complaints and denunciations of the proslavery party. Both sides were in earnest now, for the question, "slave state or free," was really to be pronounced upon. The whole debatable ground which was supposed to have been settled for all time, by the Missouri compromise, after the memorable and bitter discussions in congress during the sessions at 1819–20, which had been kept alive by the passages at arms in the wordy war at Washington, by the Kansas bill, and by the action of Mr. Douglas in the Kansas-Nebraska act, in the sessions of 1853–54, was now in the region of popular sovereignty, and it remained to be seen whether there would be any show of fairness on the side of the proslavery party. The free state party could not behave unfairly unless they traveled from district to district to vote more than once, an impracticable crime, but the other side had already given evidence of their intentions, and their papers and speakers persistently kept up the cry that Kansas should be a slave state at all hazards, "peaceably if we can," said Gen. Atchison, "but at the point of the bayonet if we must." Lawyers of some eminence assured Missourians that they were entitled to vote under the law, and ministers of the gospel came in with the solemn sanctions of religion, to adjure them in defense of their most sacred rights as patriots, to go over and vote in the Kansas elections. Never was there a time when the terribly delusive idea, "The end justifies the means," had more complete acceptance than in Missouri, while the conquest of Kansas was being organized by fraudulent voting, and by abominable threats of violence, too soon to become deeds of blood. Against all these grim preparations and ominous signs, the free soil party could only oppose the usual machinery of party organizations in the middle and eastern states. Every settlement in the territory was visited by speakers, and thoroughly canvassed to bring out the whole voting power

of the population in favor of their candidates in each district, and of course so far as actual residents were concerned, they had the battle in their own hands. The foreign element could not be reached by their eloquence, except in so far as the force of their expressions might help to exasperate their already angry opponents. They could not import voting power from the neighboring state, for the party that sympathized with them dared not show how warmly their feelings were enlisted, and besides, their instincts did not incline them in that way, to "do evil that good might come." Their primary meetings, their conventions, their nominations made unanimous in every case, amounted to nothing against the powers with which they had to contend. They were met and for the time completely crushed by an organized movement which extended from Jasper county in the extreme south of Missouri, and through every section east and west to Andrew county in the north, which sent parties into Kansas to vote for the imposition of the institution of slavery upon the state wherever it might be formed. Boone county and Cole, east and west went into the matter with whole hearts, and there was but one representative district in Kansas which had not foreign votes enough sent from Missouri to control the election. The whole of the council districts were provided for in that way. They did not merely pervade the territory, they came like an army, in many cases bringing bands of music, on the same principle that induces the boy passing some ghostly precinct to

"Whistle aloud to bear his courage up."

They came armed and provisioned, and supplied with tents like an enemy marching to more honorable war, and in every district there were avowed purposes to alarm the free state party, as well as to decide the elections by an overpowering display of foreign and fraudulent voting power. For the time they were successful, but their ill-omened success was dearer than the most costly defeat. It was another illustration of the words of the poet, "*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat;*" "God willed their destruction, and they were made mad." The decisions of the congressional committee, which was appointed to inquire into and report upon these unlawful proceedings in Kansas, places in a

clear and unquestionable light the conduct of the Missourians. The evidence is voluminous and complete; but the report, which digests the main facts and supplies results only, will serve the purpose of the historian better than the comprehensive details on which it is founded. The committee ascertained not merely that there were foreign influences at work to falsify the several elections, but also whence the false voters came. Eleven counties sent the voters that swamped legitimate public opinion in the polling at Lawrence, and it was ascertained that those who remained at home in Missouri were assessed to pay the expenses, supply horses, carriages, wagons and commissariat for the invading legions. Provisions were accumulated in reliable hands in Lawrence for some days before the irruption, and the fraudulent voters began to pour in the day previous to the polling, continuing to arrive almost to the last hour in which a ballot paper could be handed in. There were over one thousand men in camp near the town the night before the election, and more than one hundred wagons of all kinds, besides saddle horses, had been employed to convey the multitude. When

> "The Assyrians came down like the wolf on the fold,
> And his cohorts were gleaming with purple and gold,"

there was splendor in the conquering host if there was no mercy; but this horde, armed with bowie knives, guns and pistols, with two pieces of artillery loaded to the muzzle with musket balls, gleamed only with the red light of hate upon the little settlement that was to be intimidated and overridden. Bands of music were employed to play the melodies most likely to annoy the beseiged, and to give heart or courage to the multitudinous pack that proposed to devour them. Mr. Blanton, one of the judges of election who refused to be bribed, was to have been hanged the night before the poll, but it seems probable that matters were accommodated without recourse to that process, as the judge did not appear on polling day to exact the oath as to residence, which might have involved hundreds in trials for perjury. The number that concentrated at Lawrence being in excess of the requirements of the day, some of the leaders addressed the throng, representing that fact, and inviting men to volunteer to proceed to

more remote points, where there was a possibility that the legal voters might outnumber the foreign element, and in answer to that appeal, several detachments of one hundred and fifty and two hundred, respectively, rode post haste to Bloomington, Hickory Point, Tecumseh and elsewhere, to dragoon the free state men out of the least chance of honest government. The invaders came up to the polling place in Lawrence in parties of one hundred, the oath proposed as to residence was set aside by the mob, and another substituted which would not sit uneasily on their consciences. The judge that was absent was replaced by a substitute chosen by the lawless band around the polling place, because he would be on their side, and when it became evident that law was to be so overborne, another of the judges, Mr. Abbot, resigned. The mob proceeded immediately to elect another in his place, and thus two of the three judges that presided at Lawrence, Messrs. Cummings and Benjamin, were mob appointed, in defiance of law and justice. The citizens who were entitled to vote were driven off the ground early in the day by armed men, who fired upon the retreating body, and it was only in the afternoon, when the Missourians had made things safe for their side, that the *bona fide* electors were able to come up in a body and deposit their balloting papers. The pretexts of the crowd were numerous enough, as they asserted that the contest lay between the two states, Missouri and Massachusetts, but only men in the last stages of *dementia* could suppose that a lasting victory could be won by such shameful operations. The New England Emigrant Aid Society was to be made the scapegoat to carry the sins of Missouri into the desert, but the high handed outrages of that time made it impossible for the Pierce cabinet to fully endorse the proceedings of the slave owners, and in congress their most trusted men were forced to apologize for the conduct which they ineffectually tried to defend. It is probable that the citizens would have been forced to fight for the privilege of voting in the afternoon, but for the discretion exercised by Col. Young, of Boone county, Missouri, who recommended that they might be allowed to use their franchise, as it would not affect the result anyhow, and the fact of their voting freely would give an aspect of fairness to the day's work. The Missourians brandished their

weapons repeatedly during the day, and when the polling had been completed, they supplemented their illegal acts by declaring that unless the governor sanctioned the election so consummated, he should be hanged.

Popular sovereignty was respected and honored in a like manner in the second district, Bloomington. The Missourians came in under well known leaders from Westport and Independence, Missouri, armed at all points, and boisterous in their threats. They called an impromptu election for governor by way of initiating their more regular proceedings, and when they had chosen the "Lord of misrule," their protege marched with them to the polling place to demand that they should be allowed to vote without being sworn. They were not scrupulous about swearing at large, but they objected to oaths which might carry contingent remainders in the shape of prosecutions for perjury in the long day which they knew was before them:

"Thus conscience does make cowards of us all."

"The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," were piled mountain high that day in Bloomington, as we have seen similar scenes being enacted elsewhere. One of the leaders claimed that they could vote if they had been on the ground only five minutes, and the better to enforce their claim, they procured guns from their wagons, loaded their weapons, assumed badges to distinguish themselves from the "abolitionists," carried the polling place by assault, smashing all obstructions and threatening to shoot any person that dared offer opposition. It is probable that there would have been murder at this point, but somebody assured the mob that there were proslavery men in the house where the poll was being taken, and the armed band was tender in regarding the privileges of their own party. There were three judges of election, and two of them, Harrison Burson and Nathaniel Ramsey, were resolute as to the oath. The third judge, Mr. Ellison, bowed to circumstances, if he was not in the plot beforehand, consequently the rifles and revolvers of the mob were concentrated upon his more worthy associates, when a sheriff from Missouri and a band of desperadoes rushed into the room to compel the acquiescence which they had been unable to persuade.

Five minutes by the watch of the sheriff were allowed for compliance or resignation; but the judges dared the ordeal, and another minute was allowed them to prepare for death. The compliant Judge Ellison added his persuasions to the menaces of the crowd; but failing in the success which he had hoped from his eloquence, he seized the ballot box and ran out into the safer companionship of the howling rioters, whose cries he repeated with much fervor. The friends of the remaining judges now called them outside for a parley, and they were not permitted to return, as it was evident that there could be no legal election that day.

When Mr. Burson left the room he carried with him the ballot poll books in his pocket. Some papers which were carried loosely in his hand were snatched from him by the warlike Missourian sheriff; but when, after much rejoicing over the valueless capture, it was found that the poll books were absent, an armed party was detailed to procure them from the judge at any sacrifice. Mr. Burson was accompanied by a friend when the pursuit commenced, and as it was evident that he could not escape, he handed over the documents to his companion, hoping that in the confusion of a chase in opposite directions the pursuers might be baffled in their main object. The poll books were however recovered from Mr. Minberger, their temporary custodian, and that gentleman was carried back to the polling place, a prisoner, to be dealt with as the usurpers of the sovereign rights of Kansas should determine. The residence of Mr. Ramsey, the other judge of election, was visited, and the first chief justice chosen in the territory, pending the inauguration of government under the act, was there taken into custody, marched down to the head quarters of the insurgents, compelled to make a speech to amuse his masters, like Samson in the temple of Dagon, and then, the old man having been decorated with the badge worn by the fraudulent voters, Judge John A. Wakefield was allowed to retire. Judges were chosen to replace those who had retired from the polling place, and it was openly announced that any man administering the oath, and any man submitting to be sworn, should be shot, disemboweled, and have his heart torn out. Many in the crowd said that they had been hired at one dollar per day to come there

and vote, and by fair means or by foul, they meant "to vote or die." One citizen, having said that if required he would take the oath, was at once assaulted with clubs, knives and pistols, amid brutal and revolting cries. So the farce of election was hanging over the verge of tragedy all the day long in Bloomington, and the citizens were in many cases deterred from tendering votes, which must necessarily be inoperative in an election, which defied law on every issue. Every act of the day revealed

> "The flash and outbreak of a fiery mind;
> A savageness in unreclaimed blood."

In the sixteenth district the rioters had things entirely their own way. Six counties sent their armed roughs into this region, carrying out a programme which had been set forth in public meetings all over northwestern Missouri some weeks before the day of election. The invaders came fully equipped with all that could be necessary to prove their qualifications, such as bowie knives, pistols, shot guns, rifles, and wisps of hemp twisted in their button holes; so that on the morning of the election there were nearly fourteen hundred persons collected near the polling place. The oath was the stumbling block with the crowd, as at Lawrence and at Bloomington; and here, as there, the powers of cajolery and intimidation were resorted to, to obviate the difficulty. There were two free state men among the three judges, and they were resolute as to the oath; but one of them, probably influenced by the prospect of personal violence, resigned that morning; and when a subservient tool had been chosen by the mob to fill his place, the other free state judge was powerless against the will of the majority. Indians of the Wyandotte tribe were allowed to vote, but Delawares were refused. While the polling was onward, a steamboat came down loaded with passengers from Weston, Missouri, who voted as though they were perfectly right in so doing, and then returned on the boat, making no secret whatever of their fraudulent acts. The voting in the sixteenth district was almost entirely carried on by Missourians, as the free state men saw no advantage in lending their cooperation to a process so repugnant to the rights of free men. The Missourians claimed that if a man was on the ground on the day

of election, that made his right irresistible; and many who had visited the territory about twelve months before to stake off claims, which they had done nothing to hold and improve, really appeared to think that they were residents in Kansas territory, although they were domiciled in the neighboring state; and in any event, it was a case of "anything to beat the north;" which was credited with having brought upon Missouri the hard necessity to carry slavery into Kansas legislation by force and fraud, such as we have seen. One of the free state candidates who saw how useless it was to fight against such odds, withdrew his name from the contest because Missouri was there in force to determine an issue which properly belonged to Kansas; and his action was loudly applauded by the concourse upon whom it rained down censure.

> True satire like the polished razor, keen,
> Wounds with a touch that's hardly felt or seen.

Gen. Atchison was in command of the invaders, who, in an electoral sense, took possession of the eighteenth district. He took with him a body of men sufficient to have swamped the whole voting power of the Nemaha district twice or thrice told, but in this precinct there was not such a surplusage of fraudulent voting as elsewhere. Only seventeen legal votes were polled and the whole number of ballots recorded formed a total of sixty-two, so there were forty-five registered fraudulently. The camp of the invaders resounded with horrible profanity and threats all the time, but no good purpose could be served by perpetuating the bad record of those exponents of popular sovereignty, who thought it their most glorious privilege to deprive the residents in the territory of a voice in determining the policy of their own government. The men who led the movement were persons of education and standing, consequently no allowance can be made on the score of ignorance. The language used by Gen. Atchison, ex-senator for the state of Missouri in congress and ex-vice president of the union, a lawyer and sometime circuit judge, appears to have been as bad as could have fallen from the lips of one who had never graduated in Transylvania university. In the eighteenth district, the Missourians under Atchison, took the oath without a murmur, apparently considering perjury a small

price to pay for success, and in consequence of the horrible threats of the intruders there was no protest entered against the election. It would be tiresome to go over the whole ground, even with such scanty detail; so we append only a few figures showing the grand results. In Lawrence, there were, as the census demonstrated, 369 residents, and 232 legal votes were recorded, but the Missourian ballots amounted to 302. In Bloomington, 30 legal votes were swamped by 316 nonresidents. At Stinson's, 32 legal votes were overriden by an illegal register of 338, and so throughout the twenty-five electoral precincts, 791 free state votes, out of a population of 2,905 persons, were tyrannously set aside by Missourian raiders, to the number of 4,908. One of the leaders in the disgraceful procedure, Hon. Claiborne F. Jackson, was afterwards chosen governor of Missouri, probably having "made his calling and election sure" by his participation in these scenes. Western Missouri was almost entirely involved in the conquest of Kansas, and with a large average, there must have been some kind of justification to override the scruples of conscience which would customarily guard them from assisting in a work so monstrous. Many of them, doubtless, believed that Massachusetts had sent and was sending its pauper legions into Kansas, the newspapers had told them so, the orators of the day were never tired of reiterating such assertions, and the pulpits, occupied by men whom they had been from their youth taught to respect, had afforded all the aid in the power of the churches to support the popular delusion. Perhaps many of the pastors who took part in the agitation had been content with hearsay testimony in forming their own convictions, as of course, their time must have been occupied, to a great extent, by pastoral visits among the parties most interested in persuading them to swell the clamor, and as a rule, they were not educated to weigh evidence with the critical acumen of the legal profession. The lawyer is governed by the facts, the pastor is much more swayed by his feelings, and in that case we may readily see how the best impulses of a misinformed mind would tend toward encouraging conduct such as his better judgment must disapprove. Again, much allowance must be made for intemperate zeal, which stops at nothing while the fever of pursuit lasts. The suitor who made his

appeal "from Philip drunk to Philip sober," might have found many Philips in Missouri, although the spirit wherewith they were intoxicated differed somewhat from the liquor imbibed by the Macedonian monarch. The number of actual residents, as revealed by the census, and the number voting as proved by the returns, leave no margin for doubt as to the deception practiced on the bulk of the Missourian community. The total number of persons emigrating into Kansas territory who had come out under the auspices of the New England Emigrant Aid Society before the March election in 1855, amounted to 169 persons, of whom 67 were women and children, and they received no help from the society except such as had arisen from the organization being able to cheapen their passage for them a few dollars, and to assist them to move in larger bodies than they could otherwise have joined. This party came in the fall of 1854 under the care of Dr. Robinson, and many of them, discouraged by the political condition of Kansas, soon afterwards abandoned the field, seeking more peaceful homes elsewhere. Some of the leaders of the proslavery party were probably aware of the actual condition of affairs. The press of New York and Boston contained all the information that was available from the seat of war; several of the papers had special correspondents on the spot occasionally, and all of them were in the habit of receiving communications from the territory such as placed, beyond question, that two thousand votes across the border from Missouri would have carried the election in the way that the secret societies wished, but the conspirators kept up the excitement in their stealthy deliberations; fed the uneducated and illiterate with just such fragments as would sustain the fever, and then rushed into the *melee* with an army of five thousand men, to create a tempest of indignation against themselves and their objects, which in the end had much to do with the defeat of the tactics of the south, not only in Kansas, but all over the union. Stephen A. Douglas owed his defeat to such conduct on the part of his friends more than to the unadorned eloquence of Abraham Lincoln, and the most simple will not require to be told that if Douglas had been chosen president there would have been no attack on Fort Sumter, no rising in rebellion among the southern states, and no emancipation of the human chattels whose color

was the badge of their degradation. Less than one-third of the residents in Kansas voted for the legislative assembly; many were deterred by actual dread of the consequences in the face of such threats as were commonly being uttered; many could not afford the loss of time involved where every obstacle was placed in the way of the legitimate elector; some were driven off the ground by overpowering numbers, and not a few concluded that the whole proceeding was so outrageously illegal that it must be set aside upon protest. The surroundings of the polling places, and the riotous action of many of the mobs would suffice to set aside an election, or any number of elections, in any country in which representative institutions prevail. If the Missourians had moved into the territory in good faith to reside there, the result might have been deplored, but it would have been legal; as it was, there cannot be found one shadow of defense for their conduct. Five hundred men peacefully colonizing Kansas territory from Missouri, during the few months that preceded the great contest, might without violence of any kind have made themselves masters of the situation by throwing in their strength with the resident pro-slavery population in that region, and the outcome would have been such as could not exasperate the free states, but the larger issue was to arise. The elements were working for the accomplishment of a grand consummation, and the men who should most heartily have striven to preserve peace invited the ravages of war. Great numbers were ready to have made just such a movement as we have indicated, but the *Dugald Dalgettys* of the border did not desire to lose their occupation, consequently, every energy was directed toward the warlike invasion which it was believed would finally discourage the north and make Missouri master of Kansas without the trouble of immediate settlement.

With all the facts that we have contemplated, and hundreds of incidents, such as must be omitted from this record, staring him in the face, Gov. Reeder owed it to his office and to himself, that he should disallow the elections in every instance in which riots had been created, or in which men had been prevented from exercising their suffrages by intimidation. Where judges of elections had been compelled to resign, and others had been chosen in their places, by the riotous assemblages which had

created the vacancies, there had been no election in reality, and Mr. Reeder was sufficiently acute as a lawyer to be aware of the fact. The act under which he received his appointment contained provision for just such an emergency, and the free state party urged upon him his duty in that regard, but he hesitated and temporized instead of acting. Some of the precincts had not forwarded their protests and it was proper that he should be informed in due course as to the facts. The party which had been wronged should have accompanied every election return with a relation of the outrage inflicted on the community and a consequent protest against the wrongful election; but as it was, there were grounds enough upon which the governor might have acted in some cases which would have ruled the rest as the proper steps were taken to make him cognizant of the truth. The proslavery party knew the importance that must attach to every step gained in such a contest as they were waging against public opinion, and while Mr. Reeder still wavered they came to him with their requests for certificates under his hand, that they been elected. Individual applications having failed to procure the coveted documents, they came to him as a powerful delegation to demand compliance with the law. Mr. Reeder was a democrat of the old stamp, such as took Thomas Jefferson for their model and their leader. To him the word meant equal justice, and the conduct to which he had been an unwilling witness had long since disgusted him with the Missourian edition of the time honored organization, but he was not prepared for such a demonstration as now awaited him. The delegation must have certificates of their several elections and he could not see his way to meet their views. The returns were before him and he could see that the men confronting him had been fraudulently elected by votes largely in excess of the whole population of the territory; there was no option but to refuse, and immediately every man in the company produced his pistol, aiming it at the heart of the governor. There are some men who would have run the chances, and dared the delegation to their worst, but Mr. Reeder submitted to their pressure, and when they left him, every member of the high handed company carried with him the governor's certificate that he had been elected. The signature under duress was of little value, but the

fact of its having been obtained under duress had yet to be sustained. There still remained one course in the premises, and Mr. Reeder adopted it: issuing his proclamation to call for fresh elections, not in places where fraud had been most flagrant, and because of such frauds, but for informalities merely. Such temporizing on his part was weakness; it lost him what might have remained of respect on the part of the democrats, and it did not deserve to win respect from the men of free state proclivities. If there was nothing to complain of beyond an informality, then it was hardly worth while to go over the ground again, but with such glaring wrongs confronting him, and in the face of such an outrage as he had suffered in the menace of violence to which he had personally submitted, his position was painful in the extreme. The daring course would have been the best. The old maxim has been well rendered by Shakspere:

"Out of this nett'e, danger, we pluck this flower, safety."

Later in the struggle there was courage enough displayed by the governor, but just at the moment when decision would have ended the difficulty, when unshrinking firmness must

"Have bought,
Golden opinions from all sorts of people,"

he paused, wavered and lost the best opportunity of his life. The proslavery party convened and resolved to take no notice whatever of the new elections, and in consequence, free state men were chosen in five districts with hardly an effort. In Leavenworth, the seat of government for the time, some Missourians, to the number of five hundred, came over and carried things their own way, but the party could not be induced to move as a whole, because they had secured a majority in both houses sufficient to override the action of the governor, to expel the free state men elected under the second proclamation, and to illustrate in a thousand ways, during their session, for Mr. Reeder's benefit, the folly of

"Letting I dare not wait upon I would,
Like the poor cat i' the adage."

The elections of May 22d, under the second proclamation, were

practically of no account, except as they tended to exasperate the free state party still more, and the communications which were sent to the eastern and middle states, during the latter part of 1855, display a spirit which grew every day more eager for the fray. The whole north was moved by such representations, which told them of perils and insults, hard to be endured, being inflicted upon men, with whom many thousands were sufficiently intimate to be sure that whatever wrongs had been inflicted upon them, had been entirely unprovoked. The lawlessness of the Missourian population was, if possible, exaggerated in the correspondence of the day, and as a natural result, the more daring spirits of the other side gravitated toward the point of danger. There were men in the northern states whose souls yearned for conflict, and with the excitement now offered, they straightway maddened into a kind of sacred frenzy. Could such cities as Kansas and Westport have looked ahead to the present day, to have seen how much more advantageous were the conditions of growth which would be developed by free labor, those centers of population would have used all their powers to prevent the consummation at which they now aimed with all their might. Although the trade across the plains to Santa Fe had very greatly concentrated itself in Kansas City, whence it had only to cross the Kansas river to enter the territory, so slow was the growth of the settlement under the *ægis* of slavery, that fifteen years after the Santa Fe trade was opened, in the year 1860, when Kansas territory had but just emerged from a series of disgraceful raids of Missourians from Kansas City and elsewhere, besides sustaining an internecine strife, fomented from the same source, which lasted from 1854 to 1859, the city of Kansas had only a population of about four thousand four hundred, and within the next decade, although many years were embittered by the proslavery rebellion, Kansas City had increased its population to thirty-two thousand, and may now be safely estimated to hold fifty thousand. But for the then present, Kansas City thought that all her material interests were bound up in the maintenance of negro slavery, and therefore every energy was addressed to the shameful purpose of suppressing popular government in the adjoining territory by way of vindicating the sovereignty of the people.

Such men as David Atchison had the popular ear, and he found it quite long enough to serve his purposes. He could procure levies of men at any moment to raid into Kansas territory in furtherance of his plans, and when territorial governors, appointed by president Pierce and his successor, president Buchanan, proved intractable for the purposes of the proslavery party, he could exert such an influence at the White House as would remove them. This power behind the throne was demoralizing the community on which it immediately acted. It was known that the general, who had by accident become vice president of the union, aimed at becoming president, and that fact alone gave him *prestige* with the rank and file of his followers, which was increased immensely when it appeared that his frown could cause the removal of the territorial executive, almost as soon as he said that it should be done; therefore, when such a man assured the common people, that they were safe in committing perjury, in order to procure the acceptance of their fraudulent votes in Kansas, they followed him with absolute trust, repeating his brutalities of phrase with needless embellishments.

Dark clouds, almost as black as Erebus, looked down upon Kansas now, veiling the good time since reached from all but the eye of faith; but the men who have since then builded Kansas into a state, which already has a population of six hundred thousand souls were then a tiny handful, buffeted, but self-reliant even in the very midst of the border ruffian tumult, by which they were to have been destroyed. They petitioned congress for redress in due time, and they found unfortunately that where the interests of party clash with the best instincts of mankind, the worst cause is too apt to win, in that congregation of the wisest and best. Their faith and their fortitude were severely tried, but it says much for their honesty and uprightness, in the struggle in which they were engaged — in which many lives were lost on both sides — that every governor appointed under democratic influences, as long as the state constitution was delayed, became convinced of the justice of the demands of the free state party, before he had been many months in Kansas territory, and had to be removed under pressure, to make way for some more obedient tool. The advantages in the conflict seemed to be all on the side

of ruffianism, but the hand of God can be found in the history of nations, as certainly as his finger is seen in the forever-moving stars, and in the deep recesses of the silent earth. In that God, these heroic and patient men reposed their trust. The congratulations which were uttered in public meetings, and by the press across the border, did not aggravate their afflictions, because they could look down upon men of that class almost in the spirit of Him who said:

"Father forgive them, they know not what they do."

But every sound was a warning as to some further outrage soon to be attempted, and the town of Lawrence was especially a mark at which the enmity of the proslavery party delighted to address itself. Lynch law was to be the only law in the territory and the Missourian borderers were to be its special ministers. Gov. Reeder, when he went to Washington, soon after the second election to the legislative assembly, was publicly warned not to return or he would be lynched. Six days after the second polling, just mentioned, a convention of the Missourian party was to have assembled at Leavenworth to discuss the deposition of the governor and to nominate a successor, but probably the knowledge that other means could be used to effect the same purpose, induced the party to give up that proposition. Lynch law was, however, not to be given up quite so easily. A newspaper, known as the "Industrial Luminary," had incurred the hatred of ex-senator Atchison, and the order *delenda est* was issued. The office was visited without delay, and the press after being first paraded through the streets of Parkville was flung into the Missouri river. Mr. Patterson, one of the editors of the "Luminary," would probably have been murdered but for the intervention of his wife. This deed of violence was done between the two elections for the assembly, on the 14th day of April, 1855. Both editors of the paper were ordered to quit the territory without delay, under terrific penalties. The influence of a free and vigorous newspaper was not without recognition among Missourians, but indifference or contempt would have had advantages worthy of being considered. The churches were next placed under censorship, as some of the Methodist preachers of the northern

branch were too free in their remarks concerning the proslavery party and their objects. The strictures of the pulpit were answered by an order, that no ministers of the objectionable sort should exercise their functions in Parkville, and public meetings which were held at different points in Missouri endorsed the action of the mob, adding by way of rider to the verdict already pronounced, that every person saying or publishing anything that would tend to bring reproach on negro slavery should be expelled from the country. Such resolutions reported through the New England press reminded the old stock of the customs with which their forefathers had done battle, and much anxiety was exhibited for a complete trial of the system. The end was not yet, but it was coming, and every such movement of the proslavery force reminded some men of the rhyme of Charles Mackay:

"There's a light about to beam,
There's a fount about to stream,
There's a wrong about to vanish,
Clear the way!"

The end of April, 1855, witnessed a meeting of the squatters in Leavenworth, and in the course of the proceedings a quarrel arose between a man named Clark, one of the proslavery party, and McCrea, a free state settler; everybody carried weapons then and when it became evident that one of the two must go under, Mr. McCrea drew his revolver and shot his opponent. If a free state settler had been killed there would have been no disturbance, but proslavery men were precious, and McCrea was hunted down, fired at and wounded and eventually held a prisoner in Fort Leavenworth for a considerable time, but there was no law under which a man could be hanged for justifiable homicide, so that eventually the prisoner escaped and made his way to Texas. The day following that on which Clark was shot, afforded another example of border justice. A young lawyer, named Phillips, had sworn a protest against the election fraud in his precinct, thereby provoking the rage of the other side, and now the same man was known to be in sympathy with McCrea, so he was informed by a delegation from the Missourians that he must leave the territory. At the next meeting of the rioters, the committee

handed in their report, that the lawyer had left the territory, and on the strength of that evidence of their power an executive of thirty was appointed as a vigilance committee to observe all persons who were open to suspicion, and to expel from the territory any who might disturb "the peace of our citizens." The chief justice of the territory was one of the most eloquent speakers in the meeting that made the appointment in question, and no other fact need be mentioned to prove the utter demoralization of all parties engaged in that shameful procedure. The committee were not slow to carry their powers into action. Mr. Phillips had dared to remain in the territory, in spite of the ostracism to which he had been subjected, and in the afternoon of the day of their authorization they proceeded to his residence to insist upon his instant departure. He resolutely asserted his intention to continue in Kansas and take the consequences, whereupon they carried him from Leavenworth, his place of abode, to Weston, in Missouri, shaved one side of his head, tarred and feathered him, rode him on a rail, and eventually, as he still persisted in his obduracy, employed a negro to sell him in the streets. This conduct, on the part of their executive committee, was endorsed thoroughly by a public assemblage of the proslavery party, held in Leavenworth, and a member of the legislature against the frauds in the election of which Mr. Phillips had protested, had the honor to preside on the occasion. The acts of the committee were recited in detail and approved by the resolutions adopted, the "vigilanters" being thanked and discharged. The proslavery men who had wisely suggested submission to the law, were condemned unsparingly in other resolutions adopted at the same time, and in words slightly varied, but the same in effect, "war to the knife," was denounced against all disturbers, as the only means by which "peace and harmony for the community" could be secured. The stream was growing broader and deeper in which the proslavery party was to be engulphed, and on which the union was to float into the realization of grander results than had ever before been attained by human government under difficulties so prodigious. Longfellow wisely calls us to

> "Know how sublime a thing it is,
> To suffer and be strong."

The governor, as we have seen, had started for Washington, but before going, he issued his proclamation convening the legislature at Pawnee. Subsequent revelations from different sources show that Mr. Reeder had many interviews with President Pierce, in which the state of affairs in Kansas was described from the standpoint of the executive of the territory communicating matters of fact to his official superior. The president appeared to approve what had been done by his appointee, but at the same time informed him that much pressure was being exerted to secure his removal, and that there would be danger for him personally should he return to Kansas, as the proslavery men were very bitter against him, and his advice was that the governor should resign. He further intimated that in the event of his counsel being followed, another appointment would be given to Mr. Reeder. The recommendation offered by the president was very distasteful to the governor, and he appears to have declined on the ground that it would be dishonorable to abandon the post of duty because of an unmanly fear of consequences to himself, while the people were so perilously placed, and when there was a probability that his successor, not being so well informed as to the facts, might favor the wrongdoers. There was quite a series of discussions between the two men as to the course which should be adopted, but they could not arrive at an understanding which would meet the views of both sides. President Pierce wanted to please the proslavery party and the democrats generally, without offending public opinion outside of those organizations. His diplomatic suggestion was that Mr. Reeder should submit a complete digest of the affairs transpiring in the territory, and explain in detail his own action in the premises, in an official paper; that upon the receipt of the official *precis*, he (the president) should assume the full responsibility of removing his subordinate, not on the ground of disapproval of his conduct, but because it was expedient to allay the anger of contending parties by such action, and in the minute which would communicate officially the decision of the chief executive, there was to have been a complete exoneration of the governor's conduct, covering alike his actions and his motives. Upon that basis many interviews were had, but it was not possible to shape the statement from Mr. Reeder's position in such

a way as to satisfy President Pierce. He was in his first term of office, and while there was a chance of reelection it was natural he should not wish to alienate votes; but unless the maneuver now in hand could be managed with supreme skill, it was possible that he would offend both sections of his supporters. Hence the negotiation came to nothing, because Mr. Reeder objected to figure as a victim. An intimation that it would be made personally advantageous to him if he would, as of his own accord, resign, was resented by him as an insult, and the parties were left each to his own resources and responsibilities. There was one point at which Mr. Reeder was vulnerable; he had become one of a company which had urged upon the general government the sale of an Indian reservation, and which had intimated its willingness to buy the land in question at a very liberal valuation. There had been nothing in the nature of a conspiracy to procure the property for less than value, nor was there any clandestine action on the part of the governor; but it was an attempt to speculate in the lands of the territory over which he temporarily ruled, and that was the pretext upon which the president intimated that he might act in removing Mr. Reeder, unless a private arrangement could be made for a resignation. With that knowledge in his mind, the governor returned to the territory on the twenty-fourth of June, one month before the legislative assembly was to convene. A man conscious of having misconducted himself in his official capacity would have availed himself of the bridge of gold by which he might have retreated into a more lucrative and less difficult position. The fact that he did not resign is presumptive testimony in his favor. The hard road which he had chosen to travel was not such as any man, seeking only his own comfort, would have pursued. Before he had been many days in Leavenworth, after his return from Washington, one of his enemies, Gen. Stringfellow, struck him in his office, without warning of any kind, while his attention was attracted elsewhere, and it was a matter for great rejoicing among the ruffians of the border, that one of their party had knocked down the free state governor. The perpetrator of that outrage was afterwards elected speaker of the house of representatives. Before the legislative assembly convened, on Monday, July 22, 1855, there had been a caucus of

the proslavery party to arrange their plan of action. They had, as it were, a full dress rehearsal on Sunday, the twenty-first, and were ready for every emergency. The bodies convened at Pawnee in due course on Monday, and organized by electing Mr. Thomas Johnston president of the council, and Gen. Stringfellow speaker of the lower house. The first act of the council was to purge the house of men who had been elected under the second proclamation. The lower house pursued a course very nearly similar. It was in vain that the free soil men argued or protested; they had no *locus standi*, according to the committee on credentials in both houses. The action taken by the governor was condemned *in toto;* the course pursued by the mob in every case was found excellent. The report was a partisan document, and there can be no doubt that the men who prepared it, as well as the men who adopted it, were conscious that it was unsound from beginning to end, but the ends of the party must be considered, and "the end justified the means" once more, in the interminable records of wrong doing. The minority were allowed to speak and to protest, but in the house of representatives the speaker informed one of the minority that "their speeches would not change a single vote." In every case the free state men who were chosen in the second election were unseated, and those who were elected in March were declared the sitting members. The election at Leavenworth was controlled by the Missouri mob in May as it had been in March, and consequently there was no representative from that precinct to be expelled. In the council the same ends were reached by a slightly different process. Judge Wakefield and Mr. Wood were expelled, and Mr. Conway, the other member of the council elected in May, had already resigned. The expelled members were magnanimously allowed to protest against the act which unseated them, and in each case the protest was well drawn and forcible, but powerless, notwithstanding, because it was addressed to men who represented Missouri and not Kansas, and who were amenable to a public opinion which held northerners as "vermin." The decks were now cleared for action. There was only one man in the house of representatives, Mr. Houston, whose views agreed with the public opinion of Kansas, and there was no free state man in the council. Mr. Houston, finding himself

surrounded by evil influences, which he neither could control nor modify, resigned his position subsequently to escape the appearance of complicity in a series of shameless acts, and reserved his strength for occasions in which he could render better service to his constituents.

The second act of the two houses was to pass a bill temporarily locating the seat of government at Shawnee, but when that measure was transmitted to the governor, he returned it disallowed, stating his objections. The act of organization gave to the governor the power to nominate the temporary place of government, and to the legislature the right to locate it permanently, therefore the two houses had sought to usurp the governor's prerogative and had neglected to use their own. The reasonableness of his objections only constituted an additional argument for passing the bill over his veto, and the bill became an act, under which they adjourned to Shawnee Mission, where the legislature convened on the day named for the reassembly. The governor had named Pawnee as the seat of government, because it would be convenient for residents in the territory, and remote from the influences of the border, but the legislature elected by Missouri voters, and residing in a great part in that state, preferred Shawnee, because of its nearness to their homes and to their sources of inspiration. The law making in which the legislature indulged was not very laborious. The Missouri code of laws was enacted, merely changing the words where necessary to make state apply to territory, and in a few other verbal particulars which were compassed by short explanatory clauses. Special legislation provided for giving to the legislature and to its appointees, all the patronage of the territory, so that the present and all future governors should be powerless to secure fair play for the people, and whatever appointments should be made by them were to remain in force until after the general election in 1857, when they were certain that they would have completed their manipulations to plant slavery as a domestic institution in Kansas as a state. The legislature of 1856 was not to be elected until the fall of that year, and the general election which would occur in the following year would obviate the necessity for a protracted session, so that the members could calculate upon their action in the first legislative

assembly remaining unchanged until the assembly after the general election to be convened in January, 1858. The whole scheme was well considered, and might have been effective to the full measure of the intentions of the proslavery party, but for the controling finger of that power, which directs the affairs of all mankind. The action of the *pseudo* legislature was intended to bridge over the chasm from the day of its first meeting to the time when Kansas should have been admitted to the union as a slave state, and in the interim, every lawyer admitted to practice, every man appointed to an office, every candidate for election, must swear to support the provisions of the fugitive slave law. No man was to be permitted to vote in an election, unless he had first qualified by taking that abominable oath, and foreigners who had declared their intention to become citizens were also denied the franchise. Samson was handed over to his enemies, tied hand and foot, but he was able to burst his bonds and confound the Philistines without dragging down the pillars of the temple like the blinded hero who fell a victim to the lures of the more cunning Delilah. Their own friends were to come in by shoals without being sworn to anything, except in the way that had become second nature, and they might vote in any election, provided they had paid one dollar each for the privlege of enslaving their fellow citizens by means of the ballot box. The sheriff, one of their own party, was to be in attendance at the polling place on the day of election, to receive the so called tax, immediately before the votes were to be recorded. The way was to be made easy for one of the most unscrupulous and most conscienceless invasions, ever attempted in historic times; the people to be governed were to be the only persons without rights in the community, and this specimen of popular sovereignty and state rights constituted the first finished illustration of the meanings of the proslavery party. Here all disguise was flung aside, as no longer useful, the game had been won, there was only one thing further necessary, and that was to divide the plunder. There was always a possibility that some men might be brought to trial, and it was important that trial by jury, the "palladium of justice," as it has been called, in the days when it was not thought necessary for a man to be without common sense to find the way to the

jury box, should be made safe for the governing party. That end could readily be made safe beyond the chance of accident. Sheriffs, as well as all other officers, must be of their own party or they could not take the qualifying oaths, and the selection of jurymen was to be left to the discretion of the sheriff, with this additional proviso, that in any trial relating to slaves, no man should sit as a juror if he had any scruples as to sanctioning slavery. Persons accused of decoying slaves from their masters would find in such machinery a despotism against which they must be absolutely powerless, and the punishments which were to follow upon conviction, transferred to the regular courts all the abominations and brutalities incidental to the rule of Judge Lynch, or the worst days of the inquisition. There was one disquietude on the minds of the Shawnee legislators; they had passed bill after bill to the governor, and that gentleman had returned them, saying that they were not legally constituted, because they were not sitting in the place where he had convened them by his proclamation, and their adjournment to Shawnee was *ultra vires*. Had Mr. Reeder retained the bills, they would have become law by effluxion of time under the organic act, but he had returned every bill in due course with the same carefully worded statement. They were alarmed. They were playing for heavy stakes with loaded dice, and they wanted to be quite sure that after the game had been finished they would obtain the spoil, so the matter was submitted to the supreme court, which was composed mainly of their friends, and was then sitting in Shawnee. Sound lawyers would have answered them that an extra judicial opinion is worthless, as well as an object of suspicion, but the partisans to whom the *pseudo* legislature had appealed replied without the formality of inquiry, or hearing counsel, or in any way qualifying themselves to pronounce an opinion, setting forth in super laudatory terms, the high opinion entertained by the court of both houses of the legislature, and their action in every particular. Judge Johnson refused to be a party to the farce, but there were enough without his concurrence to satisfy the qualms of the legislature, and thus reinforced the two houses memorialized president Pierce to remove the offending and positively dangerous governor. They affirmed that he treated them with con-

tempt, betrayed a want of interest in the affairs of Kansas territory, had become engaged in fraudulent land speculations, and worse than all besides, that he had allied himself with the abolitionists. The power behind the presidential chair had, however, anticipated the course that would be necessary, and before the accredited messenger of the assembly could reach Washington, Mr. Reeder had been removed by the president, and was in receipt of the notification. That gentleman no longer stood in their way, and they made ready to worship the rising sun if only the president would send them a man who could not be disgusted by their lawlessness and manifold malpractices.

Polonius, discoursing to the queen of Denmark concerning the madness of her son, the Prince *Hamlet*, said: "For this effect, defective, comes by cause." So the removal of Andrew H. Reeder from his position as governor of Kansas territory came by cause; but there can be little doubt that the true cause was not set forth in the document which was forwarded to that gentleman. There were three counts in the indictment under which the governor was condemned. "Speculating in Kaw lands," was one item; that was the Indian reservation before mentioned. The Kansas tribe of Indians were called Kaws by the French. "Speculating in town lots" was the next item; and "convening the legislature on an United States military reserve," completed the triangle of attack. It was something to put their assailant upon his defense, and to be able to say, when their own procedure might be impugned, that the man who had been their accuser was removed from his office for improper conduct; but the historian must examine the charges with a view to determining the guilt of the accused. It is not enough that we should inquire, were the facts as they are stated to have been; we must also ascertain if possible whether there was a wrong purpose in the mind of the accused person. People of some acumen are in the habit of denouncing Francis Lord Bacon, because he took fees from suitors in his court, a practice which is repugnant to our customs, as well as to our laws, but which, while contrary to law, was consistent with the rule in the days of James I. of England, and had been a practice common in the country for centuries. We must go behind the dry fact always, to ascertain the

ameliorating circumstances; and just that course of procedure in this instance will enable us to see Mr. Reeder's action in the light which belonged to his time and circumstances. We may be sure that the propagandists were not scrupulous themselves. Gov. Reeder had purchased a share in the town of Pawnee, which was laid out within or near the boundaries of the military reserve known as Fort Riley; and he convened the legislative assembly to assemble in that place, where the people had engaged to provide the necessary accommodations. The commander of the Fort, Col. Montgomery, was the leader in laying off the town near by the miltary post. The action taken in relation thereto was known to the authorities in Washington, and approved by them. What had been done at Leavenworth was repeated at Pawnee, adjoining Fort Riley, but there was this difference that a governor of a territory had now taken a hand in the game, paying his full price with the others and running his chances in a territory not very likely to allow town lots to increase in value rapidly. The probabilities simply were, that his money would lie unimproved, giving little or no interest for years, and even after all that, he could have no advantage which might not just as certainly have been secured by Brown, Jones or Robinson. It is now evident that special surveys were made *ex post facto*, to make it appear that the town of Pawnee had been located within the military reservation. Two military commissions in succession having failed to report as the chairman of the committee on military affairs wished, the secretary of war obliged Missouri and Jeff. Davis by extending the lines of the last survey, so that Pawnee should be made a stumbling block to the governor of Kansas, who refused to be a blind tool in the hands of the proslavery men. Land which was not a military reserve when Mr. Reeder took a share in the town, and when he convened the legislature, was made a reserve afterwards for partisan purposes, under the manipulating hand of a man whose influence and whose purposes have since that time become matter of history in the red light of civil war. Pawnee was razed to the ground by one thousand dragoons from Texas in 1855; but there is nothing in all that to make Mr. Reeder blameworthy in the least. If Mr. Reeder had allowed himself to be made a sharer in the enterprise without purchase,

there would have been a sufficient ground for blaming him, but when the man who winked at the proceedings of proslavery men at Fort Leavenworth, laying off a town on an Indian reserve, and dealing with it in the manner known to have been followed in that case, made the very moderate and legitimate action of the Fort Riley men the pretext for destroying a town and dismissing a governor, it is not difficult to see that the pretext was not the cause, that the real sin committed was the noncompliance with proslavery dictation. The Kaw land speculation meant nothing more than that Mr. Reeder was one of a company that would have bought part of the reservation belonging to the Kaw half breeds, if the president had given his consent to the sale, paying $4.00 per acre for the land; but the purchase was never made. The Delaware land adjoining was sold for $1.50 per acre, and nobody was blamed for participating in the venture. The charges were pretexts, nothing more. Had the man been mercenary, he might have made his own terms with the unscrupulous party that thwarted him at every move, not because he was unjust, but because he held the scales of justice with a hand firm and inexorable, and could not be influenced by party. His instincts as a partizan would have made him Missourian had the proslavery men been guided by an approximation to fair play; but when he saw them moved by the lowest greed, seeking their own end always, by means often of the most brutal description; when he found them overriding the laws which he had sworn to administer faithfully, and expecting him to be a party to their machinations; when he found that the principles which he admired in democracy had no place in the programme of his nominal friends, he turned from them irrespective of consequences, not to ally himself with the free state party, but to strive to secure justice for them; and his action deserves the approval of every right minded man. He was strong, and he favored the weak, becoming weak himself for their sakes, yet never identifying himself with them in such a manner as to make them his partisans. When he permitted himself to be intimidated into issuing the certificates to the Missourian crowd of *pseudo* legislators, he did one act which cannot be defended, but with that single exception, his conduct as governor merited praise at every step, and consid-

ering the time of trial, in which he came so little scathed through the ordeal, he was a man among ten thousand. The legislature which petitioned for his removal was bounded by the organic act which forbade the members to hold offices of emolument during the time that they were members, and for some considerable time after their terms of office should have expired; but in spite of all such restrictions, those men constituted each other officers in various capacities, and were not scrupulous as to the emoluments bestowed because every man wanted his own log rolled in turn. They turned all their powers into money considerations. They gave illegal privileges to joint stock companies, chartered works of various kinds to benefit themselves, and jobbed off the location of the capital of the state for their personal advantage only. The Missourians who had remained at home, bearing the expenses of the invasion, and approving the assaults upon the citizens of the territory and upon their governor, had something besides applause to bestow when they found their henchmen carving fortunes for themselves out of the general ruin, and perhaps some who still possessed a few drachms of serviceable conscience, may have begun to doubt whether Mr. Reeder, the victim of such knaves, was really so black as he had been painted.

CHAPTER VIII.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY.

(continued.)

DIFFICULTIES BEFORE GOV. SHANNON.

Legislation in Shawnee — Proslavery Laws — Bond and Free — Death for Abolitionists — Sifting the Jury Panel — Self-chosen Legislators — Presidential Sympathies — Revolutionary Constancy — Spirit of '76 — Primary Meeting — Shall we Convene? — Oppression Breeds Resistance — Free States to the Rescue — Pass of Thermopylæ — Democrats Denounce Missouri — The Sham Legislature — Mass Convention — Frank Pierce Defended — Strange Associates — Big Springs Platform — Topeka Convention — The Shawnee Farce — United we Stand — Vindicating Reeder — Ex-Governor Heard From — Delegation to Gov. Shannon — State Consti-

tution — Convention Executive — Peoples' Proclamation — Politics in Churches — Prayer to Congress — Twin Delegates — Distasteful Physic — Physician Heal Thyself — Tweedledum and Tweedledee — Political Matrimony — Democrats and Republicans — The Press — The word "White" — First Constitution — Territorial Executive — We are Ready.

MR. REEDER'S removal was followed by the appointment of his successor, the Hon. Wilson Shannon, of Ohio, the second in the category of seven governors who were to serve in Kansas within the seven years intervening between the inauguration of government in the territory, and the election of the first governor of the state. Mr. Shannon accepted his appointment, and in due course will be found assuming the duties of his office; but for the present, it will be well to examine the elements out of which he was expected to establish a settled and homogeneous community. The Germans have a proverb which says that "against *der dumheit* the Gods are powerless." The fool is invincible in his folly. It would be one of the wonders of an extraordinary age, could Mr. Shannon have ruled such men for their good; but a brief digest of some of the acts of the Shawnee legislature will best illustrate the difficulties of his position. To recapitulate their acts in full is a duty which happily does not devolve upon the historian. The last chapter closed with a few references to the personal aims which were pursued in defiance of law and decency, by the legislators; their results in the form of law making will come next in order. We have seen that the code of law adopted for the territory was a transcript of the laws operating in Missouri, with just such verbal changes as were necessary to make their statutes apply to the people and the territory to be ruled. What was done in that case needs no further comment, because in Missouri the experiences of many states had been availed of in preparing the best forms of law of which the ingenuity and wisdom of mankind had conceived, aided by the light shed upon such abstruse subjects, from the days of the banishment of Solon, to the latest triumphs of Rufus Choate. Only what is exceptional and special demands particular notice, and in that category we include the pro-slavery laws which were enacted in Shawnee by the representatives of Missouri sentiment. The laws in that state were, as generally they may be found in most communities, better than the

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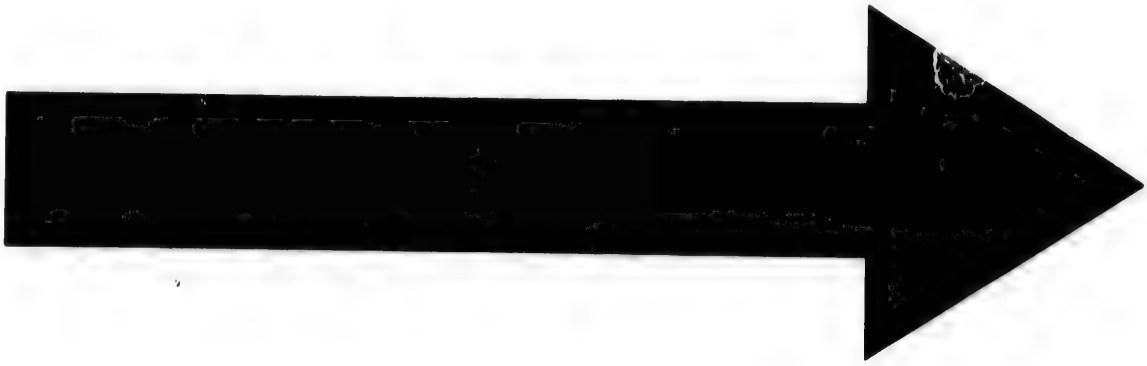

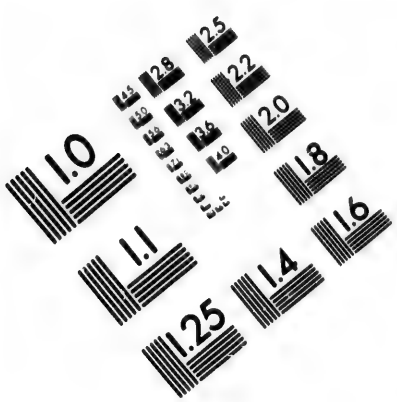

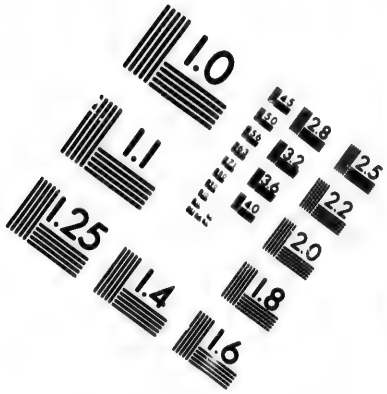

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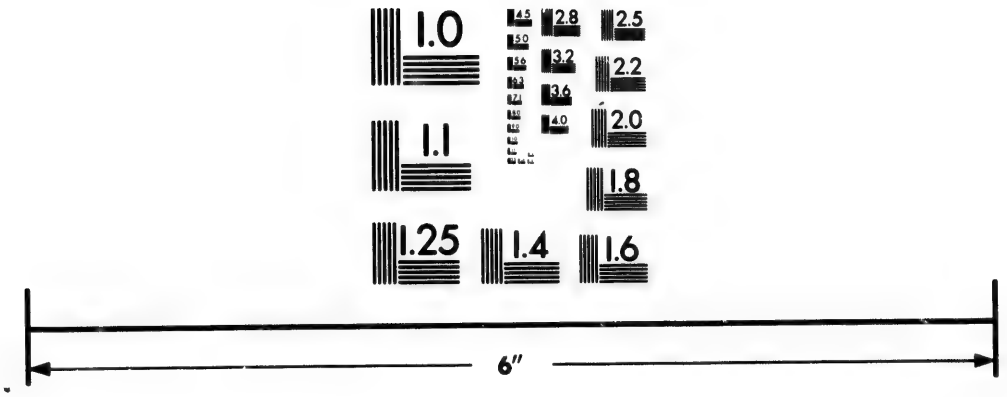

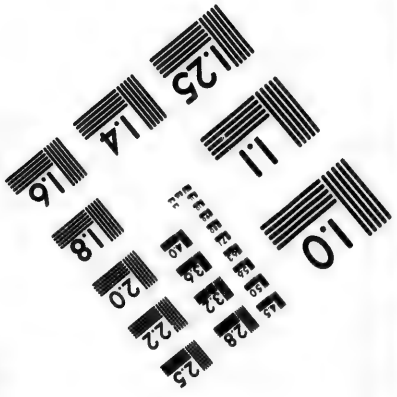

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average of public thought and desire, but not quite on a par with the righteousness of the best men, who are a law unto themselves. When the law books were reenacted with explanatory clauses, consequently, fair results were accomplished, but when special acts were initiated and passed, the old landmarks were lost sight of, the mariners were at sea without stars, compass or chronometer, and they allowed their feelings to become their guides, so that Kansas territory was to be governed by the sentiments of a class, which stood in Missouri at an immense disparity, below the tone of its adopted laws. The tendency of civilization is toward the mitigation of punishments, and death penalties where they are not abandoned altogether are restricted until they apply only to offenses of the most henious description, such as murder without mitigating circumstances. The old time savagery is being effaced from our statute books, and all good men rejoice in that feature of this dispensation. With that fact fully impressed upon our minds we may examine a few of the offenses which were named by the Solons of Shawnee, and the penalties which were to be paid by offenders who fell under their ban for assisting their fellow men with complexions less comely, to realize "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," the rights inherent in humanity under the most sacred sanctions ever participated in by a free people. Should any man raise an insurrection among slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes, he should suffer death; and any free person assisting by furnishing arms, or by any other overt act, should be amenable to the same penalty. The language of the act was mandatory: "Shall suffer death." The dread of a servile insurrection must have been overwhelming when such harsh punishments were so rigorously upheld; but the area of offense was to be considerably widened before the actual circumstances and probabilities of Kansas territory could be reached, and consequently, the same penalty, in the same terms, was set down against any person who by speaking, writing or printing, should persuade slaves, free negroes or mulattoes to rebel, or conspire against, or murder any citizen. That provision was decidedly a hard road to travel, for any abolitionist who might stand for trial before a jury of slave owners, or their defendants, entitled in their awful responsibility to be judges of the law, as well as of the fact, and to translate the

words "conspire," "rebel" and "persuade," by their feelings of hate against the individual and the class assumed to be represented by him. The last section of the act provided that no man should serve as a juror in any trial in which slaves and slavery were essential items, if he had conscientious scruples against slavery.

Minor offenses under the act, such as helping a slave to escape, were treated as grand larcenies, and there was an option resting with court and jury, as the punishment might be death, but could not be less than ten years imprisonment with hard labor. Every variation that could be imagined of that form of offense was provided for in the same way. Any person persuading a slave to escape, or assisting him after he had effected his escape, was to be imprisoned with hard labor not less than five years. If the escaped slave had made his way to Kansas from any other state or territory, the penalty for assisting him in any case should be precisely the same, as if his master or owner resided in the territory. Any person resisting an officer engaged in arresting a slave, or persuading or assisting the slave to escape from the officer, or from any other person having the said slave in custody, should suffer imprisonment with hard labor not less than two years. Any officer refusing to assist in arresting a slave who might have escaped from his owner in Kansas, or anywhere else, must pay a fine not exceeding $500, nor less than $100 in every such case. Any person writing anything likely to produce disaffection among slaves, or publishing any such writing, or asserting that men had no right to hold slaves in the territory, could be imprisoned, subject to hard labor not less than five years. Under such circumstances it might well be matter for doubt who were the bondmen and who were the free men, if indeed there were to be any such in the territory. Further legislation was still found necessary; the death penalty must be made more widely operative, imprisonment with hard labor for any number of years would not suffice, and consequently a second and more stringent act was passed, which made the punishment of death imperative in many of the cases which had been more leniently considered in the first recited act. The lower type of thought in Missouri was to govern in Kansas, and it need not be wondered at that the better class of

democrats, residing then in the territory, who until then had never come into contact with the more repulsive features of the pro-slavery party, should draw back with horror from such associations. It was not easy for men who had seen the unscrupulous conduct recently exhibited at the polling places, which had been surrounded in every precinct in Kansas, to believe that such men as composed the bogus legislature in Shawnee were moved by conscience alone to their one sided Draconian work, merely because they covered the pursuit of their personal and selfish aims with the name adopted by the followers of Jefferson. Democracy meant something higher and better than that, or else the vices of an aristocracy and the oppressions of a monarchy would be as virtues by comparison. Democrats were alienated from the beginning from the excesses which the border ruffians had indulged in under their own eyes, and now they commenced to draw off from the Kansas wing of their party. They meant to make Kansas their home, to rear around them the institutions which make life supportable, to raise their families and themselves into affluence and cultivation in the territory which they hoped to make into a state, and it was natural that they should desire so much of freedom as would leave the ballot box free for every man's vote, as would extend the guaranties of security impartially over all properties alike, and would maintain the rights of conscience so far as that every person might express an opinion without danger of imprisonment or death supervening, even though he might presume to assert that one man had no right to hold another in involuntary bondage because his lips were thicker, and his hair not quite so straight. If the men from whom these laws had emanated had been honest representatives of the public opinion of Kansas territory, such enactments would have been none the less atrocious, but the fact of their usurpation, added

"Gall to make oppression bitter."

The world's history had offered nothing more repugnant to mankind, in the form of sovereign contempt for the dictates of humanity, since Nero dishonored and destroyed his mother, to rival the vices of another monster. The wrongs against which our forefathers rose, when this handful of colonies first became a

nation, were as nothing by comparison with the high handed intolerance of free speech, the refusal of free voting, and the interference with jury panels which were now to come into operation. Provincial governors under British rule sometimes overstepped the law to punish offenders against their person and dignity, but the law itself supposed every man free to express an opinion, even though it conflicted with authority, and when infractions were to be punished by prosecutions for libel, the man who threw himself upon his country, pleading justification in the facts, although no such plea was allowed in law, often found the jury of his countrymen a sufficient protection against the oppressor. Now that time honored security was abrogated at one stroke by men who had elected themselves to office in wanton defiance of the community, to whom they dictated barbarous laws, such as would have disgraced the dark ages of Europe, or the rule of the Spaniard in Mexico. Public opinion, which could govern congress and presidents elsewhere, would not be so readily suppressed, and it came into full sway by slow developments, but it came with such power that every obstacle was at length removed. To petition such outrageous mockeries as the two houses constituting the legislative assembly at Shawnee, would have been folly; there was no common ground between the men who had usurped authority to use it for their own greed and aggrandizement, and the people, whose every instinct was to be overridden; but there was a power above and beyond that miserable *simulacher*, and the appeal of democrats and republicans alike was made to the general government. President Pierce and the administration were asked to issue a proclamation denouncing the conduct of the invaders of Kansas territory, and calling upon all good citizens, everywhere, to discourage such proceedings. There were in the territory at that time sixteen United States officers, to whom such a proclamation would, under the circumstances, have had the force of law, and in most of the states which were in sympathy with Missouri in this matter, a similar power could have been brought into play to reinforce the law abiding element everywhere, as soon as it should appear that the president was not in sympathy with the wrong doers, and obedient to the dictation of Gen. Atchison and other demogogues of that stamp, who boasted every day of the

power which could be exercised in that quarter. The removal of Gov. Reeder was, of course, an evidence more potent than words of the truth of their claims, and when, within a short time, two of the judges were removed from their judicial districts on the same gauzy pretext which had served in Mr. Reeder's case, to cover the punishment of one who had not been sufficiently subservient to their demands, there was a tolerably significant hint for Gov. Shannon that presidential action would support the Missourian faction, let his sympathies go where they might. Still for some time longer the honest democrats in Kansas territory were believers in the desire of President Pierce to give them help.

The other section of the residents had long since realized the situation, and on them the spirit of '76 sat like the mantle which fell from the heavenward ascending car of fire, upon the shoulders of Elisha. They were neither rash nor pusillanimous, but possessing their souls in peace, they waited for the outcome of events, with a constancy which did not waver, and with a courage that could wait, where more timid men might have alternated between submission and outbreak. They could no longer be deluded with the expectation that the general government would interpose, to favor them and the cause of justice, and therefore it became necessary to organize themselves, for purposes of defense. In the afternoon of June 8th, the citizens of the territory were called together at Lawrence, to hold a primary meeting in which the aspect of affairs was discussed from every stand point, by able men, anxious so to shape their course, as that they should carry along with them the fullest approval of the great commonwealth of liberal thought. The primary meeting determined that a convention should be called together in Lawrence on the 25th of that month, to consider and take action if found advisable, in reference to the legislature which was then shortly to assemble in Pawnee. The minds of men were much exercised as to the course which it devolved upon the community to pursue. We are too apt to be ruled in any case by precedents which have been formed for us by others, in circumstances more or less like those in which we find ourselves placed, and in the experiences of the union there was no case precisely analogous to the then condition of Kansas; therefore, men were compelled to reason from first

principles, to determine what they ought do. There was a full determination on one point; the citizens of Kansas would not bow down to the idol of brass with the feet of clay, but the anxiety which was exhibited took the form of desiring to avoid a wrong move at the outset, from which there would have to be a retreat. The representative districts of the territory in their several precincts were invited to send five delegates each to the convention, and at the time and place named every precinct was represented. Judge Wakefield was elected president of the convention, and the spirit manifested by the members generally was as good as could be wished. It could serve no good purpose to narrate the proceedings of the body in detail; suffice it to say that there was no lack of courage in the emergency, but there was wisdom as well as resolve. When John Falstaff said that, "Discretion is the better part of valor," he said what was absolutely true and noteworthy, as more will depend upon the foresight of the council, and the command, than upon the mere animal courage of the combatants. The convention determined that it was the duty of every lover of freedom and justice to abandon for the present all minor considerations, to waive all differences in mere matters of detail, and to give and accept aid from any persons or organizations that would assist in securing freedom for Kansas. They affirmed their indubitable right to conduct their domestic affairs as a state untrammeled by the interference of any one outside their own borders, and coupled therewith their determination to exercise the powers that inhered in them as free men, entitled to self government. They came to the conclusion that whatever laws might be passed by the legislature at Pawnee could have no authority over them, as it was of the essence of republican government, that the laws should be made by the people, as well as for them. They were conscious that in the struggle daily becoming more imminent, they and their friends must be ready to meet the assault of Missouri in its worst form, but they were not intimidated by the prospect; and they finished their labors by suggesting that a free state central committee should be appointed by the electors to act as the executive of the popular party, to which every precinct should send its quota, in proportion to the number of members of the legislature returned by each district.

Two days later in the same place the life-long democrats resident in Kansas convened under the title of "the National Democracy." They were desirous to hold fast to the old ways, and to maintain allegiance to the organization with which they had trained so long, but they recognized that the domestic affairs of the territory must be amended by some means inside the old lines of party, or beyond them, and for that reason they had assembled in the manner named, to deal with every issue that might arise. Col. Jas. H. Lane was unanimously elected chairman, and the convention proceeded to business without delay. Their committee on resolutions drew up a manifesto, for in that light only could their preamble and resolutions be viewed, which must have produced a salutary effect on many minds in Washington, Missouri, and throughout the states, wherever it had been assumed that the outcry in Kansas was only being made by a few fanatical abolitionists. The democrats commenced by the enunciation of their party faith and their indorsement of the platform of 1852, and going in proper form from generals to particulars, went on to say that the interests of the territory demanded an early and thorough organization of their party upon truly national grounds. They courteously requested that citizens of neighboring states would allow them to manage their own affairs in their own way, and pronounced emphatically in a few words against illegal voting from any quarter, whether by outsiders or others. The tone of the assembly was as entirely radical on the question at issue, as had been free state convention in the same place two days earlier. Events were now crowding fast and thick upon each other's heels. The legislative assembly had met at Pawnee and had expelled all its free state members with only one exception, Mr. Houston, before the next meeting was convened on the 11th of July. The action of the pseudo legislature had not taken anybody by surprise, as it had been understood from the first what were to be the tactics of the corrupt majority, but none the less it was the duty of the free state men to carry the public with them, and to mark their sense of every fresh outrage in a becoming way. The meeting was largely attended by the citizens, and Judge John A. Wakefield, one of the expelled men, was called to the chair. There was considersble latitude of opinion as to the course which

should now be taken, and seven spirited addresses were made besides the opening and closing remarks of the chairman. Most of the speakers having in their minds the fact, that there was really no legislative assembly sitting in Kansas, inasmuch as the body of men chosen by the mobs from across the border, were in no sense representing the will of the territory, recommended that the people should be at once called upon to elect a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution to be submitted to congress as the basis of an application that the territory should be admitted into the union. One speaker, seeing no hope of any good result from an appeal to congress in that manner, urged that there should be an organization to defend the ballot box against all comers, except those who were entitled to cast their vote in each election. Eventually the citizens resolved that a mass meeting of all free state citizens throughout the territory should be convened at Lawrence on the 10th day of August, to consider the situation of Kansas and its government.

The general mass convention assembled at the time and place named, and the session lasted until the evening of August 15th. Hon. Philip C. Schuyler presided, and several vice presidents were nominated. Dr. Robinson, whose name will be familiar to our readers as having brought to Lawrence the first detachment of emigrants, under the auspices of the New England society, and whose demeanor throughout the momentous events yet to be seen, secured him the honor to be elected the first governor of the free state of Kansas, was chairman of the committee on resolutions; and the matter contained in the documents submitted by him to the convention afforded sufficient margin for discussion. There was daily occurring some new wrong which tended to exasperate good men against the party then administering the affairs of Kansas. Fourteen days had elapsed since the removal of Mr. Reeder, who still remained in the territory, and his successor would not arrive until the first day of September, pending which event the executive function was in the hands of Daniel Woodson, the territorial secretary, and he did the work required by the Missourian faction with such obsequiousness that his masters in the legislature forwarded petitions to Washington to procure him the permanent appointment. He would have been their tool for any

purpose they could name, and only such persons were wanted by the party. In all Kansas now, there was only one man, the postmaster at Lawrence, holding an office in the territory, who was not in favor of slavery being enacted as a part of the constitution. Among conditions so exciting there was no lack of spice for the speeches delivered in the mass convention, and no lack of sympathy on the part of the audience. The resolutions adopted on the 14th of August and the following day, amid much other matter, denounced the legislature, which had now adjourned to Shawnee, to be near their base of supplies, as having been imposed upon the community by bare faced fraud, and as being in every sense derogatory to the federal authority, and therefore the convention repudiated the usurped authority of the wrongful legislators, and the members severally pledged themselves, by all lawful means, to resist their enactments; and in the premises, the mass assembled in Lawrence favored the proposal to appoint a convention for the purpose of preparing a state constitution, as a step toward admission to the union. Among the men who took part in the mass convention at Lawrence was Col. James H. Lane, who presided over the meeting of the "National Democracy." With many others, the colonel still had faith in the president, and from some source he had evidently been assured that "Frank Pierce would prefer, at any sacrifice, to secure freedom to Kansas." If there was any such desire on the part of President Pierce, he was one of the best dissemblers on record, and every act of his official career in which Kansas was concerned tended toward the complete subjugation of the popular party. Many of the men in that convention urged the adoption of extreme measures at once, and would have been well pleased could their fellow citizens have seen their way to the formation of military bodies, to conquer their rights from the Shawnee usurpers, and to put an end to that abominable burlesque; but it was not yet time for such movements. There is but little beneficial heat in the sun's rays which strike the topmost peaks of the mountains; it is only when its radiance floods the valleys with fertilizing warmth that great results are possible. So is it also in human affairs. The high and holy resolve of the foremost man must bide its time until the slower thinkers have realized his idea, before the grand consum-

mation can be reached. Years later many such men would have precipitated Abraham Lincoln into declaratory acts which might have jeopardized the purposes that he, as much as they, meant to accomplish; but it was necessary to wait upon events, and the fruits could not be gathered until they were ripe. Violent measures would have been fatal to union at that moment, as the mass convention comprised men of every shade of opinion, some of whom would develop wonderfully within a few months; but just now they stood hesitating by the side of the stream into which they were soon to be seen plunging with the skill and resolution of the practiced swimmer. It was a new experience for democrats, whigs, republicans and abolitionists to be training together, and during the first day there was much cause to fear that the attempted fusion would prove a *fiasco*. Every man was prepared to have concessions made by others, but seeing that he was absolutely right himself, it was impossible for him to abandon the remotest tittle of his demands. The evening of the first day closed upon what seemed likely to be the saddest blow possible for freedom in the territory, in the proof afforded of the inevitable disunion between men who could only win by working shoulder to shoulder. Extremists had logically insisted upon their accustomed strong points, as if the mass could be warmed into enthusiasm by logical clearness alone, and parties had been on the very point of drifting away from each other. During that night wonderful advances had been made. Feeling had usurped the place of logic for a time, and expediency was found to be akin to supreme wisdom, where human government is involved. When the river is stopped by the mountain, the stream does not say: "I am bound to run due north, and therefore I must climb your sides and flow over your top," but it bends to inexorable circumstances, runs around the base of the mountain, which it cannot otherwise pass by, and at the proper point, starts once more upon its cardinal direction. The men who were resolved to free the territory from Missourian domination could not afford to waste their time upon smaller details then. *Cassio* was very far gone in liquor when Shakspere depicted him arguing the question whether the commander's soul should be saved before that of the lieuten[illegible]. Such matters could "bide a wee," as the Scotch proverb has it,

until the common object had been won, and then, when the invader could no longer insult them with oppressive laws, assail their freedom, destroy their rights, and endanger their lives, the time would have arrived again wherein it would be advantageous for society, and for each other, that differences of opinion should exist. Before the next day's formal meeting, there had been many conversational discussions, in which leading minds on different planes discovered that they were very near each other, in the presence of the common enemy. The concessional spirit was fully awakened when the convention resumed on the 15th. The resolutions, concerning which there seemed no chance of an agreement, were carried unanimously, when a few really unimportant amendments in form and expression had been introduced, and in addition to that, it was resolved, with similar unanimity, that the central committee, appointed as the popular executive *pro tempore*, by the convention at Lawrence on the 25th of June, should be solicited to call a "free state convention," to meet at Big Springs, on the 5th day of September, to take such action as the exigencies of the time, always becoming more critical, might render necessary. It was provided that the elections for that convention should be held on the 25th day of August, in every precinct, and that every electoral district should send five men to the representative body.

There were not yet strings enough to the bow to secure every interest in one direction, hence it happened, that on the afternoon of the last day of the mass convention, August 15th, a meeting was convened by men of all parties, for citizens of every view who were agreed that Kansas should govern herself. The object sought by this meeting was the appointment of an executive to call a territorial convention as a preliminary to the formation of a state government. Dr. Hunting was chosen as president. The resolutions reported by the chairman of the committee, Mr. Geo. W. Smith, were to the effect that the convention mooted should meet at Topeka on September 19th, the convention to consist of three delegates for each representative elected by the several precincts, and the body so formed should determine upon all subjects of public importance, but more particularly upon the speedy framing of a state constitution, upon which the admission of

Kansas to the union could be sought. When so many different influences were at work to secure unanimity in the popular party, it is very evident that the general desire for organization and admission to the union as a free state must have been very strong among the citizens of Kansas. The ratification meeting held the same evening, when Mr. C. K. Holliday presided, was one of the most entirely resolved and unanimous assemblies ever seen in the territory. Thus we are brought up in order of growth and time from the people to the delegate convention at Big Springs, as resolved upon by the mass convention at Lawrence on the 15th of August. The unanimity born in that time of trial had extended its sway over the whole community in Kansas, excepting only the few slave owners and their immediate emissaries of Missouri, and every district was represented in the body of more than one hundred delegates. Every man was so well known that there was little time spent in verifying credentials, and still there were present such hitherto diverse materials, that every individual in the group might have asked his neighbor, in amazement, "How came you here?" if there had not been a common agreement that for this occasion all differences should be forgotten, that the wrongs of their territory might be sooner healed. The central fires, we are sometimes told, have melted the most heterogeneous elements into the mighty rocks which form the bulwarks of the globe, so the fires of oppression had subdued the angularity of ten thousand various minds to make the granite from which the state of Kansas should be shaped; and every man in that multifarious gathering:

> "Wrought in a sad sincerity:
> Himself from God he could not free;
> He builded better than he knew;
> The conscious stone to beauty grew."

Five committees, of thirteen members, were elected to report a platform; to consider the propriety of a state organization; to consider the duty of the community toward the Shawnee legislature; to advise as to the course to be pursued in the coming election of a delegate to congress; and the fifth committee of thirteen were allowed ample scope and verge enough under the head of miscellaneous business. The members of the several commit-

tees, sixty-five men of ability, had been selected for their mental power and social weight, which must soon be of paramount importance in their united action. Judge G. W. Smith was chosen permanent president of the convention, Col. Lane was chairman of the platform committee, and the other selections were quite as well considered from every standpoint. Col. Lane's report was a masterly production; it commenced by reciting in its preamble the main features of the struggle, and the surroundings of Kansas settlers, which made up the critical and unparalleled condition of the territory, and made it imperative upon all free men, to unite in the formation of a party, in which for the time all minor considerations should be merged, to secure the rights guarantied by the Declaration of Independence, the constitution of the United States and the Kansas act. The abolition question *per se* was quieted for the time by announcing the union of all classes, that from principle or for their own interests preferred free labor to employing slaves; and the resolutions springing from the preamble were equal in tone to the occasion. All minor issues were banished from the field of vision, in proposing an organization which was to embrace Democrats and Whigs, citizens, native and naturalized, and which was to continue until the grand purpose had been served; after which the old influences might once more resume their sway over each individual. The first wrong to be crushed out was the virtual disfranchisement of Kansas settlers by the action of nonresident voters at the polling places. Next to that, in point of importance, came the cardinal enunciation that Kansas must be a free state; but the main point was gained on the lower ground of expediency, which might unite them all, whereas the higher ground of principle must have driven them asunder in the then condition of public sentiment. The most vigorous abolitionist was able to admit "that slave labor is a curse to the master," and it was worth while to leave the other questions unargued for the time. Many were desirous that all negroes, bond or free, should be excluded from Kansas, but the convention was not asked to indorse that view. The charge of seeking the abolition of slavery, which was industriously imputed to all free state men, was next denied, and the motives of the accusers stigmatized with becoming energy, inasmuch as

the party contained many men who could not have been induced by pressure, to identify themselves with the abolition movement, which nevertheless, they were most efficiently helping for expediency's sake, at that stage. The charge was denounced as stale and ridiculous, and the repudiators were undoubtedly correct. The platform concluded with the resolve that the territory or state of Kansas would concede to other states the right demanded in this instance, to manage their own affairs, and promised the slave owners that there should be no molestation nor obstruction put in their way by the people of Kansas, in holding or recovering their slaves. Such, in the main, was Col. Lane's programme.

The definition of the aims of the convention was to be the resultant of many forces more or less eccentric, but all agreeing in the main direction; so there was a very warm debate. The old question, "what will happen when an irresistible force collides with an immovable body?" could not be determined by contemplating the proceedings at Big Springs. None were irresistible, none immovable on that occasion. For many of the men the platform was not sufficiently radical; they wanted slavery to be denounced as from an abolitionist standpoint; but they succeeded at last in toning down their expectations to a workable standpoint. To many, on the other hand, who had been trained to consider the negro neither a man nor a brother, the paragraphs in which the question of slavery was referred to seemed censurable, because it did not expressly provide that the hated color should not be seen in the territory. Those men abominated slavery, not out of love for the slave, and their detestation for the name "abolitionist" had long been almost a frenzy. Slavery was looked upon with horror by many men who could not help extending to the individual held in bondage, the animosity which belonged only to the system of which he was a victim. Such men came in to accept the more moderate platform at last, and by their influence, not a few men in Missouri were brought over to more rational views of the demand enforced by Kansas. Many consented to the platform because they knew that the end was yet far off and that the men who were convening to train with them against Missouri interference would, in the long run, arrive at more advanced ideas on the other issue. The programme was not precisely what

any man expressing individual views only would have written, but as a resultant of the ideas of many men, modifying and being modified, it was the best that at the time could be effected, and it served its purpose passing well. The committee on state organization did not think that such a movement was at that time expedient, but the report of that committee was not adopted, and an amendment expressing approval of the object to be avowed by the people's convention, which had been called together for the 19th of that month in Topeka, was carried. Mr. Emery, representing the committee to which had been entrusted the consideration of the duty of the people toward the legislature reported in effect, that the men assuming the task of law makers for Kansas were a foreign body influenced by the demagogues of Missouri, whom alone they represented, and that the people must therefore repudiate all their acts as consummations of violence unparalleled in the history of the union. In eloquent terms the report denounced the usurpation under which the community then suffered in consequence of the tyrannous interference of armed bands vastly outnumbering the resident population, having robbed them of the right of self government. The mockery of a government, which, under cover of fraud and violence, had thus been imposed upon Kansas, was disavowed with scorn, as a merely hypocritical pretense of republican rule, adopted by a despotism. The report went on to recite the monstrous deeds of the invaders; their disregard of the organic act by expelling members who had been duly elected, and by seating others who had not been chosen by the people; by holding their sessions in a place not authorized by law; by usurping the appointments of officers who should be chosen by the people, and conferring such appointments upon Missourians not even temporarily residing in the territory; by selling at the ballot boxes to all comers the privilege of outvoting the resident elector, in all congressional and other elections, which could not be abrogated; by compelling men who would offer themselves for office, or to vote at an election, to submit to an invidious oath, referring of course to the fugitive slave enactment; by suppressing freedom of the press and free speech, and in all usurping in such acts powers forbidden to congress; it was very properly resolved that such conduct libelled the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, violated the Bill of Rights, and brought disgrace on republican institutions. The report further resolved that no allegiance was due to the so-called legislature; that their laws had no validity, and that every man was entitled to resist them if he thought proper. The conduct of the judicial bench in becoming partizan, and carrying the ermine of the court into contests, inconsistent with the high function and impartiality incident to the position of a judge, was denounced with manly vigor, and it was resolved that inasmuch as the judiciary had, by extra judicial utterances, prejudged every case that could come before them, as between the people and the "outlaws" called a legislature, the people should resist by legal means, every attempt to carry the unjust laws into practice, and upon decisions being given against them by the territorial judges, should carry every such case by appeal to the higher courts, where dispassionate law and justice would govern the final utterance of authority. The report further resolved that the laws should be resisted peacefully only so long as the best interests of the territory seemed to demand such a concession, and as long as there seemed to be a hope of such means sufficing to procure relief; but that upon the failure of peaceful weapons, force should be used, and to that end men should form volunteer companies, procure arms, and accustom themselves to discipline, that they might be ready for any emergency. They would not allow themselves to be deprived of the elective franchise, and therefore they repudiated especially the so-called election law for the appointment of a congressional delegate, and concluded to appoint their own day for consummating the election of a delegate. The very able and comprehensive report thus summarized was eventually adopted without amendment.

The committee on the congressional delegation reported that the time named for holding the election of a delegate should be changed from the date fixed by the so-called legislature, to October 9th; that the rules prescribed for the March election should govern this procedure, except that the returns should be made to the territorial executive committee. This recommendation was embodied in the proclamation issued in the name of the people for the October election. Probably few or none supposed that the delegate thus to be chosen would be recognized by congress,

but it would emphasize the statement already made, that the people had no share in elections conducted by the Shawnee fraud. It was expedient to hold their election at a time when it might not be convenient for Missouri to send over armed mobs to intermeddle, and there was also a principle involved in refusing to recognize and act upon the fraudulent enactments of the legislature.

The committee on miscellaneous business afforded an opportunity to the convention to express an opinion on Mr. Reeder's conduct as governor, by recommending his nomination as delegate to congress. The committee eulogized the late governor's conduct in office in the very highest terms, defending him with logical acumen and unanswerable force against the accusations of his enemies; and the nomination was carried in a *furore* of enthusiasm. Many of the addresses made during the session were masterly efforts. At one time the difficulties which were interposed seemed overwhelming against the possibility of men so wide apart in general politics being able to discover common ground of union; but, at a critical moment, a speech full of feeling, which was made by Judge Smith, carried all hearts by storm, and, as a matter of course, the heads soon came to an agreement after that had been accomplished. When Mr. Reeder had been informed of his nomination as a delegate, subject of course to the vote of the people in October, he made a very admirable address, which showed that he combined within him the powers of the orator as well as the tact and prevision of a statesman. He saw, as all good men had long seen, that rashness must be avoided in the interests of the union, and he enforced that idea very effectively. He did not think that the south generally indorsed the action of Missouri in Kansas; he hoped that the other part of the pro-slavery organization would rebuke the wrongs which had been perpetrated; but failing the corrective force of public opinion in that way, should moral force be unavailing, and the tribunals of the country afford no relief, then it must become a solemn duty to defend our rights by force; and the governor concluded with a few inspiring lines from Fitz Greene Halleck's Bozzaris, which roused his hearers to a perfect frenzy. The scene when Mr. Reeder concluded with the words,

"Strike for your altars and your fires,
Strike for the green graves of your sires,
God and your native land,"

positively beggars description. Could the Missourian faction have seen the spirit of that assembly then, when the ultimate possibility was brought vividly before their mental vision, they must have perceived that such men could not be trampled on with impunity. They had in them the indomitable courage of their forefathers, and the weapons laid aside at Saratoga could be replaced by others more effective whenever the moment of dread necessity should arise. That speech capped the climax which had been reached by Judge Smith, and the once heterogeneous mass had been fused into igneous rock. A copy of the proceedings of the session was ordered to be made for Governor Shannon, and a delegation of three was appointed to wait upon that gentleman as soon as convenient. So ended a momentous gathering, or rather, so commenced a gathering together which was to last for many years.

The delegate convention at Topeka was called for the 19th of September, and the men were there on time, ready to initiate the preliminary steps for framing a constitution and applying to be admitted to the union as a free state. The session lasted two days. The Big Springs spirit was at work leavening the whole lump, and many men who had never approached the liberal element before were present throughout the proceedings, and from that time, were identified with the movements of the free state party. The first day was spent in making ready, but all the organization was completed before the convention rose, and the way was cleared for more stirring business on the morrow. The morning of the second day saw a committee of eighteen at work preparing an address which would challenge the attention of the whole union to a simple and vigorous statement of the wrongs endured, so far, with exemplary patience by Kansas. Among many other noteworthy things said and done by the Topeka convention, the most important were embodied in three resolutions, which, after reciting the more prominent events that made such action a necessity, announced the preliminary steps which were to be taken to make the constitution a reflex of the public opin-

ion of the territory. The delegates, speaking in their becoming dignity as representatives of the people of Kansas, resolved, that the election to be held for delegates to form a constitution, adopt a bill of rights, and do all other things necessary in that relation preparatory to organizing a state government, and asking for admission to the union, should be held in every precinct on the second Tuesday in October, and that the convention so to be chosen should assemble at Topeka on the fourth Tuesday of the same month, at noon, to proceed with their onerous duties. The committee resolved further, that a committee of seven, to be named "The Executive Committee of Kansas Territory," should be nominated by the president of the convention; and the appointments were made immediately to superintend the affairs of the territory so far as was necessary for the organization of the state government. Another step had been taken, and a duly authorized executive, composed of able men, stood charged with the details of the general issue which had been and which still must be determined by the popular voice. Col. Lane was chosen chairman of the executive, Mr. J. K. Goodin was secretary, and the other members were M. J. Parrott, P. C. Schuyler, C. K. Holliday, Judge Smith and G. W. Brown; the mere mention of whose names in conjunction suffices to show how great a revolution had taken place already. The people, by their representatives, issued a proclamation, which has already been mentioned in connection with the convention at Big Springs, appointing the second Tuesday in October for the election of a delegate to congress; but the details of that proceeding were left to be determined by the executive committee appointed at Topeka. The proclamation calling for the election of delegates to the convention on the same day followed immediately, the regulations to be observed were prescribed, the qualifications of electors, and the oaths to be taken by the judges of election had been prescribed in the first proclamation, and in the absence of any duly organized government, the people were approaching that desideratum by the best means at their disposal. In every circle the prospects of the movement, the manly resolution of the people, the exigencies of the time, came uppermost, and even in churches it was neither possible nor desirable to banish the topic of the hour. Every

little center convened to talk the matter over in all its bearings. Delegates, just home from the conventions, found it more convenient to address their constituents *en masse* than to rehearse for each individual in turn the course which he had pursued as a representative; and every such gathering was a *plexus* of nerves to make some remote point or section of the body politic more alive than ever before to the issues for which some of the men then talking would heroically die. It was made matter of prayer in family circles, and in the circles of the larger family, the voluntary congregations of the church, and men habitually inclined to doubt the efficacy of petitioning the throne of grace, found that their inmost aspirations took the same direction, for it is even as Pope writes:

"Prayer is the soul's sincere desire,
Uttered or unexpressed,
The motion of a hidden fire,
That trembles in the breast."

"The sweet sessions of silent thought" were full of prayer every day, and when men rose to speak they drifted back insensibly to the fine phrases and glorious passages in the old Hebrew books, which described a people fighting against barbarians, and they asked with unction, as a question of their own time, as certainly as that it belonged to Israel:

"Why do the heathen rage, and the wicked imagine a vain thing?"

They were approaching that frame of mind in which heroism, unknown to common life, may come up in the daily experiences of mankind, when the race rises above mere considerations of personal profit, when it becomes possible to imagine Curtius leaping into the fabled gulf to save his country; when Arnold von Winkelried can be understood grasping that sheaf of Austrian spears and giving them a sheath in his own breast, that the serried ranks of his country's oppressors might be broken, and that the peasants, inspired by his example, should rise into the proportions of demigods. That timid, shrinking woman that came toilfully along dangerous roads from the French province, to sacrifice her country's curse, Marat, in his own house, knew that her own life must pay the forfeit; but the race predominated over

the individual, as, thank God, it often will do in magnanimous souls. Just so was it, when the serf and shepherd girl of Domermy, Joan of Arc, her soul aflame with the wrongs of her prostrate country, could penetrate the minds of the downtrodden people with a belief that God cared for them, and that their condition therefore was not without hope. In the mere act of their turning to fight under that idea, there was salvation for France; the troops of England were not enthusiastic for conquest; they cared infinitely more for the island they had left than for all the territory they had conquered by their prowess. Victory meant routine, not effort; the muscles of mind and body had grown flaccid from comparative disuse, and when their supremacy was questioned, it was gone. The ideal, and not the mere material, is the invincible force with mankind. "Give me," said Archimedes, "a fulcrum for my lever, and I will lift the world." The ideal in man is both fulcrum and lever, and the world answers its impulse every day. It was not only the failure of the *mitrailleuse* that prostrated France, nor the terrible weapons of the German force, but the awful demoralization of the French soldiery. What were the weapons of the half-starved populace that captured the Bastile, defended by De Lannay and his troops? Yet the people razed that fortress to the ground; and the same frenzy of patriotism, which would not be repulsed, rolled back the tide of invasion from the soil of France when all Europe had combined against the nation. The ideal is the ruling power in the mind of the artist, the statesman, the soldier, and the church has its grand mission in every age to lift the aspirations of the race to the highest pinnacle. The church was true to its work in Kansas, during the terrible ordeal through which the territory was passing, and from every pulpit there rose up before God the sweet savor of earnestness and zeal for a cause that deserved success. Sermons mounted to the highest plane of heroic thought without an effort; men put aside their laboriously prepared manuscript and extemporized undreamed-of discourses which answered the magnetic thought in a thousand hearts at once. The very air seemed full of the theme which compelled utterance. The preacher became a priest and soldier of the Most High God, and there was prophecy in the molten words which came from him, as though

he, also, had been told, "Take no heed of what ye shall say.' A people so animated could not be conquered. They might be scattered and oppressed for a time, as were the Covenanters in Presbyterian Scotland; as were the Puritans, their neighbors, in England; but Naseby and Marston Moor answered every doubt as to the victory which must come to the right side under proper direction. For a time, there seemed to be no other subject worthy of thought in Kansas save deliverance from oppression, and every nerve was being prepared for the final issue — "the iron had entered into their souls." There arose a reasonable hope among many that congress would be moved by the spectacle now offered, by men of every party united in one phalanx, against Missourian domination, and that the tyrannously imposed legislature, the fruit of conspiracy and violence, which had assembled at Shawnee, defying law and justice, would be repudiated by the larger representative body. Unhappily, congress was, as it too often is, full of the machinations of persons and coteries, and the voice of the suffering people could not be heard. The forces of legislation and administration alike failed. The settlers were driven in upon themselves. Stephen A. Douglas missed the best opportunity of a hitherto successful life when he failed to perceive that his place was on the side of the settlers in Kansas. His influence in congress would have compelled justice and sanctioned moderation, but he drifted with the worst current of the pro-slavery party until the proper hour had passed, and, when the time came for his eyes to be opened, he could only look back to the point where victory might have been his for the asking. That union of Whigs and Democrats was understood by him too late. He struggled to recover the ground once lost, but Time has a forelock only, and his effort lost him the unanimity of the pro-slavery organization, after the purer and better spirit of Lincoln had already won upon the sympathies of more liberal minds. Douglas could have concentrated for his support the whole of the democracy — north, east and west, and the best elements of the south, which would have left the residue too weak for a schism — but he allowed himself to be attracted by the worst section of his party just when his ambition was ready for its final spring, and he fell back humbled and dying, because he had omitted the duty

to be prescient and just. Lincoln, in his home in Springfield, had been content to be just and honest in the aims of his life, and the triumph which had been denied to policy, and the undoubted talents of the "Little Giant," were laid at the feet of the greater man. Lincoln, standing in the place of Douglas, would have won the acclamation of the union by recognizing the right of the people to be governed by republican institutions and by men of their own choosing, and, under the influence of such as he, congress would have allowed squatter sovereignty to deal with its own problem, untrammeled by the action of Missourian mobs; but the surroundings of Douglas would not permit him to perceive where justice lay until the die was cast. The petitions to congress fell unheeded upon the table. The voices which would have championed their cause were clamored down or unheeded, and the final issue was once more relegated to the soil of Kansas, to find its solution in blood.

On the first day of October Gen. Whitfield, the only candidate for the office of delegate to congress, under the proclamation issued by Gov. Shannon, pursuant to the regulations made by the Shawnee assembly, was declared to be chosen. Nearly two-thirds of all the votes cast for him came from Missouri, but there were only about three thousand ballot papers handed in, so much had the price to be paid for voting moderated the zeal of the pro-slavery party. Of course there was not much necessity for a large vote, where only one candidate was before the public, but prudential considerations had not been allowed to weigh with them in the former elections, when they had brought nearly five thousand men to outvote less than half that number, even assuming that there was not one man in the territory to cast a ballot in the pro-slavery interest. Beyond all doubt the tax of one dollar, which the sheriff stood ready to receive in every precinct, before a non-resident could be polled, was a powerful sedative among men who valued their possessions in proportion to the quantity of whisky for which they were the equivalent, and who objected on principle to increase the funds from which their friends, recently assembled at Shawnee, could plunder. The free state party held their election on the second Tuesday in October for the same office, and Gov. Reeder received their sup-

port unanimously, more than two thousand eight hundred votes being cast, although in many precincts the dominant faction assembled their forces and would not allow a vote to be polled. There were thus two delegates chosen to fill one vacancy, and congress, unable to avoid the question altogether, in the presence of two candidates, where there was only one seat to be occupied, concluded to reject both, but to pay the mileage of each of the rejected delegates. They could not help seeing that Mr. Reeder had polled a very large majority of the whole of the residents in Kansas, but they knew also that the election had not been held in strict accordance with the provisions of the organic act under a proclamation from the governor. They admitted that Gen. Whitfield had received a majority of all the votes polled on the first day of October, but the evidence before them was unquestionable, that nearly all his supporters were non-residents, who had qualified in a way repugnant to the constitution, under a law which violated the organic act, and which had been passed by a legislative assembly the result of fraud and riot. This inconclusive conclusion testified the weakness of congress, for if the general was not the delegate, the Shawnee assembly had never been the legislature, and the work of inaugurating representative institutions in Kansas had yet to be begun, under the guaranty of the whole union for the maintenance of republicanism, in essence as well as in form. The recognition of Mr. Reeder, who came to them as a delegate not certified by Gov. Shannon, was an evidence that they knew he represented public opinion in the territory, yet they had not the courage to give effect to their convictions.

We have said that the Missourians objected to be taxed when the proceeds of the operation would increase the chance of plunder by the Shawnee assembly. That body was no longer in session, but before their adjournment they had voted numerous illegal privileges and offices to each other, contrary to the organic act; and their unofficial comrades on the border had become sadly conversant with the fact, that there is not always "honor among thieves." There was, indeed, the beginning of a very pretty quarrel in the ranks of the faction, and it was intensified shortly when the several towns began to divide the *spolia opima*. Leaven-

worth was entitled to be the seat of justice for Leavenworth county, but in the haste with which the Shawnee men had rushed everything through during the forty days for which alone they could draw pay, however long the session might continue, they had omitted to specify Leavenworth as the county seat; and in many other counties there had been similar omissions, so that a popular vote had to be cast to determine upon locations. There were three towns ambitious of the distinction in the county of Leavenworth, and they spared no effort in their several ways to secure the prize. The town and fort of Leavenworth had a large proportion of pro-slavery men in its population, but the majority was composed of free state emigrants, who were nullified every balloting day by irruptions from beyond the Missouri river. Thus Leavenworth was not a city of refuge upon which the pro-slavery could depend unless they came in force to settle every question. Kickapoo, which to this day is but a village of less than two thousand souls, had then the merit of being strong on the pro-slavery side, and there were no emigrants there to exercise the ingenuity and watchfulness of the Missourians. It was, moreover, only ten miles above Leavenworth on the Missouri, so that it could be easily reached by non-resident voters, whenever it might be necessary to pay a tax for the prvilege of deciding an election there. This was a consideration of some weight. Delaware stood in the same category of Kickapoo, and it was eight miles below Leavenworth, just as easy of access as Kickapoo or Leavenworth to unlawful help. The claims of the three towns were submitted to the ballot box, and Delaware polled a considerable majority over Leavenworth, besides distancing Kickapoo by nearly fifty votes. Leavenworth was humiliated and indignant at being foiled by its own weapons. Like Cæsar folding his robe about him, when he saw his own natural son among his assailants, Leavenworth also said *et tu Brute*, but the city did not die with dignity like the Roman Imperator, leaving some interested Mark Antony to make a moan over "the rent the envious Casca made." Leavenworth lived and protested, much to the enlightenment of outsiders, who could scarcely forbear saying, "physician help thyself." Leavenworth had given the juvenile frauds their first lessons in Kansas oppression and now it was destroyed by

its own pupils. The city could poll about six hundred votes without foreign aid; Kickapoo had one hundred and fifty residents within its area, and Delaware had only fifty, but activity and perseverance will go further than right sometimes, so while Leavenworth rested at home secure in its domestic strength, the small competitors ordered as much assistance as was thought necessary from foreign consignors. When the polls closed on election day, Leavenworth was nearly three hundred behind Kickapoo, as that town had imported seven hundred voters to assist the resident force. Delaware had the mortification to discover that her exertions had not been equal to the emergency, but she had not yet fired her last shot, and the ballot was kept open two days beyond the original limit to permit of further consignments of fraud determining the issue. Thus Deleware came out ahead about fifty, having polled nearly nine hundred in all. Had the other competing towns been occupied by free state men only, the result would have been good enough, but although "birds in their little nests agree," pro-slavery men did not. The Kickapoo claimants carried the question into a court, where it was not necessary for litigants to appear with clean hands, and the three days polling proved fatal to Delaware; but Leaveworth had no redress, and no consolation, except in the tearful monodies of an indignant press.

The weapons which were meritorious as against free government in the territory as a whole were diabolical, when Leavenworth could "be wounded in the house of its friends." The papers of Kickapoo opened a fusilade against the larger guns in the city of Leavenworth, and especially reminded the editor of the Leavenworth *Herald* that he had been elected to the legislative assembly convened in Pawnee by precisely similar means. There was much necessity for special pleading under the circumstances, and it was amusing to observe the long winded columns of drivel which were devoted to distinguishing between tweedledum and tweedledee. It was grand work for an army of border ruffians in self defense to impose a legislature upon abolitionists because of the high purpose which ruffianism could be made to vindicate, but it was pronounced absurd that "the demagogues and hucksters" of "Platte City and Weston" should be allowed

to settle the location of a county seat. *Sir Peter Teazle* was amused by the vices of *Joseph Surface* as long as he supposed there was only "a little French milliner" behind the screen, but when the article of furniture had been removed, there was a much deeper tone in his voice as he said, "Lady Teazle by all that is damnable." *The School for Scandal* was being played on a new stage in Leavenworth county. But Kickapoo was not secure even yet in her victory; she had not been sufficiently unlawful to deserve success, in a territory where the legislature disclaimed the limitations of the organic act under which it came into existence, and where judges could give extra judicial opinions when called upon by illegal authorities; so Delaware, with her three days polling, carried away the golden apple for which the three claimants had been contending. "Like cures like," is the maxim of our friends of the globule who can carry the medicine for a whole city in a pennyweight parcel, and Leavenworth found a very small globule of her own physic more than a dose for her own complaint. The system would have cured itself in time if the patient did not die while the contending forces were being marshalled, but something better was in store for Kansas.

The free state party was coming more closely into communion, while the pro-slavery organization quarreled, as we have seen. Topeka soon welcomed the "constitutional convention," and the men composing that body were among the most prominent persons in the territory, irrespective of the old distinctions. There was hardly a state in the union which had not one of its sons in that representative body, and the sects came very near being all reflected in some one or more of the members; certainly every political party known to the union, except the Missourian faction of the pro-slavery organization, could find a voice in that diverse, but goodly company, which had met to shape a constitution under which Kansas would enter the union as a free state. Men who had graduated in the best seats of learning stood shoulder to shoulder with proletarians who could do little more than write their names. Old men were there who could remember the vivid word pictures of their revolutionary forefathers, and were ready to imitate their example. Young men were foremost in word and act as they are apt to be, but they were sustained by the deliber-

ate resolution of older heads. Not a few were there because they could forecast events, and being sure which side would win, were ready to dare all odds for a time, to make a sphere in which their reasonable ambition might be gratified. Many had cast in their lot with the movement because they hoped to find some "coign of vantage" for the negro, in the action of men, the major part of whom would have been rejoiced could the race be banished to the remotest regions of the earth. Professional politicians were there also in force, "with a heart for any fate," except being left out in the cold, and not sufficiently wedded to any principle to let it stand between themselves and the sweets of office. Everybody was prepared to make the best fight possible, for the cause which had been taken in hand, and "hope told a flattering tale" to many of a victory apparently near to their grasp, which would not be attained until years of conflict had passed. Fifty-two members had been chosen, and forty took part in their deliberations, which were described in the lucubrations of correspondents of the press all over the union. The deliberations of the convention were opened with prayer, and there was a semi-official organ published every day that the sitting lasted. Topeka had long entertained the idea that the capital of Kansas was to be located on the spot where the superb magnesian limestone capitol now stands, and with the approach of such halcyon days, the citizens smiled more graciously than ever upon the cause which the residents had always favored on principle; while the convention occupied all the days, the evenings were mainly devoted to a round of gayeties, in which were readily found the company best adapted to their particular tastes. For a brief season it seemed as though the reverie of Longfellow was being fulfilled, and that the time had really come, when

> "The nights shall be filled with music,
> And the cares that infest the day,
> Shall fold their tents like the Arabs,
> And as noiselessly steal away."

There were stirring debates on every point among the delegates, but in the desire of every district to secure as many of the leading democrats as possible, that party had a majority in the convention, and upon the question whether "the word white"

should be struck out from the constitution, there were twenty-four against the proposition, and only seven in its favor. Many, perhaps, would have supported the abstract right of the negro, who were not prepared to embody it in a law, which would be caviled at all over the continent; but very many actually thought that the blacks could not with safety or profit be entrusted with a right so precious as the franchise. The names of the foremost abolitionists, such as Schuyler, Brown, Robinson and Hunting, were of course among the supporters of equal rights, but they perhaps knew, that at that momoment, they might have been defeated by success. The vote was almost equally divided on the question of Squatter Sovereignty, but by seventeen votes against fifteen, it was decided that neither congress nor the states should interfere in local affairs of states and territories. Very wisely there was no vote taken on the proposal that free negroes should be excluded from the territory; the question stood over to be determined by a vote of the people after the state legislature should come into existence, then to operate as an instruction for that body. The consequences of a vote on the issue at that early stage of the proceeding might have proved disastrous to all concerned, and the constitution was never disgraced by an anti-black law.

Sixteen days were well spent in moulding the first constitution, and in the main the document so formed was the basis of further legislation, so that the instrument which was at length made the basis of the recognition of Kansas as a state by congress was only an amended version of the work now accomplished in Topeka. Slavery was expressly prohibited within the state by the first constitution and that was the vital principle of the measure. "Involuntary servitude" should only be possible as a punishment for crime, and the time fixed for the coming into operation of that clause was on or before July 4, 1857. Male Indians, who had conformed to the customs of civilization, might vote. The boundaries of the territory, as set forth in the organic act, which of course included nearly all of Colorado, were adopted into the constitution. Topeka won the location as the capital, beating Lawrence by four votes, in an aggregate of thirty-six, but the permanent location was to be determined by the first general as-

sembly. Curiously enough, among men who were perhaps more interested in education than any average population in the United States, the arrangements as to education and supervision of schools were the most defective features in the whole measure, as there was not even a superintendent of public instruction named in the draft. The constitution, thus prepared, provided for its own submission to the people to be ratified or rejected on December 15, 1855, and after ratification there could be no change made, nor any convention to consider a new constitution until after 1865. The general banking law was to be voted up or down by the same constituency at the same time as the constitution, and to be included or rejected according to the result. Supposing the constitution to be ratified, the executive committee already named stood authorized to conduct elections for state officers, and for representation in congress, and the first assembly should be convened on July 4, 1856, a celebration which could not be otherwise than gratifying to good men. The convention prescribed all details as to the districts and polling for the election on December 15th, to decide the fate of the constitution and the general banking law. The executive committee was empowered to organize the elections for state officers, representative, and general assembly, and to issue scrip, within the limits of $25,000, to defray the necessary outlay, the redemption of which should be the first duty of the legislative body. The deliberative action of the convention came to an end on Saturday, November 10th, and it was late at night when the delegates were called upon to sign the constitution to which they had agreed. Thus they gave their manifesto to the world, bearing the sign manual of each member, and by their act said to the Missourian horde, we are ready to do and dare all that may be necessary to secure for our children and for ourselves the advantages of free government. It was not bombast on their part, for the dark days came when they were sorely tried by adversity, but they were equal to their task, and the people by whom they had been chosen were worthy of loyal service.

CHAPTER IX.

RECONNAISSANCE.

(A brief Digression.)

PRINCIPAL CITIES OF MISSOURI.

Reconnoitering the Enemy — Jefferson City — Kansas City — St. Louis — St. Joseph — Hannibal — Independence — Weston — Lexington — Booneville.

Having brought up our Territorial History to the point at which the first steps toward a state government had been effected, we may as well turn our attention toward the powerful antagonist with which Kansas had to contend. The settlers knew something of the strength of their foes, and we cannot understand their position without sharing in that knowledge. It is not enough that we know what was the feeling on the border, it is essential that we should see the volume of power back of that manifestation. The ruffianism which could disturb a series of elections might be the effervescence of an element locally influential, but expressing only the rage of a small community, hence it is important that we should ascertain, and note for reference, the age and extent of the Missourian force which sought to extend and perpetuate itself in Kansas first, and then over an almost illimitable empire. The tone of the press in all parts of Missouri applauded Gen. Atchison and his compeers in their disreputable work, and, as we have seen, the pulpit did not strive to set public opinion right, save in a few important instances, which could not affect the mass, but which were more or less disastrous to the men who tried to stem the torrent of prejudice and anger. What the tone of the press on Missouri soil was, at the time of the first settlement after Mr. Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska act passed, has been already described in one or two pregnant extracts in former chapters; it remains only to show in that relation the complete accord established between the Missourian at home

and his ally and friend in Kansas Territory. Dr. John H. Stringfellow, who edited *The Squatter Sovereign*, in Atchison, a pro-slavery settlement, named for the ex-Vice President, thus answered some criticisms upon the pro-slavery party, which had appeared in the organ of Horace Greeley, the New York *Tribune:* "We can tell the impertinent scoundrels of the *Tribune* that they may exhaust an ocean of ink, their Emigrant Aid Societies spend their millions and billions, their representatives in congress spout their heretical theories till doomsday, and his excellency, Franklin Pierce, appoint abolitionist after free soiler as our governor, yet we will continue to lynch and hang, to tar and feather and drown every white-livered abolitionist who dares to pollute our soil." Nor was this mere idle talk, only meant to affect persons at a distance, as we find in the columns of the same journal, a description of a street fight, in which bowie knives were freely used, and a free soiler badly injured, the following brutal commentary: "We are happy to state that the free soiler is in a fair way to peg out, while the pro-slavery man is out and ready for another tilt. Kansas is a hard road for free soilers to travel." Thus the practices of the streets found approval in the columns of the press, and every ruffian that could cut his mark upon the body a free soiler was sure of an enthusiastic indorsement in the organs of his party. The *Luminary*, published in Parkville, Missouri, was raided and the press destroyed and flung into the Missouri river, for no other fault than having dared to condemn Missouri proceedings in Kansas in the election of a delegate to congress; and the editor of the Jefferson *Inquirer*, in the same state, for similar disturbing remarks, was informed through the columns of a contemporary, that, "He was a nigger stealer at heart, and would have voted with the abolitionists;" the most crushing form of condemnation known, among the literati of Missouri. President Pierce, in spite of all his unmistakable anxiety to carry with him their suffrages, could not satisfy the pro-slavery party by any of his nominations to the office of governor; nor could anything in the way of concession meet their views, except an unreserved submission, such as Chief Justice Lecompte, or Gen. Atchison, embodied in their daily lives. When the first legislature for Kansas had been elected by Missourian invaders,

the Platte *Argus* said: "The Missourians have conquered Kansas * * * let them hold it or die in the attempt."

The purchase of Louisiana and of all claims upon western territory from France was effected under the management of Thomas Jefferson, for $15,000,000, in the year 1801; although some time elapsed before all the transaction had been completed, in 1805, and at that time there were no civilized inhabitants in the region. In the year 1804, Messrs. Lewis and Clark came up the Missouri, and held a council with the Indians on the spot where Fort Calhoun was afterwards built, at a point on the Nebraska side of the river, long afterwards known as Council Bluffs, about twenty miles above the city of the same name, in Iowa, which is connected by the fine railroad bridge with Omaha. Indians were then the only residents on either side of the great river in a vast extent of territory; and many years elapsed before the country was opened for settlement. Tribes of Indians had to be removed before white men could be made occupants and owners of the soil under the sanctions of civil government, and, in consequence, the work went on very slowly; but in the year 1818–19 there had been sufficient progress to warrant an application from the inhabitants of the territory of Missouri to congress for admission to the union as a state. The bill founded upon that movement was amended in the house of representatives by the introduction of a clause excluding slavery from that section of the country, and in that form it was passed by the lower chamber, but rejected in the senate. The restriction on slavery was acrimoniously discussed by all classes of men in the press, and in every walk of life, with such heat as must always be evoked, when vested interests long established are assailed by an advancing thought. Men identified prominently with either side were invited to expound their views on the question in many great centers of population, and the best thinkers in eastern and northern churches pronounced for and against the proposed restriction, until, not merely in every lecture hall, but almost by every fireside, the intricacies of the difficulty had been discussed. Both sides were fully alive to the magnitude of the issue, and when the subject was revived in congress in the session of 1819-20, there was more bitterness displayed on this issue than on all other items of the congressional programme

combined. The Missouri compromise was the result of that deliberation, the limitations of the state then formed were made the boundaries of the slave power in the Louisiana purchase, and all territory lying north of 36° 30′ north, was forever exempted from their domination, so far as human legislation can be made final. The law which embodied that compromise was signed by President Monroe on the 6th day of March, 1820; and for more than thirty years there was a general assumption that the problem of negro slavery was left to its own operation, not further to be touched by congress. Of course it is not possible for one congress to tie the hands of another; the people, by their representatives, are always free to annul wrong actions, or what may be assumed to be wrong by a majority, in constitutional ways; but contending parties were inclined to rest and be thankful upon their several standpoints for many years. Holders of extreme views would not be satisfied, but the public can never be logical and precise; and, in this case as in many others, the formula of thought which was accepted as the *finale* of the controverted claims for limitless extension of slavery on the one hand, and for abolition of slavery on the other, contained elements which must have disrupted the settlement if the mass of the community became logical, and determined to follow their premise to its conclusion. The public, governed by feeling and by prudential considerations, allowed the compromise to stand unquestioned in legislative circles for many years, and when the limits of Missouri were extended, there was no express provision sought, nor was there any granted to carry slaves beyond the line of the previously enacted compromise. The additional territory was given to Missouri in 1836, and slaves were held therein from the first cession, but there was no sanction of law for such proceedings. There was a general impression, until 1853, that the territory now covered by Nebraska, Kansas and Colorado, would be the home of the Indian tribes until, in the course of time, they should die out, before a civilization which they fail to comprehend; but in that year there was a bill introduced to congress to organize that vast expanse under the title of Nebraska Territory, and throw it open to white settlement. The summit of the Rocky mountains on the west, the states of Missouri and Iowa on the east, the territory

of New Mexico and the parallel of 36° 30′ north latitude on the south, and 43° 30′ north latitude on the north, [illegible] to be the comprehensive limits of the new government. Iowa, by one of her representatives, took the initiative in the movement in December, 1853; and after reference to the committee on territories, there were so many and such important alterations made that the chairman, Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, the famous Stephen A. Douglas, founded thereupon his substitute measure, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which eventually became law, and was accompanied by a repeal of the Missouri compromise. The provisions of that organic act are familiar to our readers. The debates in congress and in the press had seemed violent when the Missouri compromise was arrived at, when the slave power snatched at and obtained an extension of soil by consenting to a definition of limits; but when the limits were removed in the prosecution of an aggressive policy, which was never more to be abandoned, until the party fell into irreparable defeat after the rebellion, the tone of the disputants had already the ring of war in its menaces on both sides. The measure, several times amended, became law in May, 1854, being finally passed on the 25th, and being signed by the President on the 30th. That was the event which practically brought invasion and civil war into Kansas territory, and which eventually removed the stain of negro slavery from our institutions.

It was pretended that the substituted bill was a compromise under which Kansas should become a slave state, and Nebraska should balance that increase by admission on the free soil basis, but the value of such compromises was too well known to allow of the popular leaders being fooled a second time. No such arrangement was made, nor was it dreamed of by the free soil party; but the proslavery leaders were not slow to use the pretext as a means of inspiring the Missourian population with a hate more intense than had theretofore been realized, against every appearance of northern intermeddling with the territory which, under another name, was to have been a repetition of Missouri.

Jefferson City was made the capital of the state of Missouri, by popular vote, in the year 1821, but it was not until the following year that the town was laid out, the attraction to the spot

consisting in its nearness to the geographical centre of the state. It is the seat of justice for Cole county, and it stands on the south bank of the Missouri river, one hundred and twenty-five miles from St. Louis, and nine hundred and eighty miles from Washington. The location of Jefferson City is very beautiful, as it occupies a commanding bluff, from which an extensive view can be had of a remarkably picturesque country. The streets are regularly laid out, and well graded, the drainage of the city being secured by its position. The public buildings of Jefferson City are numerous and noteworthy. The state capitol is a particularly fine structure, dating from the year 1836, when the representatives and senators of the state had just practically broken through the Missouri Compromise in congress, by procuring an addition to the territory of the state, without guaranties of any kind for the nonextension of slavery into the region, which had been specially exempted by the legislation of 1820–21. The court house is a county building, and of course it cannot compare with the capitol, but it is a very good looking edifice, and is made useful for numerous purposes, as is common with such structures. The state penitentiary is located at this point, and the mode of discipline which obtains within its walls helps to atone in some degree for the want of school discipline which was noticeable in the earlier history of Missouri. The state armory is an establishment in which it is much easier to take pride than in a prison, however well conducted, and the institution is one of the lions to which country cousins are invariably escorted. The executive mansion is not superb, nor does it attempt to be gaudy, but it is well adapted for the purpose which it serves, as the official headquarters of the government of the state. Lincoln Institute is a worthy monument erected in honor of a good man, whose name was at one time almost a byword of reproach among Missourians, but who lived long enough to vindicate his holy purpose in the grand work which sanctified and ennobled his career. Missouri, trembling almost on the verge of rebellion, recovered itself in time to avoid that calamity, although many of those who had taken an active part in her political life, up to the Fort Sumter era, went over to the enemy. The normal school for colored youth in Jefferson City betokens a vast advance in public sentiment since the

days when the Quaker College at Salem, Iowa, was attacked by our border ruffians under the direction of some of the secret societies of the proslavery party, for fear of the influence which might be exerted on Missouri by the apparent successes of an educational establishment. The normal school is well attended, and "God's image carved in ebony" displays an interest in the work of education which might be emulated by the other youth of the country with very great advantage. The teachers provided by this institution have a wide range of usefulness before them, and their attainments are highly creditable. There is an excellent seminary for young ladies here, and it is gratifying to observe that its advantages are being used by an always increasing number of pupils. The curriculum of the school is high, and the number of graduates improves every year. Some of the most successful lady teachers in the state have found here their best assistance. The newspaper press of Jefferson is not extensive, as there is only one paper published in the city, but it is a matter for some congratulation that at a time when nearly all the journals in the state of Missouri were applauding the demoniac excesses of the border ruffians in Kansas, which culminated in the election of the Pawnee–Shawnee legislative assembly, the city of Jefferson possessed an editor who was true to his vocation, and who was denounced for expressing disapproval of such conduct. There is no merit in echoing the cries that prevail in the streets, but there is honor won for the profession of letters when a man, having the example of mob violence under his observation, dares to rebuke fanaticism in the interest of the common weal. That distinction was well earned in the city of Jefferson when the slave power was rampant in Missouri in the year 1855, and the sympathetic writer was broadly accused of abolitionism. Really, the man had no such proclivities at that time, but he could not look down upon the rowdyism which raged around him without expressing his abhorrence of conduct which disgraced humanity. The state library is a fine institution and an ornament to Jefferson, for the purpose which it serves rather than for the splendor of the building, which is devoted to letters. The post office is not handsome, but it is sufficiently commodious for all present purposes. Jefferson City College is an Episcopal institution, and many ornaments of the

church have here received their training. Manufacturing interests are advancing here; there are two large flouring mills, almost always in full work; an establishment for the manufacture of agricultural implements, an industry always extending; a foundry, and a host of minor industries. There are three banks, and the mineral resources of the locality include iron, coal, and an admirable sand, adapted for glass making. The agricultural surroundings of Jefferson are such as to assure the city of an extended time of prosperity. The fine position of the city, well built and drained, on an elevated plateau, secures for the people an enviable average of health, and the population goes on steadily increasing. In the year 1860, the number of inhabitants in Jefferson City was 3,082, and when the last census was taken, in 1870, the number had increased to 4,420, so that we may now safely assume a population of about 6,000 souls. The city is well served by competing railroads. The Missouri Pacific company have a depot here, and a ferry transfer from a depot in this city conveys passengers to the Louisiana division of the Chicago and Alton railroad in Cedar City, in the same state, on the other side of the Missouri river, which is the southwestern terminus of that line. Civil rights are now conceded in Missouri to men and women that were once chattels only, and some wrongs and much suffering have been inseparable from an overturn so sudden and complete; still it would be folly to close our eyes to the compensating advantages which will give to the successors of the men who have suffered most more than an equivalent in the future, in the commercial, manufacturing and agricultural developments, which would have been impossible under the thriftless systems of slave life; and in the mental and moral tone, which the domestic institution rendered impossible in thousands of homes, a condition of existence in every way more to be desired. The city of Jefferson was comparatively little identified with the border outrages, although some of her citizens were active therein; but the status of the city as the capital of the state made it imperative upon us to sketch the predominating features of the locality.

KANSAS CITY and Westport were among the most active participants in the outrages in the neighboring territory. Many car-

loads of ruffianism made a parade of having come from the localities named by shouting "All aboard for Westport and Kansas City," as soon as the business of intimidation and fraudulent voting had been accomplished in many precincts. Western Missouri, along its whole frontier line, was joined to Kansas by numerous steamboats on the river, and Kansas City, standing close to the line of demarcation, with the Missouri as a highway to any point where operations might be found necessary, and with Wyandotte close at hand, separated only by the river, which is traversed by a very fine bridge and a street railroad, there were especial facilities for reaching the debatable land. When, later in the day, an attack was to be made in force upon the city of Lawrence, Kansas City and Westport were the great *entrepots* of military stores and the halting place for camp followers, who hoped to find something more profitable than hard knocks upon the battle fields in the territory. Kansas City limits were originally mapped out one mile from the boundary line which separates Kansas from Missouri, on the right bank of the Missouri river, just below the mouth of the Kaw or Kansas river, two hundred and thirty-five miles west of St. Louis, and just where the Missouri bends finally to the east, after many curves in its sinuous course. The city is the capital of Jackson county, and is rapidly becoming of immense commercial importance, bidding fair to be a yet nearer rival to the greatness of St. Louis. When the quarrel began between free soilers and the pro-slavery party on Kansas territory, the population of the city could not have been much more than two thousand persons, as in the year 1860, there were only four thousand four hundred and eighteen inhabitants within the city limits, and the act of incorporation had been procured seven years earlier. The natural advantages of the situation were entirely stunted by the wretched system of oppression and unthrift which the people were striving with all their might to perpetuate for themselves and for their neighbors. Soon after the trade with Santa Fe was commenced across the plains, Independence, Mo., the first great depot of the commercial caravan, found a persevering and dangerous rival in Westport, a town just four miles from the site of Kansas City. When the trade grew into still larger proportions, the position now occupied by the city was

found to offer so many advantages that a settlement was made on the spot, and almost immediately a business was being effected which went on increasing slowly for many years.

When civil strife commenced in the territory, commercial prosperity came to a halt, and within the state of Missouri the limits of progression under the slavery *regime* were supposed to have been reached long before, so that the prospect for Kansas City was not brilliant. On the other side of the Missouri river stood a fair territory which could be coined by commerce within a few years, supposing settlement to be allowed to proceed peacefully; but the dominant party in the state could only permit settlement on condition that it should be accompanied by slavery, and on that basis the difficulty was to be settled by the use of bowie knives and rifles, articles by no means consistent with prosperity for trade, commerce and agriculture. Kansas City had many men in her ranks who could see the impolicy of the course on which they had entered, but they were so completely hedged in by the slave power and its influences, in the form of spies and secret associations, that it was dangerous to breathe a thought to the nearest friend, lest by some inadvertency on his part, or even by fear where deliberate treachery might be impossible, he should hand over the incautious talker to be dealt with by unscrupulous organizations. Practically for such men there was less freedom in Kansas City than there would have been in the territory beyond the river, because over there they would have found a party with which to train, and from which support in some degree could be expected; but on the Missouri side of the river there could not be a popular party formed, seeing that no man dared trust his neighbor. Ten years of growth under proslavery rule had brought up Kansas City to a population of about two thousand, in the year 1854, when the Kansas-Nebraska act came into operation, and six years added thereto had only given a total of four thousand four hundred in 1860, as the result of sixteen years progression, up to the point when a free soil president held the destinies of the states in his hands as a solemn trust. That election was the turning point in Kansas City affairs, although many of her leading citizens looked upon the event as a deplorable misfortune, hardly dreaming of a possibility that within ten years

from that time, their population would rise from 4,418, a number which the city and settlement had been sixteen years in attaining, to 32,260, with a prospect of almost geometrical increase for many decades to come, as the great center of prosperous traffic by river and railroad, grasping both sides of the continent, and ministering to the progress of an always increasing free population on every side. The problem was solved without the assistance of Kansas City, or rather in spite of the virulent opposition of the community that was to be advanced; so true it is, as Shakspere wrote, that: "Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them."

The city is built upon somewhat broken ground, commencing originally upon the bottom lands and gradually ascending the bluffs, but by careful grading, the major part of the consequent irregularities have been obliterated or, at any rate, overcome. The streets are wide and somewhat irregular, but they are well lighted with gas; the sidewalks are as a rule very good indeed, and the sewerage of the city is being brought near to perfection. There are nine railroad lines converging to this center from all points of the compass, and meeting in Kansas City in one common depot, facilitating business to an extent which millions of slaves and ten states in which to coin their labor could never have approached in profit, in speed, and in satisfaction. Besides these roads with all their attendant advantages, five others are now in course of construction, and some of that number will be ready for operation before many months have passed. The Missouri is spanned by a very beautiful bridge fourteen hundred feet in length, which cost one million of dollars, and over that magnificent structure the products of two hemispheres pass and repass a thousand times every year. The little town of Westport, with its population of nearly two thousand persons, has been attached to Kansas City as a suburb by a system of street railways, four lines of which have knit together Wyandotte, in Kansas, and Westport, Mo., some seven miles distant, with Kansas City as the common center. The city, which was once in danger of having no press at all, or, even worse, of having a press which would obey the dictation of wealth allied to brutality, has now one of the best conducted series of newspapers that can be produced by

any place of its age and dimensions, and in their columns every question of the age can be and is discussed with all the freedom that sound thinkers can desire, without the least fear that a speculative association on the part of the writer, or the freest denunciation of a wrong, will call together an excited crowd to hang an editor and drown his broken press in the Missouri. There are six daily papers published in the city, three of these morning papers and three evening, besides nine others which are weekly, tri-weekly and bi-monthly, one of the number being a German periodical, and another devoted entirely to the live stock trade, which is one of the principal industries now prosecuted in the city. The farming interest is very intelligently cared for in the press, one of the weeklies being devoted entirely to the granger industry, but it is not narrow and sectional in its tone notwithstanding, and it deals with every question that arises in a truly philosophical and scientific manner. The importance of that element in society is rapidly changing the whole tone of the body politic, and will go on, it is to be hoped, until Cincinnatus will once more be found ready to abandon the plow to save the nation, and just as ready to resume the plow when the emergency has passed away.

The vast increase of mechanical facility which has fallen in the way of the agriculturist, within the last twenty years, has reduced the number of laborers employed in farming by just one third, and has doubled the wages of those who remain in such avocations, as a consequence of the greater skill now demanded in cultivating the earth; from which facts we come, of necessity, to the conclusion that the men who are now engaged in wresting food for the millions from the broad acres of our soil are better qualified than were their predecessors for any intellectual task which may devolve upon them. Every stroke of help that science gives to the workman, in whatever grade, makes him a more thoughtful man, because it affords him leisure for brain culture and an incentive to the right employment of his opportunity. Assuming that as the starting point, how great must be the mental power which has been liberated by the $500,000,000 which has been invested in the farm implements and machinery now in use within the bounds of the Union, all representing

labor-saving contrivances which aim at lifting man above the mere savage, or the poor unrequited toiler, which for so many centuries he remained. The struggle which ended so gloriously on this continent in the interests of oppressed humanity depended on two requisites — money and muscle. Shorn of either of these essentials, we might have lost our opportunity to liberate the black. Our crops represented the money necessary to procure the *materiel* of war, as well as the food necessary for our combatants and others; but the labor required for reaping under the old system would have thinned our ranks to such an extent that defeat would have been among the possibilities. At that point machinery came to the rescue of the human chattel; the grain was reaped by ingenious mechanism, and our thews and sinews so liberated won the battle for the Union and for humanity. It is only one of the boons that scientific methods have conferred.

There are no less than twelve banks in Kansas City, and there are twenty-eight churches, so that the money-changers are probably helping to sustain the temples in our day, from which they were driven nearly nineteen centuries ago in Jerusalem. The educational interests of Kansas City are in excellent keeping; there are fourteen schools well graded, and presided over by first-class teachers of both sexes, who are as well paid as the average of ladies and gentlemen engaged in tuition in the northwest, but not well enough, considering their talents and fitness, and the responsibilities under which they labor. The attendance of children is quite up to the average of the states generally, but it may be safely averred that not more than half of the children in any city of the Union reap the advantages which society offers for their acceptance in the public school system. Kansas is not an exception to that rule, and, perhaps, so long as teachers continue to rank among the worst paid professionals among us, it will continue to be fallacious on our part to anticipate that boys and girls will give themselves enthusiastically to learning. The golden age for study was when every avenue to preferment demanded scholarship on the part of the candidate, and when learned men, for their own sakes alone, were welcomed in every court in Europe. Erasmus, a monk relieved from the obligations

of his order by the Pope, as a recognitition of his attainments, visited all the principal trans-Atlantic kingdoms, and was honored by special concessions everywhere, because of his wit and his mastery of the lore of his time, yet there were many more learned than he in that age, immediately ushering in the Reformation in Europe, and the scholar had not even the honor of legitimate birth to commend him to the notice of the great world. He was honored and rewarded with pensions from many courts, that he might be enabled unreservedly to devote himself to a studious life, in an era when the publication of books did not pay the author, and his example was quoted in every seat of European learning. We give scarcely any honor to our teachers, and we pay them so badly that they are actually compelled to "board round" to eke out a subsistence in innumerable instances, yet we wonder that our youth does not become penetrated with admiration for a calling which is fed with husks such as the swine did eat when the prodigal was in a far country. We must amend our school regulations in that particular, before the best possible results can be achieved; and, only when teachers can win first-class emoluments by proficiency in their avocation, will the rage for school training become general and beneficent among all classes in the community.

There are two medical colleges in Kansas City, and they are very well sustained in the work which they have assumed — teaching the men and women of this age how to make life a blessing, and how to mitigate the woes of the afflicted. It is astounding that so little is really known about our common humanity even among the students, but when we compare what is comprehended now with what was commonly accepted among professional men as truth in the beginning of this century, it becomes difficult to realize that the human race has lived upon the globe so many years, that

> "There's not a dust that floats on air,
> But once was living man."

Modern science has effected more for humanity within this century than had been accomplished before in the same direction since the commencement of the Christian era, and yet every dis-

coverer feels that he has but gathered one pebble upon the beach of the vast sea of knowledge, which God holds in the hollow of his hand, waiting only for the proper means of search to be used, to become the heritage of our race. Every college, opened for the dissemination of science, widens the range of observation, and improves the capacity to recognize phoenomena, upon which sounder views of our condition and powers may become possible; and one of the most hopeful features of the medical faculty of our own time is the fact that most of the limitations which prevented reforms in theory and practice in former days, are being wisely removed by the leading minds. Kansas City has much reason to be proud of the learning which is embodied in the faculties of her two colleges, as well as of the spirit which is daily growing more and more manifest, which would open all the stores of knowledge to both sexes, so that the patient, the nurse, the medical attendant and the consulting physician can meet upon common ground with such intelligence as will assist materially in combatting disease. There is an able medical journal published in this city.

The Roman Catholics are as usual foremost in identifying themselves with good works, and they have been ably seconded by many worthy Protestants in providing a hospital for the afflicted, and a seminary for young women, from which much good has already come. The city hospital is a fine building, and the means of the institution are well administered, the ward room being usually sufficient to allow of the reception of urgent cases. The claims of charity in other respects are not overlooked, as the spacious accommodations devoted to the orphan asylum, and the workhouse and women's home amply testify. Pleasure as well as benevolence have their efficient staffs of servitors here, and the two theaters which flourish in Kansas City are at least as well supported and as well managed as the average of such establishments in provincial cities. The opera house is used for many purposes besides legitimate opera, but it is in nearly every respect a benefit to the people, so far as it affords wholesome and innocent entertainment for faculties apt to be too much engrossed in the pursuits of the almighty dollar. The government of the city is in the hands of a mayor and council chosen by the people,

and the police system is moderately effective. The dangers which arise from conflagrations are guarded against by an excellent fire department, and the fire signal method in operation here secures great promptitude at all times. The surrounding country, which makes Kansas City its shipping and trading center, is very fertile and well settled, so that its agricultural resources will not be soon exhausted, and in addition to farming, stock raising and dairy operations, there are abundant mineral treasures which will give employment to thousands of men in the future. Coal is already mined to a very considerable extent, a soft bituminous deposit being found underlying an immense area of country. The coal mines at Fort Scott are developing very rapidly, as we may gather from the subjoined figures. Five years ago the railroad lines which centered in Kansas City were almost entirely dependant upon wood for fuel; now coal from the Fort Scott mines is almost the only fuel consumed, not only upon all the roads, but through all the Missouri Valley, as far north as the city of Omaha, Nebraska. The state of Kansas has the majority of the mines at present, but the deposit extends so far, and is so generally in good form for working that shafts will be sunken in many localities in Missouri within a few years at farthest. The quantity of coal which was received in Kansas City in the years 1869–70 aggregated less than 1,500 car loads, but the year 1871 saw an increase to 5,000, the following year, 9,990, and the year 1873 brought to the city 11,022 car loads of coal. The deposit is said to contain fully twenty-five per cent more available power for the generation of steam, than the average of coal used in the eastern states, and if that claim can be sustained the industry will be found still more elastic in the future. Manufacturers as well as railroad companies will see the advantages to be secured by the use of such fuel, and the number of mills and factories in Kansas City must increase immensely. Lead, iron and other minerals are found in this locality in such quantities as must assist to build up the future of this manufacturing, commercial and mining metropolis.

The live stock traffic of the vast area west of the Mississippi is, however, the main reliance of Kansas City at the present time, and that industry has increased with wonderful rapidity since the

year 1873, when the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad was completed, opening up the stock raising regions of Texas to the enterprise of the Atlantic states. Before that time a great trade had been carried on, but the droves of cattle suffered terribly from ill treatment, added to the waste incidental to traveling across the plains, and the cost of the food thus brought into market was largely increased, while the quality was yet more depreciated. Stock raisers found the Texan cattle profitable for crosses, and the meat excellent, when due care was observed in watering the stock on the overland journey; but railroad companies are adepts in the process of "watering stock," and the public must in the end be great gainers from their operations in that respect. The cattle which find their distributing center in this city are now brought through Indian Territory at a mere tithe of former cost, without taking into account the loss of time under which the purchaser suffered in having his capital so long locked up in a venture always diminishing in value from the time of starting. In the year 1873, the receipts of cattle were 227,669 head, and the aggregated value $3,415,035; during the same year there were over four thousand horses and nearly six thousand sheep, also among the receipts of live stock. Pork packing is an industry which has commanded much attention for many years past, and it is still progressing, as we find that in the year 1868, there were only 13,000 hogs packed in this city, but five years later, there were 220,000 packed, and the amount of capital invested has been largely augmented since that date. The receipts in the year last mentioned showed an aggregate of 220,956 hogs, valued at $2,131,178. The figures are small by comparison with that industry in Chicago, but the results are grand for Kansas City. Every branch of business testifies to a corresponding advancement in the city, which feared ruin unless slavery could be made a part of the constitution of the neighboring state. The sales of merchandise at wholesale in 1873 showed an augmentation of nearly $2,000,000 over the business of the preceding year, and the receipts of grain during the same term increased by 717,000 bushels. Like many other places, Kansas City has triumphed in a defeat that has brought blessings to a community which must have been cursed by success. Comfort as well as the salvage of property

from fire have been considered by the city corporation, by the establishment of water works on the Holly system, comprising the reservoir and stand pipe, as well as the general features of the Holly method, at a cost of $1,000,000, which, when fully carried out, will have provided twenty miles of supply pipes, served by two spacious reservoirs which are capable of containing twenty million gallons of water. The risk of fire will be minimized by the construction of three hundred hydrants in commanding positions, when the works are completed, and should the city extend until it joins Westport, there will be no practical difficulty in increasing the water supply accordingly. Kansas City has long since dispensed with vigilance committees, but the watchfulness of the city has multiplied rather than diminished with the change, until even the lightnings are set to work by the Metropolitan Telegraphic Agency, to convey to every fireside and counting house the messages of affectionate solicitude and business acumen which help to diffuse the blessings of civilization and prosperity throughout the land. The commercial development of Kansas City is presided over by a board of trade, which has been in operation since 1872, and has distinguished itself by very able contributions toward the comprehension of the great problem of transportation, which can never be fully solved until the industrial populations, capital and machinery of Europe are brought *en masse* to our fertile prairies and wooded streams, to build up cities great enough to consume the fruits of the earth, and to supply in return all that is wanted by a rural community to enable them to participate in the triumphs of art and science, in the successes of mechanical invention, and in all the comforts and luxuries which render life enjoyable without tending toward effeminacy. Kansas City, by her delegates, won favorable notice in the convention of congressmen at St. Louis in the summer of 1873, and when the senate transportation committee sat in that city, a report from this board was one of the ablest papers submitted on that question. The National Board of Trade received delegates from this city shortly afterwards, and accorded recognition to the local body as representing the tenth city among the trade centers of the union. With the extension of railroads, the river has of course become of less importance; but in the year 1873, the steamboat arrivals

amounted to sixty five, and companies are being extended to make the Missouri a more efficient aid to the growth of Kansas City. Since the rebellion was quenched, Kansas City has displayed an admirable courage and perseverance, and her successes indicate her acquiescence in the policy against which the pro-slavery party fought.

St. Louis, the capital of St. Louis county, is beyond question the oldest settlement in the state of Missouri, and the city stands next to New York and Philadelphia in population, being the third city in the Union in that respect. The numbers inhabiting the three cities now may be roundly estimated at 500,000, 750,000 and 1,000,000, the largest being, of course, New York city, and the third St. Louis. The first settlement on the site of the city was made in the year 1764, when M. La Clede established the Louisiana Fur Company on this spot, calling the settlement Saint Louis, in honor of his royal master, King Louis XV, who was no saint at all, unless history and the Duchesse du Barri were both very much mistaken. The Governor General of Louisiana gave to his countryman, M. La Clede, the charter, under which the settlement was founded and the company established. The population of St. Louis did not progress very rapidly, but colonizing is not a work in which France has ever been very successful. In the year 1780, when the French soldiery were narrating to their families and friends the possibilities and the prowess of a free people on this continent, the young city in its sixteenth year numbered 687 people, and nineteen years later the population was only 925, in the year 1799, four years before the sale was effected to this government. Nor does it appear that after the Louisiana purchase in 1803, there was any considerable acceleration, as in the year 1810, there were only about fourteen hundred souls in the city; but from that period there was rapid growth, comparatively speaking, as in 1823 there were 4,800, in 1830, 6,694, in 1840, 16,469, in 1850, 74,439, in 1860, 160,773, in 1870, 310,923, and subsequent enumerations have brought the numbers up to 450,000 in the year 1873. The railroads, which wait upon the convenience and necessities of the citizens of St. Louis, are the St. Louis and Iron Mountain; the Atlantic and Pacific; the Pacific Rail-

road of Missouri; the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern, formerly known as the Northern Missouri; all of which have their terminii here. Besides these, by way of the great bridge over the Mississippi, there are additional facilities by the Rock ford, Rock Island and St. Louis; the Toledo, Wabash and Western; the Chicago and Alton; the Indianapolis and St. Louis; the St. Louis, Vandalia, Terre Haute and Indianapolis; the Ohio and Mississippi; the St. Louis and Southwestern, and the St. Louis, Alton and Terre Haute Railroads, besides other lines which are projected, and some of them considerably advanced. With such aids toward development it would be strange indeed if St. Louis should not thrive, and as we saw recently, when the great bridge across the Mississippi was opened to commerce, the people are well worthy of the opportunities with which they are and have been favored. When Kansas Territory was first thrown open to settlement, St. Louis had a population of over one hundred thousand souls, but the small malignity which found utterance in the columns of the Platte *Argus*, was only in a very modified way echoed by the press of the metropolis, in which better sentiments ruled. The people were in favor of slavery as a domestic institution, but the more repulsive features of Missourian proceedings in the adjoining territory were not realized by the mass of the people who were too far from the debatable land to take an active part in the conflict. Assessments were made and responded to occasionally by the St. Louis men to sustain the policy of annexation, and some of the more adventurous spirits visited the seat of war, but the city as a whole was exempted by its geographical position from being incriminated in the more blamable excesses of the day. The commercial and mining ventures of St. Louis, and the capital already at that time invested in manufactures put the city in a very different category from those places which relied entirely upon the slave owners, and carried all their eggs in one basket. The analysis of occupations which now lies before us shows how the population of the city was employed in 1870, but there had been no violent overturn, so far as this particular place was concerned, to disrupt old industries, and it may be safely assumed that the relative proportions of the several avocations had undergone no material alteration. There were then two

hundred clergymen, over ninety journalists, six hundred lawyers, five hundred surgeons and doctors, nine hundred and fifty teachers, thirty thousand laborers and domestic servants, over twenty-eight thousand men engaged in trade and transportation, and more than thirty-eight thousand occupied in mining and in manufactures, embracing all the various avocations in demand where a population of some hundreds of thousands have congregated. The tone of such a great center could not be governed by the petty wire pullers of Westport and Weston, and the interests of the people were too numerous to allow of fanatical unanimity on such an issue as that which would have enslaved Kansas.

The city of St. Louis, on the west bank of the Mississippi, sixteen miles below the mouth of the Missouri, is one of the most beautiful in the Union, and it covers an area of fifty-five square miles, extending fourteen miles along the Mississippi bank, on which it stands, and stretching inland from the "Father of Waters" fully nine miles. The usual phenomena of terraces rising above the river's banks can be seen here in great perfection, the city standing on three terraces, the highest fully two hundred feet above the level of the stream. The streets, which are well graded, run parallel to, and at right angles with the course of the Mississippi as it flows past the city, and the busy wharves, backed by handsome and commodious buildings of every description, produce a very favorable impression upon travelers who approach the metropolis by the river. Indeed, it would be difficult to name a direction from which St. Louis could be entered by a person blessed with eyes, which would not produce upon him an impression of that kind. The streets are wide, and most of them well shaded; the warehouses indicate by their massive proportions the value of the area on which they are erected, and the wealth of their owners; the factories are standing protests that their proprietors have the command of abundant capital to marshal an army of industry, whenever desirable for the accomplishment of their aims. The hotels are superb edifices which embody all that is most beautiful and commodious for the convenience of the traveling public, and for the large section of the people of St. Louis, who find it more to their taste to live in such caravanseras, than to occupy cottages of their own and

assume the responsibilities of housekeeping. Many of the *habitues* of these grand hotels are men and women of great wealth, and others are clerks just entering upon their matrimonial career on small salaries, but for every one the spacious establishments have ample room, and the *table d'hote* is as varied and rich as might serve for the great Mogul. The private residences vary just as widely as the circumstances of the persons by whom they are occupied. Here is a miserable rookery of a place, which might be dated from the days of M. La Clede, for all that appearances say, and the people that throng the habitation, irrespective of the demands for so many cubic feet of breathing room, as per hygienic regulations, are always under the eyes of the police, or supposed to be so, except when they are serving their often allotted sentences in jails and penitentiaries. This is almost a palace, and the man for whom it was built began life completely under the weather, but thanks to his native courage and sagacity, thanks to his luck, as some of the less fortunate phrase their explanation, he has touched a hundred ventures with the finger of Midas, and now, not yet an old man, he is one the richest inhabitants of St. Louis. He might have honors innumerable, but he declines them, and is content to enjoy his declining years surrounded by his family and friends. He lives in an elegant building and the luxuries of both hemispheres are at all times available in his unostentatious way for his friends, but he fares simply as a philosopher himself, and the result is seen in the bright light which dances in his eyes, and the merry smile which is forever waiting about his mobile lips. He was not favored with a first class education in his boyhood, but when opportunities served he made up for all deficiencies in that line by reading men and things with the deep scrutiny of experience, and there are now few questions of moment likely to arise, upon which he cannot indicate the point where all the ascertained facts and phenomena are lost in vague conjecture, waiting for the master whose key shall unravel the mystery by unveiling the full orbed truth. The house inhabited by our friend is large and elegant, but it is not so beautiful as his own career has been, and the city honored by the presence of such men is tolerably sure to win prosperity. The higher terrace is very largely occupied by

private residences, and it is easy to see that the average resident in this busy center, believes in making his home as comfortable as his means will permit without caring too much for appearances. The public buildings are, some of them, very handsome indeed, but they are so numerous that we must content ourselves with merely cataloguing their names and purposes, only saying in addition, that they assist to make St. Louis look like a city of exquisite beauty and boundless wealth. The city hall and court house with its graceful dome cost $1,000,000, and is built of magnesian limestone, occupying the center of a fine square, bounded by Fourth street, Fifth, Chestnut and Market. It is one of the most prominent ornaments of a city which has, during the last twenty years, been steadly improving its architectural appearance. The custom house and post office is built of Missouri marble, and the building is also used by the United States courts. The foundation on which the splendid edifice was to be erected, not being supposed sufficiently stable to endure the superincumbent weight, the difficulty was obviated by driving numerous iron shod piles into the earth, to a depth of twenty feet, with a ponderous tilt hammer, which seemed powerful enough to have disturbed the granitic rocks themselves. Since the building was raised, there has been no settlement observable, nor is it likely that there will be a misfortune of that description to be chronicled. The first theater built in St. Louis stood where the custom house and post office are now erected. In the southeastern quarter of the city the United States arsenal stands, and it is one of the most substantial looking edifices in the neighborhood. The merchant's exchange is the temple of commerce and manufactures, and Pluto could hardly desire a handsomer representative of the twin wealth producing factors of civilization. The asylum for the insane is a very admirable institution, the building being erected on the best modern plans which are found much more conducive to recovery than the methods which were in vogue at the commencement of this century, and, of course, that idea is the ruling thought among men who devote their lives to the treatment of mental alienation. The marine hospital is, as its name implies, mainly devoted to the treatment of diseases and accidents among

men "who go down to the sea in ships," but under peculiar circumstances the limitations are sometimes disregarded.

It will give our readers some idea of the importance of the shipping interest in St. Louis, when we mention that in 1860, the last year before the commencement of the rebellion, there were no less than 4,371 steamboat arrivals, representing a tonnage of 1,120,039, and although the long continued war almost destroyed the river traffic, there has already been secured a very near approximation to the old figures, notwithstanding that railroads are now competing for the carrying trade of the continent as they never competed before that time. It will be seen that there were good reasons why a marine hospital should be established in St. Louis. The Mercantile Library Hall is a fine building, and the library consists of about 50,000 volumes, many of the works being exceptionally valuable; and besides this fine collection of books, there are many minor treasuries of knowledge, offering to the men of this city and county such chances for culture as might have turned the brain of half the world, could the same openings have been presented a century ago. The public school library contains 30,000 volumes, the St. Louis library 25,000, the court house library 8,000 and the Washington University library 7,000, many of them standard works, and not a few works of reference which supplement collections in private hands. The Merchants Exchange is sometimes described as the Union Merchants Exchange, and it may be said to represent all the varied interests of trade, commerce and manufactures under one roof, moving harmoniously together like motor and sensitive nerves in one sheath, almost one, yet happily various in their capacity to serve and inform the brain of society. The Polytechnic Institute is much thought of by the citizens of St. Louis, and it really well deserves the interest always manifested in its progress. The library has nearly thirty thousand volumes, and the apparatus available for the illustration of scientific truths is truly a valuable collection. The building is an ornament to the city, and the purpose to which it is devoted argues a still higher beauty in the hearts of the men who are mainly to be thanked for its establishment. Some of the insurance companies in St. Louis have very handsome build-

ings, but our list is already too long. Some faint idea of the rapidity noticeable in the development of St. Louis may be seen in the fact, that during the year 1872, there were no less than 1,559 new buildings erected, and that 1,228 of that number were dwelling houses of various dimensions, from the cottage adapted for the mechanic and his family, to the abode of fashion shaped from magnesian limestone or Missouri marble, or from the excellent bricks manufactured in and near this city. East St. Louis, in Illinois, is now part of the grander city in Missouri, having been joined thereto by one of the finest pieces of engineering work known to the nineteenth century. Two immense piers in the River Mississippi and massive abutments at each bank of the river, sustain this grand highway fifty feet above high water level, and the structure consists of three arches, the central arch being 525 feet in its span, and the side arches only ten feet less. The The piers have been carried down to the solid rock, one finding its foundation sixty feet below the bed of the stream, and the other pier being carried thirty feet deeper. The difficulties attendant upon such operations need not not be insisted upon here; it is enough that we chronicle a pronounced success. The bridge has two stories sustained by steel arches, constructed of hollow cylinders, that being the form and material which gives the maximum of strength and lightness for such structures. The upper story of the bridge is appropriated for foot passengers and for carriages, and it is continued by a viaduct to Washington Avenue, at a point more than a thousand feet west of the river shore, being sustained by five arches. The lower tier is sustained by a double tunnel, which ends in the Great Central depot, after an underground journey of four thousand, eight hundred feet. The bridge itself is 2,230 feet long, having cost the city more than $8,000,000, beside the amount expended by the various railroad companies interested in constructing the approaches on the Illinois side of the river. This work alone would tell the whole world the quality of manhood that governs in St. Louis. The pyramid builder Cheops, Suphis, or Shufu has perpetuated his own doubtful cognomen, by a work more curious and incomprehensible, but the genius of the people to whose good sense an undertaking must be commended in our day would decline to vote

one cent toward another pyramid, while the common consent of all concerned allows the wisdom of this grand expenditure, for the purpose of more securely knitting together the commercial welfare of adjoining states. It is most assuredly an advantage to have been born a workman in the United States of America, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, rather than in Egypt, although one of the governing caste in the time of Shufu, 2,500 B. C.

St. Louis is important as a manufacturing district; there is no city west of the Alleghanies to which she must give precedence. The iron works in the city are numerous, extensive and continually increasing. When the last census was taken in the year 1870, there were just eleven foundries and furnaces, and in the year 1873 there were forty-five, a ratio of increase such as few cities can equal. The iron products of St. Louis in the year 1872 may be stated in round numbers at $5,500,000. When the lead mines of Dubuque were opened in the later years of the last century, Julien Dubuque found in St. Louis his steadiest support, and that branch of industry still continues to be prosecuted here. In the year 1871, there were 17,433,138 pounds of lead and 27,000 pounds of zinc produced here, besides which there are about 5,000 tons of white lead and 259 tons of red lead and litharge produced annually. The items just given will show that St. Louis maintains her preeminence long since assumed in lead works. Turning from that department of industry we find that in the year last named, 1871, there were twenty-seven steam flour mills in the city, producing 1,507,915 barrels of flour, while the pork packing houses killed and salted 500,000 hogs. There were then twenty-five breweries in St. Louis producing within the year 411,000 barrels of beer, and only one of the many wine companies, operating in 1872, manufactured one hundred thousand gallons of wine, and one million bottles of champagne. The manufactures of the city in the year 1870, approximated to $158,000,000, and since that date the increase has been steady. St. Louis owes much of her prosperity to her geographical position, almost in the center of the Mississippi valley, the great food producing area which might sustain the whole population of the globe, supposing the whole twelve hundred millions to rely up-

on the granaries of this region; and the rapid growth of the commercial center is largely due to the fact that the people come to the food, and build up their factories in the source of supply, instead of remaining in Europe to be fed. To be only the farmer and food purveyor for the transatlantic nations is not the ambition of this people. The soil so drained of its fertility to supply the wants of a foreign population, must before many years realize the worst form of barrenness, in complete exhaustion, while the whole profit of the transaction would fall into the hands of carriers and agents, conducting the transfer. The farmer so circumstanced would be little better than a hewer of wood and drawer of water for well fed foreigners. He wisely chooses in preference to become his own manufacturer and engineer, his own artist and writer, master of the lore of every age and every profession, adept in every trade, and inventor or improver of every design to multiply the results of human labor. It is but the barest justice to assert that there is more inventive skill in the average American than in any other average man that can be found in any nation on the globe, and he is wise enough to cultivate this faculty for his own sake as well as in the interests of mankind. He has beneath his feet supplies of coal which will endure for numberless centuries after the coal fields of England shall have been exhausted, or will require to be followed to a depth so great, that the deposit so won will be too dear to be used in manufactures; and the American begins to assume his position as the great proprietor of fuel, having a corner upon this indispensable necessary of life. His food can be sold to the millions of miners who will come here to win his coal from the earth's crust, and he is by so much exempted from seeking a foreign market. He has iron ores of the very best description equal, even to the best qualities that are found in Sweden, and he builds up a Pittsburgh near to one coal mining region, as he can build up similar communities elsewhere, until he can rival the whole world in the production of iron and steel, as well as in all the wares that can be manufactured therefrom, and very soon, thanks to the enterprise of one section of our people, and to the ingenuity of another, his axe drives the English production out of the market among woodmen in far away Australia, and indeed all over the world, while his cutlery

finds ready buyers among the wiser manufacturers in Sheffield, who choose to import from our factories, an excellence, with which they connot compete. Thus again we fetch the consumer to the soil that will feed him, because having the ores, the coal, the market and the machinery, it is our manifest destiny to become the employers of mankind instead of only their farmers. The whole round of industry falls sooner or later into the same widening circle, and from all over Europe the best handicraftsmen make their calculations for a pilgrimage to this Mecca of progress, in the country where the toiling masses rule, and are content to share with capital the profits of every enterprise. The grand prairies become now worthy of the highest skill of the husbandman, because the golden grain which can be reaped from his labors, can be turned into ingots of the circulating medium at the door of his granary, and the man that buys his produce can change the fleece of his sheep into broadcloth, can make for his farm the very best descriptions of machinery, can put into his pocket a watch of native manufacture better worthy of being carried and trusted than one-half of all the products of European workshops. The water powers which were only availed of to saw lumber and to grind corn, have now a hundred other purposes to serve in supporting millions of men and women engaged in hundreds of employments which convert our food crops into higher forms of wealth, and we send to less favored lands, not the products of our fertile acres but the more honorable export, the fruit of our brain power which may raise our clients into a better appreciation of the dignity of manhood. St. Louis is entering upon that phase of progress, and her advancement to the first half million of her population within the Centennial year, is but the harbinger of more rapid growth during the balance of the nineteenth century. The vast area of which St. Louis is the natural port, the system of railroads which offers its aid in the work of building up commercial success, the mighty river which will carry to the ocean whatever wealth is committed to its care, the mines, the ores, the soil, our workshops, enterprise and ingenuity, are all contributing their quota toward the realization of a future without a rival in the world's history, which will cause the unnumbered millions inhabiting the valley, between the Appal-

lachian chain and the Rocky Mountains, to accept St. Louis as their commercial metropolis.

The churches of St. Louis are numerous and handsome, and the educational institutions of the city are under the management of a board of twenty-six citizens, known as the Board of Public Schools, and the school fund amounts to nearly $4,000,000. There were 58 school houses in 1872, with 482 rooms, in which were instructed during that year 34,431 pupils, and upwards of 600 teachers were engaged in the work. The value of school property was estimated at that time at $2,235,803, and schools were provided very properly for colored children as well as for white. The schools are graded, and admirably presided over by the several staffs of teachers. There is a good normal school in the city, a central school, and there are four branch high schools, fifty-four district schools, six of that number for colored youth, and seventeen evening schools, to meet the wants of those who are at work during the day. Nor does this grand array of public and free schools include the whole of the educational machinery of St. Louis, as there remain, in addition to all these, the Polytechnic Institute, before mentioned in naming the libraries of the city, the Washington University, and three Roman Catholic institutions: the St. Louis University, the St. Patrick Academy, and the College of the Christian Brothers. Beyond these again there is provision for special training for what are now looked upon as preeminently the learned professions, medicine, law, engineering in its higher branches, literature and art. The St. Louis Medical College, the Missouri Medical College and the St. Louis Law School are institutions of great merit, and the associations for science and letters comprise the Academy of Sciences, the Engineer Club, the Historical Society, the Institute of Architects, the Agricultural and Mechanical Society, the Medical Society, the Union Literary Association, the University Club and the Art Society. The progressive thought, born of so many and such various institutions, gives a high tone to society in St. Louis, and the influence is visible in the press, which ministers to every phase of advancement. The newspaper and periodical press in St. Louis consists of about eighty publications, eight of which are dailies with a reputation established throughout the Union.

Party politics have their exponents here as elsewhere, but there is culture to be found in the most virulent of the effusions of partisanship. Abstract thought and science are represented admirably by the Medical and Surgical Journal, Medical Archives, The Southern Review, The Inland Monthly Magazine, and although last in the list, by no means least, The Journal of Speculative Philosophy is one of the ablest exponents of abstract thought that can be found on this continent.

Having thus hastily glanced at the origin of St. Louis, its progress as to settlement and as a city, to an eminent position as a centre of trade, commerce and manufactures, its beauty of position, and the added excellence of architectural adornment, its railway and river facilities for shipment, and its immense development in the interests of education, its engineering works, and its numerous libraries, its public buildings and private dwellings, it becomes our duty to glance at the charitable institutions, which minister to the woes of the suffering poor, and at the parks and public grounds, which help to fend off the ravages of sickness in so great an assemblage of humanity. Parks are the lungs of great cities, and they cultivate the beautiful in thought as much as they stimulate healthful action in the circulating system. Until within the later years of the city's growth parks were hardly considered in the economy of development; but there are some very fine inclosures now which invite the public at all suitable seasons to come into the open air and enjoy the luxury of an invigorating atmosphere. One park of thirty acres has been named after the Marquis De La Fayette, and around its margin are grouped some of the most elegant residences in the city. The largest park, known as Shaw's Garden, contains three hundred and thirty acres, and within its area are comprised herb and flower gardens, hot houses for plants whose *habitat* is in tropical countries, fruit gardens, and an arboratum, in the ornamentation of which the skill of the gardener has been developed to the highest point. The St. Louis fair grounds form a well grassed park, shaded by numerous trees, and its great extent of eighty-five acres gives room for promenaders and for elegant drives, even when the grounds are occupied by agricultural and industrial exhibitions. Tower Grove Park is an inclosure comprising very nearly

three hundred acres, only second in beauty to Shaw's Gardens, and there are fourteen smaller squares and inclosures in the different parts of the city. God's Acre, as the Germans at one time called their grave yards, has been made very beautiful in the cemetery of Bellefontaine, about five miles from the court house, and the inclosure consists of three hundred and fifty acres, in which monuments and foliage combine to make the living envy the repose of the honored dead, whose careers have ended in victory. Charity, which covereth a multitude of sins, has been well considered by the citizens here. Two of the hospitals have been already mentioned, but the Sisters' Hospital, a Roman Catholic institution, deserves notice; besides which there are ten orphan asylums, under various managements, a home for the friendless, a house of refuge, and a reform school, all in good condition, whether sustained by contributions from the treasury of the state, or sustained by direct help from the pockets of the public. The street railways of St. Louis are almost perfect; the city is well lighted with gas, and supplied with water pumped by steam force from the Mississippi into an immense reservoir, one mile from the city limits. The police force is efficient, the fire department always ready for emergencies, the signal system simple and effective, the city generally healthy and well governed, and St. Louis may well be pronounced one of the most prosperous and promising cities in the world, now that the enslavement of the black is no longer a blot upon its escutcheon.

St. Joseph is the capital of Buchanan county, on the east bank of the Missouri river, 565 miles by the river from the city of St. Louis, just described, and by nearly that distance nearer to the seat of war in Kansas; but only about five hundred miles distant from the metropolis overland. The city was first laid out by some Kentuckians in the year 1843, and consequently the settlement was little more than eleven years old when the quarrel arose as to the annexation of Kansas by the slave power. The Black Snake hills constitute the site of St. Joseph, which was at first very uneven and broken ground, but attention to grading has reduced such inequalities. When the border war commenced, there was considerable difference of opinion between the

Kentuckian settlers in St. Joseph and those from the free states, but the settlement, as a whole, went with the pro-slavery party, and appeared to consider that ruin stared in the face of every man unless Kansas could be brought into the Union as a slave state. There was, besides, a very general impression that the Kansas-Nebraska act was the outcome of a compromise, under which Kansas should have gone for slavery; and that idea, sedulously strengthened by certain leaders, was a cause of much bitterness against the New England States, which were said to be violating an implied compact. The position was radically unsound, but it was none the less powerful. The country around St. Joseph is very rich, and, under free labor will long continue fertile. The city is moderately well built, and contains numerous churches and public buildings, among which the structures erected by the county of Buchanan are most prominent. Many of the business blocks, banks and hotels are very handsome, but St. Joseph has lost one source of wealth which in its earlier days was of very great importance: the outfit of emigrants going across the plains to the golden land of promise and elsewhere. At one time, this city was a favorite point of departure, and there is still a considerable trade carried on in that direction, but the railroads have deflected the line of traffic very much, and even those who pass over the same road can provide themselves with necessaries more conveniently in the cities where they effect their shipment. The Rocky Mountain settlements and settlers on the plains and along the Upper Missouri still make St. Joseph their base of supply. In the exciting days of the Pony Express, before the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, this was the starting point for the mails to Pike's Peak and the contiguous country. Railroads are being forwarded to St. Joseph very rapidly from many points, but many of the residents sigh for the good old times which they fear will never be equalled. The city has excellent facilities for shipment by the river, and, in addition to those advantages the following railroads have stations or termini and depots here: the Hannibal and St. Joseph, the St. Joseph and Denver City by steamboat transfer, the St. Louis and St. Joseph, the Kansas City, St. Joseph and Council Bluffs, and the Maryville branch of the road last mentioned. So far from

realizing the ruin which the city at one time dreaded, has St. Joseph been, that its railroad facilities have been steadily increasing for many years, and the population, which was only 8,932 in 1860, had become 19,565 in 1870. There are ten newspapers published in the city, and there are twelve churches, but the schools are not so numerous nor so attractive to the juvenile population as they might be made. The industries of St. Joseph are rapidly extending and among them we find enumerated factories for the manufacture of carriages, machinery, lumber, flour, wagons, pork packing houses and other such establishments. The city is lighted with gas, and well governed by a mayor and council under the city charter.

Hannibal is the capital of Marion county, on the west bank of the Mississippi river, 150 miles by that means of intercourse from St. Louis, and only fifteen miles below Quincy, Ill. Coal is quite abundant in this locality, and much capital will be expended in that branch of industry. Hannibal is a rapidly growing city, having numerous flouring mills, tobacco factories and other extensive works which give large employment to labor. The lumber trade from this point with other parts of Missouri, with Kansas and with Texas, is quite an important item, the annual sales of lumber ranging near one hundred and fifty million feet. The city is handsome and surrounded, or partly so, by hills on which very beautiful residences have been erected in commanding situations. The business blocks, private dwellings and public edifices have a very substantial aspect. The railroad facilities for Hannibal, which supplement and, in some instances, supplant the river traffic, are furnished by the Hannibal and St. Joseph, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, the Toledo, Wabash and Western, and the Mississippi Valley and Western railroads. The Toledo, Wabash and Western Railroad crosses the Mississippi at this point, upon a splendid bridge built of iron, but resting upon stone abutments, which was built in the year 1872, and has added immensely to the importance of Hannibal. The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Company have located at this point the terminus of their line, and, in connection therewith their very extensive machine shops and general offices which are prominent

features in the elegant city. There are located here about three hundred business establishments, including four banks, one foundry, car works and machine shops, saw mills, planing and flouring mills, and one daily and two weekly papers. In the year 1860, the population of Hannibal was 6,505, and, when the last census was taken, there were 10,125; but since 1870 there has been a very considerable augmentation which leaves no doubt that the city now contains from fourteen to fifteen thousand people. There are fifteen churches in the city, some of them of great beauty, and all well supported by the sects which they represent. Education is cared for by several private schools and academies of conspicuous merit, and there are seven public schools located in handsome buildings, the grading well nigh perfect and the teachers among the best that can be found in Missouri. The attendance is slightly above the average, but in this city, as in many others in this state, the school system was unwisely delayed because of the peculiar domestic institution. There is an excellent college in Hannibal which draws its support from all parts of the state, and many of the ablest men in Missouri have participated in its advantages since the abolition of slavery has removed the embargo which was once laid upon learning for fear of its ameliorating influence upon the degraded race.

INDEPENDENCE was for a long time the great depot of the Santa Fe trade, which flourished here for some years before Kansas City site was first settled. Independence was one of the strongholds of the proslavery party in Missouri, many of the Santa Fe traders having invested all their earnings in slave plantations, and of course their influence was all but invincible at this point. This is the capital of Jackson county, and it stands ten miles east of Kansas City, being connected therewith by a narrow guage railroad. The city was first founded in 1827, but until the overland routes to Oregon, California and New Mexico made this settlement a kind of headquarters, there were but few people who knew anything about the location, three miles from the Missouri River, which had slowly arrived at its very moderate importance after the passage of the Missouri Compromise, under the directing

hand of Henry Clay, in 1820. There are two colleges in the city, besides public and private schools; but Independence has not burst its old bonds completely, and may not develop into a resumption of the influential place it once occupied in public esteem for many years. The city is well built, but it does not extend, although it contains among its residents many wealthy and enterprising men. There are two banks and two weekly newspapers in Independence, and its population in the year 1870, when the last census was taken, showed a total of 3,184. Many residents and property owners in this city are now identified with prosperous firms in Kansas City, and in that way they are more than compensated for the passing away of the old *regime*, but there are not a few fossils in this locality who cannot be persuaded that it was other than an overwhelming misfortune for the whole union, when Kansas came in as a free state.

Weston, once famous for its power during the border war, is in Platte county, Missouri, and it was by no means satisfied to submit to proslavery dictation, but being surrounded by the agents and influences of Gen. Atchison and his associates, it was not possible to stand out of the ring. The Platte County Defensive Association was, however, broken up by the determined resistance of the Westonites in 1854, and the people deserved a better outcome for their efforts. The village stands on the Missouri bank, on the line of the Kansas City, St. Joseph and Council Bluffs Railroad, having some manufactures established here, and a considerable shipping trade. The city of Leavenworth is seven miles below Weston on the other side of the river, and from this point thousands of ruffians from many counties used to make their incursions into the territory during the invasion. Weston stands thirty miles south of St. Joseph, but the village does not increase in the same ratio with its surroundings. The township of which it is the postal village, only contained a population of 2,453 in the year 1870, and Weston has 1,614 inhabitants. The school arrangements of Weston are primitive but respectable; the churches are not splendid, but they are moderately well supported. There is only one weekly newspaper published here, but it is believed the place will rise out of sleepy hollow.

LEXINGTON is doubtless familiar to our readers as one of the landing places on the banks of the Missouri River, which, in the years 1854–5, used to be resorted to by border ruffians to ascertain whether free soil emigrants were on board the river boats, and if so to compel them to return whence they came, or at any rate to force them to surrender any weapons of which they might be possessed. This system continued so long in operation and became so annoying, that eventually large numbers came to Kansas Territory through Iowa at very much greater cost. Of course when the free soilers came on in large bodies, they were discreetly allowed to pass unmolested. The people of Lexington were not in any sense responsible for the oppressive system which was part of the mechanism of the proslavery party all over the state during the border troubles. The city is the capital of La Fayette county, and it stands on the south bank of the Missouri River, on a plateau three hundred feet above high water mark, being in consequence tolerably safe against inundation. Coal of the best kind has been found in this locality, and Lexington is one of the oldest settlements in the state, as well as one of the most prosperous. There are four weekly newspapers published in the city, and in the year 1870, there was a population of 4,373. The Sedalia branch of the Missouri Pacific Railroad has a station here, and at North Lexington on the opposite side of the river are depots of the St. Joseph and Lexington, and the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern, which runs along the river bottom, meaning of course the second bottom of the stream. The city is 250 miles by railroad from St. Louis, about 370 by the river, and forty miles east of the boundary line of Kansas. It was a position well chosen for such inquisitorial visits as Missouri once thought it necessary to pay to families traveling Kansasward upon the river. Hemp was at that time one of the badges of the proslavery party, which organized the raids into Kansas, as well as one of the most popular prescriptions of Judge Lynch, when combined with a branch of a tree and a free soiler, to assist in converting the territory into a slave state; and it is very interesting to ascertain that this city is considered the center of the hemp growing region in Missouri, now happily converted to more peaceful and more civilizing uses. The coal trade is a very important branch of the industries of this

locality, and the supply is almost unlimited. The city was first settled in 1837, the situation is one of the best on the banks of the Missouri for the preservation of health, and the prosperity of the place has been continuous. Lexington was the scene of some brilliant engagements during the rebellion; the hill to the northeast was held by Col. James Mulligan and a force of 2,800 men for the Union, against Gen. Price and a Confederate force of 25,000 strong, and although eventually the town and garrison surrendered to the enemy, the position was recaptured, and the prisoners of war released within one month. There was another passage of arms on the same ground in 1864. There are ten churches in Lexington, and they are well sustained. The city has three seminaries for young ladies, and there are excellent public schools free to all classes in the community, under first class management and well graded. There is quite a large German element in the population, and as a matter of course such colonists are always, as a rule, law abiding and industrious. There are four banks in Lexington, and the city presents all the signs of great prosperity, which is well deserved and is likely to abide.

Booneville was for some time a Confederate camp during the rebellion, but in June, 1861, the forces under Col. Marmaduke were routed by Gen. Lyon, the Confederate force abandoning their camp, equipage, guns and clothing. Booneville is a port on the Missouri river, and the capital of Cooper county, 227 miles from the city of St. Louis by water and 187 miles by land. The commerce of Booneville is very considerable, and it stands in the center of a very rich agricultural country, being naturally the port of shipment for an extensive area. The position of the city is very favorable to good hygienic rules, as it occupies a bluff one hundred feet above the level of the river, and the neighborhood is especially favored with mineral wealth, having an abundance of lead, iron, coal, marble and hydraulic lime, which will almost of necessity bring to the place large investments of capital for the employment of skilled labor. The city has railroad communication by a branch line of twenty-five miles, which joins the Missouri Pacific line at that distance from the port. The population of Booneville in 1870, was 3,506, and there are

three weekly papers published here. The churches of the city are commodious, but not superb, and the school system will soon stand in need of extension.

We have glanced at the principal cities of the state of Missouri, and it is evident that when the great descent was made upon Kansas territory, the movement was due not to the consentaneous action of the great centers of commerce and population, but to the influence of unscrupulous demagogues operating upon a scattered and uneducated populace, remote from the influence of the school and the newspaper in the better sense, moulded in secret societies by the prestige of wealthy men whose minds were of the lower order, and deluded by politicians who were content to pander to the lowest passions of the mob, in the hope that thereby they might secure the prizes of a contemptible ambition. With a force such as we have seen scattered over a state so vast, there was not a possibility of success for the invaders, when the public spirit of the eastern and middle states had once been aroused, but the free soilers, fighting almost for life itself, and liable at any moment to be overwhelmed by an influx of barbarians, could not have held their own in the contest but for the assistance which poured in from the New England states and elsewhere to strengthen their hands against the enemy. We have passed beyond the time when a quarrel around the ballot box represented the *modus operandi* of the pro-slavery party; the framing of a state constitution and the systematic procedure by which it was to be submitted to the people, had about it an aspect of business which must be intercepted and destroyed by the favorite tactics of the enemy, unless the antagonists of progress were prepared to lay down their weapons and acquiesce in a *regime* against which they had in a thousand ways sworn vengeance. The population in western Missouri was reinforced by numbers from Arkansas and the southern states prepared to fight for the perpetuation of slavery, and we shall resume the territorial history of Kansas the better qualified to comprehend the status and the prospects of each party for the brief digression and hasty reconnaissance in which we have indulged.

CHAPTER X.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY
(resumed.)

THE WAKARUSA WAR.

Reinforced from the East — Town Drummers at Work — Unsettled Settlers — Sickness Prevailing — Acting Governor Woodson — Lexington Conference Manifesto — The Kansas Legion — The Doniphan *Exposé* — Military Organizations — Law — Secret Confederation — Proslavery Outrages — Personal Assaults — Kelley — Butler — Governor Shannon — Conciliating Missouri — Law and Order Tactics — Shannon's Mistake — General Calhoun — Law *sans* Order — Talking Blood — Hostilities — Trespasses and Sins — Deliberate Murder — Public Demonstration — Incendiary Fires — The Missouri Sheriff — Illegal Arrest — To the Rescue — Design on Lawrence — Wanted Three Thousand Men — Assisting Jones — Major General Richardson — The Warlike Proclamation — Platte County Riflemen — Wakarusa Encampment — Wading Waist Deep — The Situation in Lawrence — Committee of Safety — President Pierce — Commander-in-Chief Robinson — Congress — Fortifying the City — Munitions of War — Brigadier General's Discretion — Colonel Sumner — The Assailants Chagrined — United States Troops — Governor Shannon Informed — His Vacillation — Visit to the Camp — Attempt to Mediate — Making Discoveries — Plots and Counterplots — Change of Base — Indian Allies — Abolition Scalps — Biding the Issue — Thomas Barber's Death — Scenes in Camp — Negotiating a Peace — The Governor in Lawrence — The Treaty — Husbanding Forces — Pacification Feast — The Black Flag Conspiracy — Brave Women.

WHILE the events which have been described in preceding chapters were being enacted, the settlers in Kansas territory continued to send home to their friends in the free states detailed descriptions of the wrongs under which they suffered, because they were not sufficiently strong to resist the enemy, and the result of such disquisitions was found in a more decided setting of the tide of emigration this way. The several emigrant aid societies worked with an intelligent appreciation of the circumstances, such as could only come from continuous correspondence with the leading minds engaged in the struggle. Not only the old Bay State, but Penn-

sylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin supplied each their quota, not by drafts and conscriptions, but by assisting as far as possible the ardent volunteers who were desirous to be in the front rank where the battle raged its hottest. During the later part of the spring and summer of 1855, great numbers came in to reinforce the free soil party. The New England Emigrant Aid Society alone sent out five hundred, and most of these were men who could be relied upon in an emergency. There were splendid locations away back from the border, which seemed to invite settlement by their remoteness from the scenes of disturbance as well as by their natural beauty and other charms, so that many of the new comers were scattered as it were broadcast back from the Missouri river toward the sources of the Kansas river. The settlers who now came in were not all possessed of the martyr spirit, or if they were, the power to control their feelings in some cases must have been immense. Many of the first to arrive in the spring of 1855 had laid out towns upon their selections, before their most expeditious friends could follow, and upon the arrival of the next detachments they were able to demonstrate almost to their own satisfaction, that the place which had been so fortunate as to secure their approval could not fail to be the capital of the future state, the seat of justice for the most prosperous county, the center of a mining district, compared with which Golconda would have no charms, the site of manufacturing enterprise which would put Lowell and Pittsburgh in the shade, and the abode of so vast and varied a commerce, that within the next decade Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia and New York would in succession hide their diminished heads before the new luminary destined to outvie the metropolitan cities of both hemispheres. All this, and perhaps a little more, was hashed and rehashed, by instalments, by energetic, unscrupulous and enthusiastic drummers, for towns which had hardly yet even an existence upon paper, while the land itself had not been surveyed, and while the title necessarily might be open to a thousand questions. The towns which had been laid out in the fall of 1854 were most of them destined to survive, but many of the settlements now projected did not come alive through their infantine ailments; some died before they were even christened, and

not a few have left names only, which the prudent historian will find it no easy matter to locate, before another decade shall have passed away. Even where the towns had been wisely located, the growth in value was not speedy, for there were troublous times before Kansas. Many of the new comers were sickly sentimentalists, who wanted to colonize Arcadia to the music of the tuneful shepherd's pipe, and to rise each morning from the soft lullaby of their night's repose, only to bathe their manly frames in rosewater, until they should be summoned to matutinal feasts more luxuriant than their beds of down. For such men there was no opening in Kansas. The work before the settler in that territory had the clangor of battle in it, rather than the soft allurements with which they were enamored. Many found that they had not vigor enough in their town reared bodies, to breast the difficulties which opened up before them at every step. Some men retired from the field because the unsettled aspect of affairs would not warrant them in retaining their families around them, and others, hoping that they saw the probability of a solution of all difficulties only a few months ahead, sent their wives and children back to their old homes for a season, while they encamped upon the temporary battle ground prepared to acquit themselves like men. The wonder is that so many remained to face the hardships of pioneer life, added to the special disturbing causes which were operating in the territory, but when the mind is once resolved upon a course, the body possesses a wonderful power of adaptation, which can accomodate itself with something akin to pleasure to the most incongruous surroundings. The shibboleth upon the outset of the Kansas movement very effectively sent back the men not suited to the undertaking, hence it happened that in the hours of trial which were impending, the spirit of the old revolutionary times seemed to have a home in every breast. Among those who concluded to remain, there was so much work on hand that but few could afford time to dig wells, and springs were more rare in Kansas than they are at present, so that there was soon much suffering for want of water. The summer of 1855 was hot and dry in the territory. When rain fell there was a violent storm, but the hardened soil did not drink in the water, and it ran off through the creeks and water courses to the rivers. Some

men, anticipating such visitations, had erected temporary dams, which served their purpose, so far as that they secured supplies of water, but the surface water in Kansas holds so much salt of various kinds in solution, that sickness became terribly prevalent. Cholera and fevers decimated the colony, reducing the strongest men to mere shadows, and putting many under the sod. Where wells had been secured as the primal requisite, the worst evils were avoided, as the health of mankind depends more upon good water than upon any other item that can be named. Those who were so fortunate as to obtain their supply from filtration through sandstone procured water soft enough for the purposes of the laundress, yet as clear of unwholesome quality or sediment as the *aqua pura* of the philosopher's dream; and their healths were not impaired by other hardships. Still there was no bed of roses for even the most fortunate settler in Kansas territory in the year 1855.

The most supple man in the territory in that trying time was the acting governor, Daniel Woodson, the secretary of the administration of which Mr. Reeder had been the head. When that gentleman was removed from office there were several bills pending which had not been signed by him, for the sufficient reason that the legislature had gone beyond its limits, but no sooner had he been relieved from his responsibility than Mr. Woodson appended his signature as the acting governor to every document, so that there was nothing wanting that executive power could confer to make the action of the pseudo legislative assembly valid law. The slave power found in such a pliant man just the material necessary for its purposes. He was not a bad man, but he was accommodating and ambitious, and having seen the first governor destroyed by the influence of the proslavery organization, he laid himself out to win the approval of the power behind the throne. In that aim he succeeded completely, and even after it was understood that the Hon. Wilson Shannon of Ohio had been nominated for the position, the legislature and its friends memorialized the president to appoint Mr. Woodson governor of Kansas. The fact that a man from Ohio had been named made the party even more solicitous on behalf of the secretary, as a free state man could hardly be otherwise than an object of suspicion

to persons conscious of sinister means and dubious ends, which only an unscrupulous executive could be expected to assist. The Virginian, Daniel Woodson, they had found an able ally, and the new appointee might prove a worse antagonist than Mr. Reeder, so they redoubled their solicitations for the substitution of the name of their proved friend and accomplice. Mr. Woodson was an able man undoubtedly, he had been editor of the Lynchburg Republican, the most influential paper in the fifth city in his native state, and in that position had won by his services to the party, the appointment of secretary of the territory of Kansas before he was thirty years of age; consequently there was no lack of capacity in the too compliant journalist and secretary, but with such a man as governor, the free soil men in the country west of the Missouri would have had a far more difficult task before them than that which they accomplished. The proslavery party in Missouri did not succeed in changing the nomination, but their outspoken doubts as to Mr. Shannon, and their undoubted influence at head quarters had an unmistakable influence in determining the earlier movements of the appointee.

While these matters were yet in abeyance, the proslavery party in Missouri held a conference at Lexington City to discuss the affairs of Kansas at a distance of forty miles from the boundary of the territory most interested in their deliberations. The conference continued its sittings for two days and nights, but nothing came of all their labor except a puerile manifesto, intended to set themselves and their illegal purposes right with the world at large by a volume of abuse against emigrants' aid societies. The usual incoherences were indulged in by the several speakers; they were right in their aims or they would not move one step, they were determined to win whether right or wrong, and they appealed with confidence in their address to that public opinion which they constantly defied by their assertions even in the press of their party, that they would carry their object into effect at the point of the bowie knife. Their speeches, where they were not brutal violations of all the canons of good breeding and sound policy, were just what the poet has described as

"One wild, weak, washy, everlasting flood,"

of the smallest of small platitudes; but they evinced their wisdom by urging upon the legislature of their own state, than no statement of free soil views should circulate in Missouri.

The Free Soil party had of course learned from the demonstrations of the 30th of March, 1855, when the elections were carried against them by the invading hordes of border ruffians, that the best cause cannot prosper without organization, and inasmuch as the proslavery party had numerous secret societies, it was thought advisable to establish similar associations among the resident free settlers in the territory. The outcome was "The Kansas Legion," which was for some time a great comfort to its promoters, until its grips and passwords became the property of traitors to the cause, and its objects were belied in the columns of the Missourian press. The encampments of the Kansas Legion were then abandoned, but not before the fact of such an association being formed had been hoisted into a justification for the various similar bodies, with less justifiable purposes in view, which had preceded the Kansas Legion by many years. There was no aim in the most secret purpose of the Legion, which was inimical to good government, nor any desire covered by its laws, which would have denied to other men the rights which the members of that body sought to defend for themselves and their families; but the machinery was heavy and complex, and except where a conspiracy for some bad end is to be furthered, such institutions are rarely of value in modern times. Hiram, the Master Builder, lived in days when the press was not a power in the land, and when public opinion had no existence, otherwise, it its probable that the craft which he originated would have been modified in many important particulars; but most assuredly there will be no new Hiram in modern times, nor any such temple again seen, as that which he built in honor of the Great Architect of the Universe. The men engaged in fighting the battle of free thought in Kansas, in 1855, had everything to gain by the fullest exposition of their purposes and workings, as wherever their action was published there would be ten friends called to their help for every enemy raised up against them. Most of the leading men in the Free Soil party were dissatisfied with the organization, before the exposé which was made of the workings of the order,

by one Patrick Loughland, of Doniphan, who had distinguished himself by his zeal at the Big Springs convention, probably with the hope that he would become of sufficient value to be bought by the other side. His subsequent action fully justifies the assumption that he was a traitor at heart from the very beginning. The revelation made by him was published in the columns of the "Squatter Sovereign," and the editor of that journal himself, beyond all question, a Blue Lodge man, and a member of every one of the secret societies then flourishing among the proslavery adherents in Missouri, became almost eloquent in his denunciations of the secret society. When *Iago*, attracted to the street by the outcry, on the night when he had hoped that Cassio would kill Roderigo, and Roderigo, Cassio, found instead of that consummation only both men wounded, and therefore likely to prove dangerous witnesses as to his own villainy, it will be remembered that he drove his sword through the heart of his too trusting client, *Roderigo*, at the very moment that he was denouncing the evil practice of "stabbing men in the dark." Satan is never at any other time so much an object of suspicion as when he is rebuking sin, and the Squatter Sovereign, deploring the formation of secret societies, is just precisely a case in point. Stephen A. Douglas, who was at that time following his *ignis fatuus*, the Presidency, almost to the verge of rebellion, in combination with the proslavery party, made quite a powerful harangue against the Kansas Legion, in his place in the Senate of the United States. When the Kansas Legion fell into disrepute, military companies were formed among the Free Soil men, and in almost every precinct there was a well drilled body ready to be called into action whenever necessity might arise. There was no attempt at secrecy in this operation, nor any special effort at publicity, but it was generally assumed that the fact of their being ready for war would have a tendency to preserve peace. The Missourians were crowding them into positions in which the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove would be of small moment, unless the strength of armed hosts could be added. The legislature had finished its work, after passing oppressive laws expressly designed to crush free soilers and abolitionists, the acting governor had assented to the several measures, the judges had pro-

nounced the work valid and excellent, by extra judicial opinions, and it only remained to compel the other side to trespass against the iniquitous enactments, in any way, so that they could be made to feel the pressure of the Draconian system, written in blood, but without the initium of justice. The jury power would not come to the rescue, as the panel was already packed by sheriffs appointed for the occasion, in some cases even residents of Missouri being nominated to that important position. The chief justice was a more violent partisan than the vilest mean white in their company, and in every way the opportunity could never be better than that which now seemed ready to their hand if their enemies would transgress the statutes. The Free Soil men knew of the trap that had been set for them, and their forbearance under provocation was simply wonderful. The most insolent remarks of the enemy were treated as commonplaces, because it was known that a reply would be made the occasion of a street brawl, in which the judgment of every court in the territory would tend toward exterminating the enemy of the slave traffic, irrespective of the merits of the case. Supposing that the men insulted in the streets should be rescued by their friends and summary justice be inflicted upon the aggressors, that would only be made an excuse for bringing down the whole force of Missouri on their shoulders, so it was necessary to be patient until their backs should become strong enough for the burdens that must be carried. They did the best they could under the circumstances, they drilled themselves and each other assiduously in military manoeuvers and in handling weapons, and they endured as much as was possible until their strength should come up to the standard.

Among themselves no man sought legal redress, but a kind of rude justice was administered, as in a community which had not yet been formally organized, and the knowledge that such an understanding prevailed was especially unwelcome to the Missourian party. A litigious free settler would have been accepted as a blessing by the proslavery faction, but no such man came to the front. Insolent words in the streets passed by like idle wind. Personal assaults became the order of the day, and that was the line which forbearance could hardly pass, so in the

absence of any better police, every citizen could become a member of a limited liability association, the members of which were to come to the rescue, should occasion arise, and so graduate their pressure upon the offender, on the other side, that he would probably resolve not to provoke another such operation. The society was formed in Lawrence, and it answered so well, that for a time the streets were orderly and peaceful; but the quiet suppression was very distasteful to the disturbers of the community, and they turned their attentions elsewhere. The town of Atchison was one of the places in which there were opportunities for a system more congenial to Missourian tastes. In that town an otherwise inoffensive man from Cincinnati, named J. W. Kelley, having expressed his disgust for negro slavery, was nearly beaten to death by a ruffian named Thomason, whose size would have precluded him from striking a blow according to the code of honor which prevails in the prize ring. The shameful outrage was made the occasion of a public meeting immediately, and Thomason was lauded as though he had been Leonidas and had repelled the unconquerable host at Thermopylæ. The resolutions, seven in number, recited first the offense of Mr. Kelley — free speech against slavery and the proslavery party — and commanded him to leave the town within one hour, and then went on to denounce vengeance of a more terrible description against him and other emissaries of the emigrants aid society, should they continue their assumed nefarious practices. Tampering with slaves was the alleged sin of the emissaries, and hanging was to be the punishment. The assault was "approved and applauded," and the presence of their visitor from Cincinnati was "a libel and a disgrace" to their community. The work commenced by Thomason was to be carried on until the town and neighborhood were purged of all "such nuisances" as free settlers; a committee was named to warn Mr. Kelley to quit Atchison, and the men who had so libelled the spirit of the age they lived in concluded by ordering that their proceedings should be published; and that every man suspected of freesoil proclivities should be called upon to sign their resolutions under the penalty of being treated as abolitionists. The postmaster of Atchison was assistant editor of the "Squatter Sovereign," and on the 16th of August, 1855, that

official asked a free settler, who resided about twelve miles from office, to subscribe for the paper, the answer of the free soil man, Rev. P. Butler, amounted to an enunciation of his views on the question of the day, and on the following morning, he was waited upon in his hotel with a demand that he should sign the obnoxious Thomason resolutions. The demand being refused, he was seized by a mob and dragged to the river to be drowned, but at the last moment more merciful counsels prevailed, his face was painted black, and he was sent adrift upon a raft of three sawn logs of cottonwood on the Missouri, without any means of steering himself clear of danger, and with an intimation from his impromptu judges that "their hemp crop would suffice to reward all such scoundrels thereafter." Other such incidents, some of them fatal in their issue, cropped up daily in different parts of the territory wherever the proslavery party was strong enough to make headway; but it is useless to attempt the task of enumerating individual wrongs; it is enough to say, that the cup was full to overflowing.

Into a community so constituted, the Hon. Wilson Shannon came as governor, and before he had reached the territory he was made aware that he was suspected of being an abolitionist, because he came from a state that had produced "Giddings, Wade and Chase;" a glorious company with which any man would now be proud to find his name associated. The governor wanted the good opinions of all men, but especially he was desirous of the approval of the noisiest members of the body politic, in which he was to be the nominal head; hence he signalized his arrival in Kansas city, upon the borders of the territory, by taking part in a proslavery demonstration, and being conducted thence to Westport, addressed a crowd in front of his hotel in a speech of some length, of which the worst thing that need be said is, that it won the approval of the "Squatter Sovereign," the proslavery organ at Atchison, of which Dr. Stringfellow was editor. The address was a lamentable evidence of subserviency, but worse and better were to come from the same source, as the governor, like the chameleon, took his color almost entirely from his surroundings, and while the proslavery men were civil to him, he concluded that their opponents must be in the wrong.

The next movement was even more reprehensible. We find the governor attending the political meeting which inaugurated Gen. Whitfield's canvass for the position of congressional delegate, and making a speech which the proslavery press applauded to the echo. Mr. Shannon says that he was misreported, but that is of little consequence; it was wrong for him to have been present in an assembly convened for the purpose named while he was governor of the territory, and while times were so disturbed as he found them on his arrival. The worst sentiments that could be uttered by him could hardly intensify the wrong done by his presence, and a man capable of so much complaisance is not likely to have stopped short of winning the highest plaudits of the faction. There was another opportunity for Mr. Shannon to row in the wrong boat, and he was equal to the emergency. A number of proslavery men assembled at Leavenworth in the beginning of October, 1855, and appointed a committee to prepare an address to the citizens, urging upon them all to respect the laws and preserve order. The men of Atchison were to be models of obedience of course, and those who presumed to differ from them in opinion could figure as frightful examples on the other side. The illegal and oppressive enactments of the Shawnee usurpers were the only laws cared for by the party, but it was something to have even the *simularium* of law upon their side, as a setoff to what they called order. A convention was called to assemble in the same place on the 14th of November, to organize the party, and Gov. Shannon allowed himself to be so far deceived by the the specious pretenses of the conveners that he accepted their nomination as chairman of the assembly. Addressing men who were not residents in the territory, he denounced the free state movement as a treasonable attempt which must be crushed. The surveyor-general of the territory followed his chief in a violent harangue which out heroded Herod, and the order of the day was lost "in most admirable disorder," when Mr. Parrott, a well known free state man, rose to speak to the questions raised by the governor-chairman and his supporters. Innumerable points of order failed to disconcert him; other persons secured the floor, and their motions were debated, but Mr. Parrott persisted until it was no longer possible for the chief executive officer of the ter-

ritory to be unaware of his presence. The free state lover of law and order was recognized by the chair at last, but only to be hissed down amid cries of "put him out." The language of the speakers generally was as violent as though they had made Catiline their model, but there was no Cicero to abash the faction, and such men as Chief Justice Lecompte and Secretary Woodson were conspicuous in their indorsement of all that was most reprehensible; even to the point where one of the most sanguinary of the crowd proposed to enforce the law with rifles, until the blood of the free soil men should flow like "the turbid waters of the Missouri." When such abominable assemblies were possible, and the governor could be induced to lend his countenance to the violent partisans of Missouri, the proceedings outside the pale were certain to translate bad language into worse acts. Disputes were continually arising as to claims in the different settlements, and wherever the proslavery party could make themselves strong enough, the free soil party found their friends dispossessed. There was no court in the territory from which redress could be hoped for; hence, strong hands and rifles became the only answers possible to attempted spoliation. It was a matter of policy on both sides to shut out the enemy as far as possible; but the proslavery men had special incentives to persevere, because they could rely upon the partisanship of the chief justice and his subordinates, should a case be brought into court. Where no preliminary surveys had been made, and where there were no records to determine which had priority of location on his side, one claimant was as likely to be right as another, and much bitterness naturally resulted. Committees, in many parts of Iowa and elsewhere, determined all such matters in the early settlements there with reasonable approaches to equity; but in such cases there was only one motive known among the colonists, and that was industrial occupation of the soil. Here the soil was also an object of interest, but there were two parties in the community, with either of whom the value of the land *per se* was as nothing compared with the question "Slave state or free," and at least one of the parties was prepared to say to all comers into the territory: —

"Under which king, Bezonian? speak, or die."

One of the quarrels arising out of a debated claim commenced what is known as "The Wakarusa War." Hickory Point, about ten miles south of Lawrence, on the Santa Fe government road, was a very beautiful tract of land, part well timbered and the rest fertile prairie, and many of the earlier settlers who came from Indiana chose this location. Some of the persons who had taken up claims, returned to their native state temporarily, others went away and never returned. Missourians and others took up the abandoned lots, and laid claims to others which were afterwards resumed by the original selectors. A person named Coleman had come in among the second claimants, and a dispute arose between him and a young man named Dow, who also had settled upon an unoccupied claim. Coleman was a man of mark in the proslavery party in the neighborhood, and Dow was a *protege* of Jacob Branson, the leader of the free soil men in Wakarusa district. Dow accused Coleman of trespassing upon his claim in various ways, and the intruder was duly informed that he must desist, or hostilities would necessarily follow. The two parties were coming rapidly toward fever heat, and on the morning of November 21, 1855, one week after the Leavenworth law and order conference, Dow, happening to meet some of the proslavery party in the blacksmith shop at Hickory Point, was very vigorously denounced on account of his principles and conduct, the tirade ending by an attempt to shoot him on the spot. The purpose of his assailant was not so deadly perhaps as was indicated by the act of bringing the gun to his shoulder, as he did not fire, and Dow started for home. Franklin Coleman and William Dow, the two disputants as to the trespasses already mentioned, unfortunately fell into each other's company on the road, and they walked together until Coleman reached his own home, where Dow left him, continuing his journey toward his own claim. He had taken but a few steps when he heard the snap of a gun, which had missed fire, and turning he saw his enemy putting a fresh cap upon his weapon. His appeal for mercy was of no avail, and he carried no weapon which could serve him in such an emergency, so he was deliberately shot dead by the man with whom he had been peacefully walking and conversing not three minutes before. The probabilities are in favor of the assumption

that Dow had been condemned to death in some secret conclave, and that Coleman became his executioner because some other person had failed to carry out the sentence; at any rate there lay the first man slain in the Wakarusa war, and the body remained by the roadside uncared for until dusk, when some of the free soil party discovered by accident what had been done by way of settling the disputed claim. Coleman started for Westport, Mo., immediately to consult his friends, and, in accordance with their advice, the murderer surrendered himself to what was called justice. He would have gone to the governor in person, but that gentleman could not be found, and he gave himself into the custody of a friendly sheriff, who was not even a resident of Kansas territory, although he had been appointed to the office by the pseudo legislative assembly, which did its work at Shawnee. Sheriff S. J. Jones was the acting postmaster at Westport, Mo., as well as sheriff of Douglass county, in Kansas territory, and his subsequent conduct showed that the confidence of his friends in his partisanship was not misplaced. He was a great favorite among the proslavery men, and Coleman was not likely to suffer at his hands. Sheriff Jones could not look upon such a peccadillo as shooting a free soiler as a crime; it was an act of war only, and Mr. Coleman was a person of distinction. The murder was not viewed in that light by the free state men at Hickory Point, among whom the excitement was intense. The funeral, two days later was largely attended, and it was then resolved that on the following Monday a public meeting should be held on the spot where the man had been shot, in front of Coleman's house. The meeting was unanimous in condemnation of the crime, and a committee was appointed to procure the punishment of the murderer and his accomplices. There were about one hundred men present, and some one, after the proper business of the meeting had come to an end, with resolutions of condolence addressed to the friends and relations of the murdered man, suggested that the residence of the murderer should be burned. The proposal was strongly opposed by the majority, and upon an invitation being extended to volunteers for the purpose, in all that excited assemblage, there were only two persons who approved of such action. When the minority tried to carry their design into execution, the

leaders of the meeting extinguished the flames, and a resolution denunciatory of such attempts was carried with hardly a dissenting voice. The general impression was that the death of Dow was part of a policy of extermination aimed at every free soil settler in Kansas, and it can hardly be wondered at that some of the more violent should have concluded upon retaliation after the more formal assembly came to an end. On the next Tuesday morning, Coleman's house and two others were burned, and some of the families of proslavery men fled to Missouri, fearing what might be the outcome of events.

The Missouri Kansas Sheriff Jones, having consulted the governor as to the course which should be pursued with his willing prisoner, was instructed to proceed with the murderer to Lecompton, a well known proslavery center named in honor of the partisan chief justice, but on his way to that sanctuary of refuge he was met by some of Coleman's neighbors from Hickory Point, and after a consultation with them it was determined that another arrest could be made with advantage. Mr. Branson, the free soil leader at Hickory Point, was much interested in the murdered man Dow, who had lived with him up to the day of his death, and it was determined that he should be arrested under a peace warrant, as though he could be held responsible for the courts which followed upon the crime perpetrated by Coleman. A warrant was procured authorizing the arrest under an information sworn to by one of Coleman's friends, and armed with that document and attended by a *posse comitatus* of forty men, all well armed, Sheriff Jones made the old man a prisoner in his own house late at night. The capture was easily made, but a boy residing in the house gave the alarm to the neighbors, and in consequence before the company which had attended the Hickory Point were yet clear of the Wakarusa district, the arrest had been effected, and the whole settlement was on the *qui vive* to right the wrong which had been done. The *posse* on the way to Mr. Branson's had talked very loudly of the work that was to be done that night, and Mr. S. F. Tappan, of Lawrence, who had been one of the speakers at the meeting, found himself made a confidant in the proceedings by some of the more gushing of the party. He hurried back as speedily as possible to arouse his friends and

warn the old man of his danger, but it was too late to prevent the arrest. The resolution was at once formed to rescue Mr. Branson from the sheriff, unless there could be good cause showed for his detention, about which there could be no shadow of doubt. The rescuing party consisted of fifteen men in all, but they were resolute, and in such a case every man counts for many. Some of them were armed with rifles, and almost everybody then carried pistols in Kansas, but there was no necessity to use them. The old man was allowed to join his friends, the warrant, if one was really carried by the sheriff, was not produced on demand, and that officer with his party returned to Franklin where the murderer Coleman awaited his arrival. The expectation seems to have been, on the proslavery side, that Mr. Branson would be rescued in the city of Lawrence, to which place he was being conveyed, and in that case there would have been an excellent pretext for assaulting the place with all the force that Missouri could muster from the counties on the western border, so that the "pestiferous colony" might be obliterated from the path of the "law and order party." That design was partially foiled by the turn of events, but it was not yet beyond the range of possibility, and the men who were bent upon its accomplishment were not likely to stick at trifles to secure their end. There were three Lawrence men in the party that rescued Mr. Branson, and it would be easy to find in their action the means of incriminating the city, seeing that there would be no severe scrutiny into the pretexts of the worthy sheriff and his aids before the work of ruin had been effected. The rescued man and his friends went on to Lawrence the same night, and the alarm was sounded in the streets by drums and fifes, so that there were few sleeping men in the city within a few minutes of the time when the irregular *cortege* arrived. Dr. Robinson, who was afterwards governor of the state, was the acknowledged leader of Lawrence, and to his residence the party proceeded to submit to him a detailed statement of the facts. The difficulty of the situation was increasing, and at a meeting held early in the following day it was concluded best that Lawrence should not assume responsibilities which had never properly belonged to her, as it was naturally desired that the Missourians should be baulked in their cherished project if that could be hon-

estly effected. Branson and the men concerned in his rescue left the town as a matter of precaution, but while every pretext for assault was thus removed, it was still thought advisable to initiate measures for defense, should an attack upon the city be attempted. An executive committee of ten was appointed to concert means of defense should armed invaders come across the borders to assist the enemies who were already assembling in the neighborhood with unfriendly intentions against the free soil settlement. The threats of extermination which were indulged in by a mob from Missouri, while Lawrence was only a tented field, had not been forgotten on either side, and as events proved, there was wisdom as well as money in being prepared for the worst. The sheriff was not a man who would allow his vengeance to die

"Unwept, unhonored and unsung;"

his cherished scheme had been defeated just when the game seemed to be entirely in his own hands, and unless he could recover the lost ground, there was danger that he would lose his *prestige* among those who were now content to follow him. Dispatches were sent off into Missouri to Col. Boone, of Westport, which could not fail to raise the whole of the border, for the fell purpose now on hand; and immediately after that fateful errand had been initiated, a dispatch was sent to Gov. Shannon, asking for three thousand men.

The dispatch to the chief of the territorial executive was a colored version of the truth. His posse of ten men had become forty before Jacob Branson was arrested, but it fell back to ten men again in the dispatch. The rescuers were only fifteen in number when the line was formed which intercepted the official staff, but the bulletin which announced the defeat, told of forty men "armed *to the teeth* with Sharp's rifles," and the reasonable demand for an inspection of his warrant had grown into "an open rebellion," which made a force of three thousand men necessary "to carry out the laws." The absurd demand for troops was meant of course to cover whatever force Missouri could send into the anticipated *melee*, because there was no militia force in the territory, and the whole population then in Kansas could hardly have sent that number of male adults into the field. The Shawnee Assembly,

before concluding its session, had nominated three officers for the militia; but the major general and his two subordinates were not an army. Gov. Shannon assumed the truthfulness of the sheriff, and he sent off instructions accordingly to Maj. Gen. Richardson to prepare to meet "an armed military force" in Lawrence or its vicinity, which would not allow the sheriff to serve any process. The colored picture of the sheriff had become more highly tinted, so that it is evident there must have been many details conveyed by the bearer of the dispatch which were not well enough ascertained to be included in the official document, if they were not gathered from flying rumors as the courier hurried upon his mission. The major general was urged to collect as many men as possible and to hasten to the aid of "the sheriff in executing the law and in none other" purpose. The concluding line indicates that already Mr. Shannon had become aware of some designs outside and beyond the law which his officials might desire to compass with their forces. The orders sent to the major general were duplicated to Gen. Strickler, and Brig. Gen. Eastin was in motion almost at the same moment, so that no time was being lost. Col. Boone, of Westport, was the sheriff's most efficient supporter; compared with him, the sheriff of Douglas county, K. T., and postmaster of Westport, Mo., was truthfulness embodied. He published an appeal, in which Missourians were flying for their lives — perhaps if the initial letter had been omitted from flying it might have been near the mark — their houses were burned down, and their families driven out upon the prairies by unpitying mobs. The secret societies came into requisition now, and thousands were soon to be on the march for the purpose of "assisting Jones" to win the great battle of slavery against the free soil party. Those who for any reason excused themselves from joining the several expeditions were taxed to pay the expenses of those who went. At Liberty, Mo., a postal village which has now only 1,700 inhabitants, the proslavery men raised $1,000 and two hundred men for the work of annexation in one day, and in many other places the same spirit was evinced. "Now is the time to show game" was the text of one dispatch sent out in all directions from Independence, Mo. "If we are defeated now, the territory is lost to the South." "Start immediately for the seat of war,"

was the urgent appeal of another dispatch-monger, who considered that all Missouri was identified with sheriff Jones. Col. Boone was a man among men in such an era, and Baron Munchausen was not a circumstance in his way when pure invention became the order of the day. The militia of the brigadier general's second brigade were commanded to assemble at Leavenworth, December 1, 1855, "armed and equipped according to law," and of course seeing that there was no militia in the territory, there could be no doubt as to the destination of the forces from the western counties of Missouri. "Many citizens," who discreetly withheld their names from the scroll of fame, issued a manifesto headed "to arms," describing the peaceful city of Lawrence as "outlaws one thousand strong and armed to the teeth," and this exciting publication was circulated through the border counties of the adjoining state, calling upon "lovers of law and order to march to the scene of rebellion," which of course meant Lawrence, and the destruction of that city was already a foregone conclusion. By the light of subsequent events we can perceive that Gov. Shannon wanted to do his duty, but just at this moment he was under the baneful influence of men who would serve their own ends by the ruin of the union itself, and he, like *Othello* the valiant Moor, was "perplexed in the extreme." His proclamation bears date November 29, 1855, and it was in all probability Sec. Woodson's work in every item except the signature. The statements contained therein were of course believed by him, and assuming his basis of action to be true, he was fully justified in every line of that document; but the pretended facts were fabrications from beginning to end. The rescuing party of fifteen with eight rifles and some pistols had grown into a "numerous association of lawless men armed with deadly weapons and all the implements of war." The rescuing party were also said to have burned down houses, destroyed personal property, and declared that they would regard no law in the territory. They were also said to have armed for the purpose of taking Coleman, the murderer of Dow, from the sheriff, to execute him without a judicial trial. In the face of such an array of force and crime, the governor would have been justified in doing something more than calling upon well disposed citizens to assist him in reestablishing order. The governor

would have been more than justified if he had gone at once to the alleged scene of riot and spoliation, to have ascertained beyond doubt the condition of the territory, and of the people unintentionally libelled by his proclamation. Gen. Atchison, ex-Vice-President, came over with his riflemen to assist in the work of "wiping out" the city and people of Lawrence, because he received a letter ostensibly signed by the secretary of the territory, asking him "to call out the Platte county rifle company." The secretary does not admit that he ever sent such a communication, but the letter was certainly received and acted upon by the general.

Westport and Independence were the first Missouri towns to send a force to assist the sheriff, and that nucleus of a large body encamped at Franklin, four miles from the doomed city. Companies came in rapidly on and after the 29th of November, the date of the governor's proclamation. Before three days had elapsed after the arrival of the contingent from Westport, there were fifteen hundred men in camp, and, from Clay county, Missouri, the force, not being able to complete their armament otherwise, had brought the whole of the available contents of the United States arsenal — swords, rifles, revolvers, ammunition and three six-pounder guns; there was an understanding that such a trifling irregularity as that would attract no comment, considering the good purpose which the heroes were to accomplish with the weapons borrowed from Uncle Sam. The Wakarusa encampment was a lively place in those days, and every man wanted to be led on to the assault. Franklin, four miles from Lawrence, stands in the Wakarusa bottom lands, and the village was then as busy as the arch-demon is supposed to be when a gale of wind is blowing. The main force of the enemy was here, and nearly all were Missourians, not only here, but in all the encampments at Lecompton and elsewhere, which surrounded the town. North of the Kansas river, Gen. Atchison and his Platte county riflemen stood ready for the fray. It has since been ascertained that there were only eighty residents of Kansas in all the force then under arms, including the Kickapoo Rangers, who supplied more than half of that grand total. The rest were all Missourians except a few from Arkansas, who had come in to

get a lesson in the fine art of "wiping out" free soilers. It was hardly possible for any one to enter the city or to leave it without submitting to be searched by mounted patrols, lest they might have field pieces in their vest pockets, or cannon balls dangling from their watch chains.

> "Man, proud man,
> Drest in a little brief authority,
> Most ignorant of what he's most assured—
> His glassy essence—like an angry ape,"

is but a nuisance at the best; but persuade him that he is a soldier without a superior to restrain him within due bounds, and he becomes the most oppressive creature that can be found upon this footstool.

The "Squatter Sovereign" was suspended until the end of the war to allow the two editors to see the ensanguined stream of which they had written so much, one of the staff expressing his expectation, in a brief valedictory, that he should "wade waist deep in the blood of the abolitionists." The men were more injurious as writers than they were likely to become as warriors, so that there was some brief compensation even in the Wakarusa war.

Having seen for ourselves the means that were used and the forces that have been brought against Lawrence, we may as well return to that city for a time to ascertain what is being accomplished by the free soilers as a setoff to the panoply of war beyond its borders. Those of the rescuing party who did not belong to the city, returned to Hickory Point immediately after the *fracas*, but Mr. Branson remained in the city, and so did the three residents, Messrs. Tappan, Wood and Smith, who may be said to have been the directors in that business. Their first impulse was to quit the place, to deprive the assailants of a pretext for their rebellious proceedings; but, when it became evident that "strike high, or strike low," the pro-slavery party could not be satisfied with anything short of the complete destruction of the settlement, they resolved to remain and bear their part in the encounter. After the Wakarusa camp was formed, their removal was counselled as a prudential measure which might eventually prove serviceable to the city,

and they allowed themselves to be governed by their friends' advice. The committee of safety had, some days before, enrolled the citizens in bodies of twenty, and they were ready for service at a moment's warning, having their weapons with them always in their several places of business. When the design of Missouri became more apparent, a call was sent out over the whole territory, signed by the committee, asking for settlers to come in to their "aid, prepared for any emergency." This appeal bears date December 4, 1855, but the dread purpose of the Missourians had been understood far and wide before that time, and good men and true were marching to the rescue from every precinct. There was to be no child's play in the business, nor had the settlers waited at home with their hands folded until the summons came. From Leavenworth, a delegation came to counsel peace and submission, and, to their intense surprise, they found that peace reigned in Lawrence, and had not been broken there during all this time of turmoil, the people, with arms in their hands, being strictly on the defensive against foreign ruffianism. This delegation brought the governor's proclamation which, until then, had not been seen in the city, and a committee was immediately appointed to answer its erroneous allegations. The reply of the committee was crushing in every particular, as they were able to show that the state of affairs against which all good citizens were called to aid the governor existed, not in that city, but among the armed hordes from whom they were striving to defend the city. While these matters were progressing, the forces in Lawrence were daily being recruited. Topeka sent out one hundred men armed and equipped with weapons which they well knew how to handle, and squads and companies of various strength marched into the beleaguered city constantly. President Pierce was informed, by means of a terse but comprehensive dispatch, that the city was besieged by armed men from a neighboring state, who were threatening the destruction of the city and its inhabitants, and who were even then committing depredations upon persons and property. The dispatch further adverted to the fact that the invaders were said to be under the orders of Gov. Shannon. The president was called upon to remove the invaders and restore peace. The command-

ant at Fort Leavenworth, Col. Sumner, was at the same time informed of the condition of affairs at Lawrence. Of course, as a military man, he would not be moved from his line of duty by any representation made to him by civilians, but it was something to have given him an inkling of the facts, when their own friends in Leavenworth had not comprehended the actual condition of affairs. Their letter said to the commandant what had already been said to the president, and concluded by requesting that a sufficient force should be sent from his command to quell the riot and prevent further invasion. Such language was not what might have been expected under the circumstances from lawless rioters, and it seems probable that Col. Sumner could understand better what was being done and attempted than Gov. Shannon. Congress was memorialized, showing, in a brief but comprehensive sketch, the action of the governor and the consequences ensuing therefrom, the invasion of Kansas by Missourian troops, and all the wrongs that must follow upon an invasion where every man is a commander. The proclamation by the governor, some military orders which had been issued, and a letter from the secretary of the territory were appended to the memorial, which closed with a prayer for adequate inquiry into the facts which the citizens set forth. This document bore date: Kansas Territory, December 5, 1855.

It will be seen that since the delegation from Leavenworth showed to the men of Lawrence the manner in which they were being libelled; there had been no time lost in recovering their character from such vile aspersions, but they did not rest upon protests and verbal defenses. The Wagoner who prayed to Hurcules procured no help until he had prayed with his shoulders, and the citizens of Lawrence were ready to protest with their rifles when all other means should have been exhausted. The city was in an attitude of defense. The committee of safety nominated Dr. Robinson commander-in-chief of the forces, and Col. Lane, his second in command. There were now about one thousand men under arms, many having come in who did not belong to any company, and there were eight hundred regularly enrolled and under drill. The commissariat for such a force was no small affair, but every house held its quota of soldiers, and the citizens

assumed all the responsibilities of provisioning the troops. Fortifications were constructed on Massachusetts street near Pinckney, as a retreat for the women and children, should an attack be made; and also on the same street near Henry, where the redoubt having bastions, the cannon could be worked with effect against an attacking force. Between Massachusetts and New Hampshire streets north of Henry there was a circular redoubt which could be held against a very considerable force of the guerilla sort. Another redoubt was designed to meet a possible attack from the Mt. Cread direction, and on Kentucky street a fifth redoubt covered a point which might have been approached by a ravine to the west of the city. One brass cannon was brought into Lawrence from Kansas City while the beleaguering force was in position, and two ladies brought a quantity of powder from the country beyond the lines of circumvallation. Many of the ladies made cartridges for the soldiery, while their husbands were occupied in their hastily assumed military duties. There was no bravado among the Lawrence men, but there was unmistakable courage, and the leaders from the hostile camps who had free ingress to the city at all hours could not help feeling that there would be warm work for the attacking force before the defenders, now more than one thousand strong, would be compelled to surrender. Brig. Gen. Eastin agreed with Falstaff that "Discretion is the better part of valor," and he addressed a dispatch to that effect to Gov. Shannon, in which he wisely stated the strength of the "outlaws," and suggested the advisability of inviting the regular troops from Fort Leavenworth to do what he deemed unlikely to be effected by the irregulars. The suggestion from the Brigadier was one of the wisest movements possible at the time, and it commended itself at once to Mr. Shannon. A telegram to the President and a dispatch to the Fort betokened his appreciation of the emergency. The telegram told the story of the Kansas difficulty as he saw it, and asked for authority to call the United States soldiery to his assistance. The dispatch told Col. Sumner what he had done, and requested him to be ready, should a reply in the affirmative come to hand. The commandant at Fort Leavenworth recommended the governor to make his application extensively known, and to countermand all

orders which might seem to authorize premature movements among the militia surrounding Lawrence. The advice thus given was wise and it produced instant effects. Sheriff Jones was informed of the steps which had been taken, and of the probability that the whole force from Fort Leavenworth would come down to the rescue of the constituted authorities, and, as a consequence of such an outlook, that official was instructed to wait for further orders. There was no escape from the tone and tenor of the communication; effusion of blood was to be avoided, the writs were not to be served pending the answer from Washington, the sheriff was only to retain near him a sufficient force to protect his almost forgotten prisoner, and "the law abiding citizens," meaning of course the ruffians from over the border, were to be removed to a distance where their lives would not be endangered. The governor had written to Gen. Richardson to the same effect, and he gave orders that the letter thus summarized should be exhibited to the officers in command. Mr. Shannon concluded with an intimation that he should probably accompany Colonel Sumner. There is a personage who is supposed specially to hate holy water, and the sheriff must have understood the peculiar prejudice of Satan when he saw his scheme of vengeance being thus suddenly and unexpectedly thwarted, but he did not give up without a struggle. He wrote a long letter in too much haste to be grammatical, in which he urged, that his troops were weary of inaction and might disperse unless they were allowed to attack the city, but he veiled that purpose under the mild form of making a demand for his prisoner, Jacob Branson. The letter displayed much eagerness to carry Lawrence by assault before the regular troops could come in to compel the usages of mercy and rob his friends of their satisfaction. The letter contained besides some information as to the writs which he desired to serve, but every sentence, read by the light of subsequent events, must have convinced Gov. Shannon, that sheriff Jones had purposes in view, concerning which he did not think it wise to take the chief executive officer into his confidence. Maj. Gen. Richardson also replied to the dispatch advising the governor to insist in any event upon the citizens of Lawrence surrendering their arms, but the

fruitlessness of such advice renders it unnecessary to do more than note the fact of its having been tendered.

The president sent a reply to the governor, saying that the requisite orders should be sent to the colonel commandant at Fort Leavenworth, as soon as the proper forms of the war department could be complied with, and on the strength of that communication Mr. Shannon hoped that Col. Sumner would come to the rescue. That officer consented to do so at first, but upon further consideration declined to move until he could receive his instructions in due form. Perhaps the marvelous influence of Mr. Jefferson Davis in the war department had more to do with the delay than either governor or president imagined, for the game of the south was being played with consummate tact by the leaders of the proslavery party, up to the time when the election of Abraham Lincoln, in 1860, disconcerted all their projects. While this delay was giving a pause for reflection to both governor and people, the citizens of Lawrence concluded to address the chief of the territorial executive, sending to him a letter by two trusty men. There was nothing very remarkable in their communication, as they merely, from their stand point, informed Mr. Shannon of the then aspect of affairs, asked whether the armed men from a foreign state were in Kansas under his orders, and requested that he would take steps for their removal, plainly stating that "other means and higher authority" remained as alternatives. The delegation had some difficulty in reaching the governor at Shawnee Mission, as the place is almost on the border, and the Missouri men were very jealous of communications between Lawrence and Mr. Shannon, but on the 5th of December Messrs. Lowery and Babcock obtained the interview, on which much more depended than the mere delivery of a dispatch. The situation had been carefully concealed by the proslavery party, but the delegation were able to show him that the territorial law, which he supposed was the bone of contention, had nothing to do with the quarrel between Lawrence and the ruffian hordes from Missouri. The men chosen for that delegation were "right men in the right place," and their case was clear enough to have made stocks and stones eloquent and persuasive. The facts were so clearly in favor of Lawrence, that before the dele-

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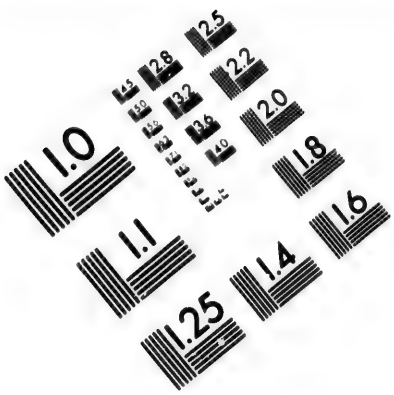

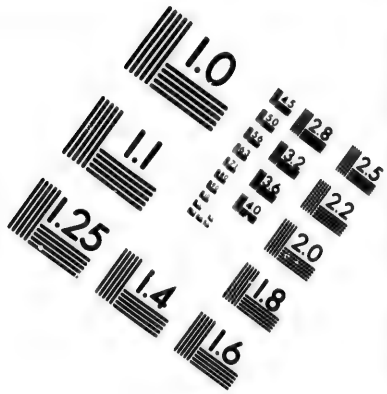

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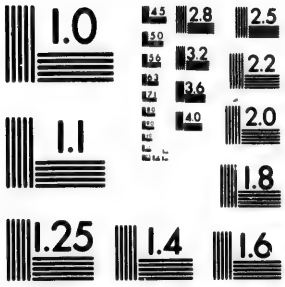

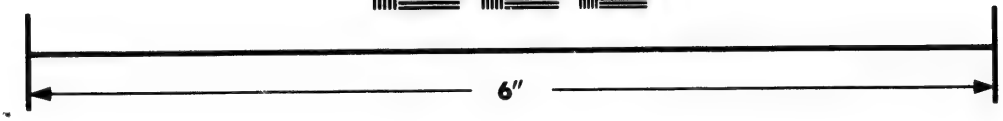

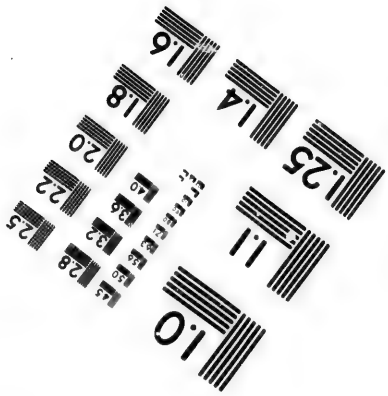

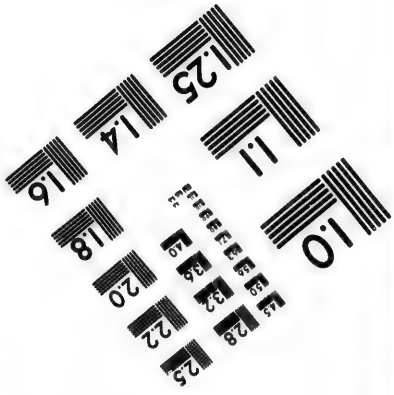

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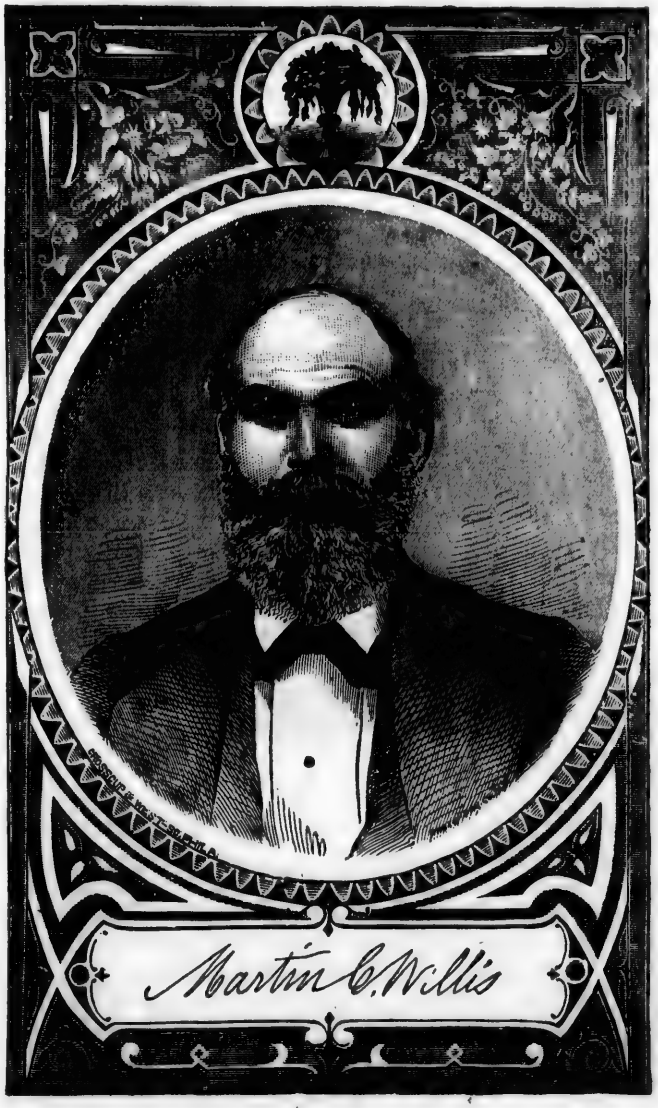
gation left, the governor began to discover how the land lay. He had been told that Lawrence effected the rescue of Branson, and had burned the houses of sixteen families, driving the shelterless people out upon the prairies; and it came like a revelation when he learned that only three houses had been burned; that no families were at the time in either of the houses; that Lawrence stood ten miles from the scene of disturbance and had taken no part therein; that there was no evidence to show who were the offenders, and that the rescue of Branson was an event of which Lawrence knew nothing until some hours after the occurrence. The question of obeying territorial law had not been raised by Lawrence, and most assuredly the city would not resort to force until all other means had failed. The mission of the representatives of Lawrence was perfectly successful, because it induced Mr. Shannon to see for himself, where hitherto he had used the eyes of others. He determined to repair to the camp at Wakarusa, and at all hazards to prevent bloodshed if such a consummation proved possible. That step should have been taken by him many days earlier, but "better late than never" is a proverb old as the hills. Until now Mr. Shannon had believed the Lawrence citizens brawlers and law breakers, seeking occasions for the shedding of blood, and the Missourian border ruffians figured in his imagination as self sacrificing missionaries, crossing the border only to promote harmony. Instead of his Arcadian dream being realized, he found in the camp at Wakarusa gray haired old men and their sons and grandsons, anxious to be led to the attack of an unoffending city which had done nothing to injure its assailants, unless it was a sin to think and speak. The men whom he had wished to have removed to a distance, for fear they might be first in some sanguinary encounter, were sleuth hounds aching for a battle which they in their ignorance supposed would be but a scene of slaughter, with timid traders as their victims. There was not a moment to lose. The force by which he was surrounded had never been well officered, and their sympathies were entirely opposed to all his instincts; moreover the men whom they were accustomed to follow, if not to obey, would favor any enterprise inimical to the peace of the territory. They had been for many days living at free quarters as among

enemies, stopping and ransacking every vehicle that approached the city, and gratifying their petty malice by a thousand exactions; it would be an irksome task for conquerors such as they to march back into village obscurity without razing and plundering one city of abolitionists. In the midst of such material the governor entered upon his task as a diplomatist, anxious above all things to restore peace and prevent bloodshed, even though in pursuit of that aim he must lose the admiration of the proslavery party, and convert his fiendish exponents of law and order into implacable enemies, clamoring to Washington for his instant decapitation.

A conference of proslavery leaders from Lecompton camp as well as Wakarusa, about forty altogether, being assembled to consider his proposals for pacification, had only a small minority of one that would assent to his suggestion, and that man came near fighting before the sun went down, in defense of his pacificatory disposition; the rest demanded that Lawrence should be destroyed root and branch, that all arms and fortifications should be surrendered, and that every printing press should be destroyed. The conference was a complete failure, except in so far as it revealed to Frankenstein the monster that he had called into being. A dispatch to Col. Sumner at Fort Leavenworth, bearing date Dec. 6, 1855, shows how much Mr. Shannon's views had been changed within twenty-four hours. His desire now was primarily to save Lawrence and eventually the whole territory from the men by whom he was surrounded, and he thought the crisis should warrant the commandant in moviug without express orders from Washington. He stated in effect the eagerness of the invaders to destroy Lawrence, and that they would soon be beyond all his powers of restraint. He had discovered that while only in the pursuit of peace he had called to his aid a set of guerillas who would have war at all hazards. The substance of the governor's dispatch was known to some of the officers, and arrangements were made to arrest his messenger *en route* to the fort, whereby the proslavery force would gain time to make the assault in spite of him and his remonstrances, before the United States troops could arrive upon the field. The scheme succeeded, but thanks to the loyalty of Gen. Stickler, the governor was informed of the

outrage, and before daylight on the morning of the seventh, a courier sent by an unusual course reached Leavenworth with Mr. Shannon's letter. The Colonel could not venture to move even in such a strait, but his suggestions to the governor were eminently judicious. Mr. Anderson, one of the members of the late Shawnee legislature, wrote to Gen. Richardson on the 7th of December, that he believed the black flag would be raised in the camps at Lawrence and Lecompton, on the morning of the 8th, and that the guerillas would march upon the city without orders. In the event of United States troops interfering he believed the Missourians would fight that force also rather than be baulked of their revenge, and already he believed there was no safety for the executive save in complete submission to the terms of the proslavery fighting men. Lawrence was not asleep during this trying time, nor did the leaders rest because Mr. Shannon had been brought to a sense of the situation. They knew better than he what kind of a crowd it now devolved upon him to control if anarchy was to be stayed, and they wrought accordingly. An envoy was dispatched from Lawrence on the morning of the 6th, to carry dispatches to the free states, fairly describing the condition of affairs in the city and territory, and calling for efficient aid, as whatever might be the fate of the one settlement the war must not be abandoned. Before the emissary had left the open camp of the defenders, spies had revealed the movement to the officers in the Wakarusa camp at Franklin, and a detachment was detailed to arrest Gen. Pomeroy. The design of the defenders was in that way defeated, and their messenger subjected to very considerable annoyance and suffering until Gen. Atchison, in command of the Platte county rifle company interfered. The dispatches meant for perusal by free soilers in the eastern states were first served up in the columns of the Missouri press, subject to such falsifications as would serve the purposes of the assailants. The Indians in the territory were of course alive to the probabilities of a battle, and they were desirous to share in the entertainment. The Delawares and Shawnees sided with Lawrence, but the committee of safety hesitated about accepting their aid, but a company of Pottawattamies was brought into camp at Lecompton, proud in the belief that they would carry with them

back to their reservation a rich harvest of abolition scalps. The Indian agent for the Pottawattamies brought this abominable contingent into the camp at Lecompton, and that official with most of the territorial dignataries rode patrol and played at soldiers during the protracted siege. The forces in Lawrence felt that they had done all that they could reasonably be expected to attempt, toward peace, and now with arms in their hands they were prepared to abide the issue. At the worst they were resolved to sell their lives dearly for their altars and their hearths, and their wives stood pledged among themselves to assume the weapons of defense, should their husbands fall, to avenge the cause of liberty. While things were at this pass, one of the free state men, Mr. Thomas W. Barber, who occupied a farm at a distance of about seven miles southwest of the city, concluded to ride home with a few friends to see how affairs were prospering at home, intending to return the next day. He was unarmed, but his brother and the friends accompanying him carried weapons. Mr. Barber had left his wife on the farm, when it became necessary for the fighting force of the settlement to concentrate at Lawrence. About four miles from the city the little party was accosted by one of the patrols of the enemy, and ordered to accompany that body to the camp; upon their refusal Mr. Barber was shot by one of the party and died of his wounds shortly after. Several shots were exchanged afterwards, but this murder was the only casualty in the Wakarusa war, with the exception of the crime committed by Coleman at Hickory Point, when his victim Dow was shot. This murder was perpetrated by a body of men who were then on their way to the camp at Wakarusa to insist upon the free soil party in Lawrence surrendering their weapons as a preliminay of peace, and several of the territorial staff were spectators if not accomplices in the deed. The body of Mr. Barber was conveyed back to Lawrence and a carriage was sent to bring his wife into the city. The scene when the poor woman became aware of her loss was excruciating, and it was with difficulty that the chiefs in command could restrain the troops to which Barber belonged, from rushing upon the enemy to avenge the untimely end of their much loved comrade. While this sad event was being witnessed in Lawrence, the scenes in the camp of the enemy disclosed



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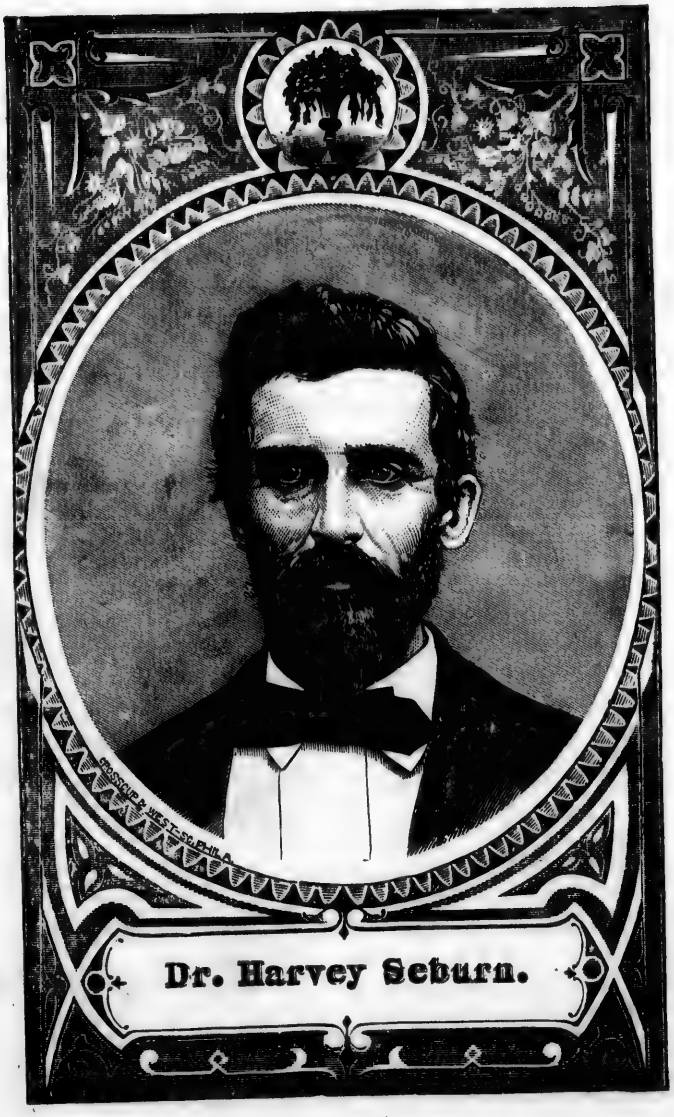
Dr. Harvey Seburn.

numerous acts of injustice and oppression, bordering upon murder. We have seen what occurred in the case of Gen. Pomeroy, and almost every man that had business outside the city was liable to be carried as a prisoner to Lecompton or Franklin, to have papers seized and confiscated, and sometimes property stolen, for the Missourians were not all immaculate on that score. A medical man driving from the city to his farm with a delirious patient was made a prisoner, and both parties detained for a considerable time. The correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, Mr. Phillips, has made the whole world acquainted with his adventures, as they were published in the columns of Horace Greeley's paper, and many citizens from Leavenworth, Topeka and elsewhere, were captured and held in durance for various terms, where they would hear the drunken ruffians clamoring for the blood of one abolitionist. More than once preparations were made for hanging these prisoners, but the officers succeeded in repressing such tumults. When the hostilities of 1855 were brought to an end by the governor's interposition, there were several prisoners liberated from the camps of the enemy.

Immediately after Mr. Shannon had sent the letter last mentioned to Col. Sumner, at Leavenworth, he forwarded notice to the authorities in Lawrence that he wished to visit that city, and was awaiting an escort for the purpose. Mr. Lowery, one of the delegation that waited upon the governor at Shawnee Mission, was named the leader of a company of ten citizens, who rode out to the Wakarusa camp to bring in their visitor. The committee of safety received the governor and three Missourian colonels in their apartments in the Free State Hotel. The staff attending the chief of the territorial executive consisted of Col. Boone, of Westport, Col. Strickland, generally described as from Missouri, and Col. Kearney, of Independence. Dr. Robinson, the commander-in-chief, and Col. Lane, his efficient aid, were the negotiators for the settlers in and about the city, and the interview lasted about an hour. Mr. Shannon said that he had relied upon statements made by Sheriff Jones, and had, consequently, misunderstood the people of Lawrence; but while suggesting the propriety of a regular treaty between the opposing forces, he proposed that the free state men should surrender their arms as a preliminary. He

found afterwards that such a condition of peace would have infallibly led to murder, and he could then better appreciate the indignant refusal with which his suggestion was repelled. Upon his return to the Wakarusa camp, the governor first learned of the black flag conspiracy, and his measures thereupon were such as the responsibilities of his office demanded. Maj. Gen. Richardson was ordered to repress all disorderly movements, and to use his whole force, if necessary, to prevent an unauthorized demonstration upon Lawrence. The governor was truly governor at last. Gen. Strickler received similar instructions at the same moment, and early the next morning the best disposed prominent men in the proslavery camps were collected to form a council for the preservation of peace. A committee of thirteen captains was nominated, after much debating, to meet a similar body which would be sent that day from Lawrence, to arrange the preliminaries of a pacification; and the governor went back to the city much pleased with the progress he had made. It might seem that it should have sufficed for him to order the invading force to leave the territory as soon as he became aware what were the real facts of the case; but it must be remembered that he was not handling disciplined troops, well officered, and he was properly desirous to avoid bloodshed. The arrangements to be made in the city were easily carried through. Mr. Shannon had prepared a paper setting forth the main points of the treaty to be subscribed, but upon the presentation of a similar document, prepared by Dr. Robinson, after consulting the leaders of the free state party, that instrument was readily accepted. There were speeches from the front of the hotel when the negotiations were thus brought to an end, and it became necessary to assure the populace that no concessions had been made which would commit them to a recognition of the laws passed by the Shawnee usurpers. They were ready to die fighting in the trenches and on the prairies rather than be governed by a legislature imposed upon them by foreign force. The treaty was, of course, subsequently published, although it was not then read to the assemblage, and its terms were substantially as follows: The misunderstanding arising out of the rescue of Jacob Branson, at Hickory Point, having been recited in the preamble, together with the desire of all parties to

avoid bloodshed and civil strife, the terms of settlement were next set forth. The citizens protested that the rescue was not their act, nor had they been consulted thereon before the event; that they would aid in the service of any legal process, and were not cognizant of the existence of any organization in the territory for the resistance of laws, and that whenever called upon by the proper authority they would help to preserve order in the town of Lawrence, under proper provisions for the safety of person and property against unlawful depredations, even when committed by the sheriff and his posse. The governor, on his part, disclaimed having authorized foreign invasion, and any intention to authorize any such action; and all the parties declined to express an opinion as to the validity of the laws passed by the recent territorial legislature at Shawnee.

When Gov. Shannon went back to the Wakarusa camp that evening, Gen. Robinson and Col. Lane accompanied him at his particular request, and speeches were made by all three parties before the council of thirteen proslavery captains already named, the result being an agreement between all parties to end the *imbroglio* by withdrawing and dispersing the sheriff's friends. When the business was thus terminated the night was tempestuous in the worst degree, and that may have been the reason why Dr. Robinson and Col. Lane were not provided with the guard which had been promised them, but very strong suspicions were entertained that both gentlemen were to have been waylaid and assassinated on their return. Only one man mustered to form their escort, and he continued with them only a few minutes after they had started. The pobabilities are largely in favor of the good faith of the leaders, whatever individuals in the ranks might have plotted, and it is very likely that the weather which kept back the appointed guard also prevented an irregular assault upon Lawrence that night under cover of the black flag. On the morning of December 8, Gov. Shannon issued his orders to disband the forces concentrated with the several camps, and the command was obeyed, but the parties thus dispersed were very uncomplimentary in their remarks concerning that functionary who was pronounced a traitor and a fool with many adjectives. Some of the guerillas remained in the territory for many days, but the

major part went home in disgust as soon as it became evident that Lawrence was safe against their designs.

The free state men in the city held a social gathering on the evening of December 9, in the free state hall, and the governor was one of the merriest men in the throng, but while the festive party was full of the gayety proper to an occasion of the kind, word was brought that the irregulars were massed in the neighborhood, threatening to attack the place now unprepared for a defense. The commanders originally nominated by the committee of safety, Dr. Robinson and Col. Lane, were at once authorized under the governor's hand to use the enrolled forces for the defense of the city and its vicinity, a tolerably conclusive proof that he knew the manner of men with whom he had to deal. There was no attack made, but perhaps the knowledge of such preparation might alone have been the deterrent power. The following evening, Monday, Dec. 10, saw a more motley gathering in the Free State hotel, when soldiers of both sides assembled to partake of a feast in honor of the recently concluded peace. Sheriff Jones was present, and it required all the command that men could possess, in consideration of his being an invited guest, to save him from being made to comprehend the peculiar esteem in which he was held. It was not easy to forget that all the tribulations through which they had passed arose from his plotting; but he was their guest, and that was his protection. The troops were disbanded on Tuesday, Dec. 11, 1855, after being reviewed and addressed, and every man was more than paid for his exertions by the presentation of a certificate of his service in the defense. But who shall certify the noble spirit which actuated the women of Lawrence in all this time of trial? They were true daughters of that exalted band which crossed the Atlantic in the Mayflower to Plymouth Rock. New England might well be proud of such representative souls. They were not found cowering with fear when danger threatened, startled like timid hares by every sound, but their example nerved the bravest of their brave companions to deeds of more lofty daring. The commissariat was their especial duty, and their doors were hospitably open to all comers; but when such work had been dispatched, they were to be found moulding bullets and making cartridges for the defense, and it

was known that many of the worthy band had exercised each other with their rifles with such effect that if occasion had arisen, they could have helped in a still more effective way to defend their homes from the invader. They had come from the eastern and northern states, where they had been tenderly nurtured all their lives, but they had been taught to value principle beyond life, and, had the sacrifice been demanded, they would have marched to death itself before they would have submitted to compromise the battle for human rights on which they had valiantly entered.

CHAPTER XI.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY
(continued.)

KANSAS CONFLICTS—EVENTS OF 1856.

Sinister Rumors — Constitution Adopted — Negroes Excluded — General Eastin's Militia — Polling-Day Solicitudes — The Territorial Register — Platte County Regulators — Choosing State Officers — Bolting the Ticket — Regulars Triumphant — Governor Robinson — Leavenworth *Emeute* — Executive Committee — State Legislature — Easton Riots — Kickapoo Rangers — Fight for Ballot Boxes — Free State Prisoner — Rescue of Sparks — Killed, Wounded and Missing — Murder of Captain Brown — Cowardly Outrage by the Kickapoos — Legislative Sympathy — The Martyr Host — Mourning for Thirty Days — Free Settlers Warned — Missouri Backs Down — The South to the Rescue — President Pierce's Message — Shawnee Law Recognized — Free State Treason — Recommendations to Congress — Missouri must Win — Organizing a Crusade — Now or Never — Sheriff Jones — Question for Trial — Breach Growing Wider — Kansas Conquests — Mounted Patrols — Distressing the Enemy — Arming the Party — Preparing for War — Down with Tyrants — Kickapoos to the Front — Altars and Firesides — Abolish Abolition — Ex-President *Loquitur* — "God and a Jury" — The Hoodwinked President — Lying a Science — Temporary Successes — Justifying Riot — Jefferson Buford's Card — Bounty for Conquerors — Press of the South — State Votes and County Gifts — "God and Slavery" — Southern Rights — Aiding Kansas — Vote and Fight — Southern Sharpshooters — Extending the Area — Scenting Battle — Come, and Come Speedily — Fierce War Unavoidable — Institutions at Stake — We Want Armed Men — God and Our Rights.

THE departure of the Missourian horde had not lulled Lawrence into a false security, because the citizens knew that the understanding arrived at between the governor and the settlers did not touch the living issue which the proslavery party wanted to accomplish. The recognition of slavery as an institution in Kansas was as much as ever the bone of contention, and every expression of thought and will among the free state men continued to be met by menaces of the most truculent description from the other side. Sinister rumors filled the air, and it was too evident that before many months had passed, the struggle would come once more to the verge of civil war, if indeed the whole community was not dragged into the vortex. Nothing less than the destruction of Lawrence could satisfy the Border men, and even that would be only one morsel which must be followed by the devastation of every free state settlement until the whole territory would submit to Missourian dictation, and every voter remaining there would accept his proposition as a slave owner or a mean white. The situation was not encouraging but it did not daunt the defenders of free thought, and events were crowding too thick upon them to permit much time for simple meditation. When the defenders of Lawrence were dismissed from their arduous duty there remained only five days before the popular vote was to be taken upon the constitution framed at Topeka. There would have been no small amount of stump oratory on a question of so much importance, had circumstances permitted, and the various speakers had been appointed for the purpose, but the well known maxim, *salus populi suprema lex*, had dominated every other consideration. The salvation of the people had become the first law of the day, and the constitution, a thing only second in importance, had fallen out of the range of action for a time. The leading men from every precinct concentrated in Lawrence, so that audiences and speakers were alike absent from their appointments until it was time under the arrangements made by the executive committee to proceed to a vote, and even then in most of the border settlements the enemy loitered so that it was not possible to give undivided attention to the ballot. The constitution had been printed and distributed freely, and where possible the requisite notices had been published, but in Atchison and in

some other towns it was impossible to proceed to a vote. For that reason, among others, the polling was not as large as it otherwise would have been, but the constitution was carried by an overwhelming majority. There were 1,777 votes cast for and against the measure, and of the whole only forty-seven men said nay. On the general banking law there were 1,684 votes, and of these 564 were in the negative, so that the proposition was affirmed by more than two to one, and on the question whether mulattoes and negroes should be excluded from the territory, there was proof positive that the free state men were not all abolitionists, as a total of 2,231 ballots were cast, and only 453, or seven more than one-fifth of the number polled on that issue favored the residence of free negroes and mulattoes in the territory. Many negatived the proposition because they thought that the slave owners in Missouri and elsewhere would send their worn out stock into Kansas to become a burden upon the people when they could no longer earn enough upon the plantations to pay for their keep. It will be seen that more votes were polled on this question, for and against, than on any other issue.

It has been mentioned that in some towns no vote was taken, and in others the election was carried through under peculiar difficulties. It will be well to instance a few of the means which were used by the opposing party Gen. Easton commanded his militia force to muster in the town of Leavenworth on election day, then and there to receive their discharge, under which they would become entitled to draw pay from the general government for their services in Kansas. The charm worked, of course, and from early in the morning the town was flooded by hundreds of Missourians, whose interests and whose prejudices were alike antagonistic to the vote that day to be taken. At noon, these fellows, duly officered for the occasion, assaulted the polling place, drove out the judges of election, and almost killed one of them named Wetherill, by beating him with clubs, and trampling upon him. They procured possession of the ballot boxes and paraded them about the town, making a demonstration in front of the office of the "Territorial Register," which they threatened to sack and destroy, because the proprietor, Mr. Delahay, a man favorable to slavery as an institution in other states, was desirous to exclude it from

the territory in which he resided. After such manifestations of their zeal, the Kansas militia from Missouri were addressed by their commander and thanked for their eminent services. The following Saturday saw the consummation of that enterprise in the destruction of the press, so threatened, by a company of Platte County Regulators which had been organized at Kickapoo, not far from Leavenworth in the same county. There were no differences of opinion tolerated by the proslavery men, and the adherents of Stephen A. Douglas had no better show than abolitionists unless they would swallow the whole of the proslavery platform. The well known democratic views of Mr. Delahay did not save his office from being sacked, his presses from being broken, and the whole of the offending material from being drowned in the Missouri. Perhaps if the editor had been at hand he might have shared the same fate as his property, but happily he lived to render good service to the state. Seven days after the constitution had been adopted, on the 22d of December, 1855, a convention at Lawrence nominated state officers, and the unanimity which had prevailed in the constitutional convention no longer characterized the proceedings of the free state party. A minority "bolted" the regular nominations, and prepared an anti-abolition ticket, still favoring the maintenance of Kansas as a free state; but the common sense of the great majority in the community terminated that manifestation by electing the regular nominees on the 15th of January, 1856, both sections of the party being represented in the list, as will be seen by glancing at the subjoined names and their respective offices: Dr. C. Robinson, governor; W. Y. Roberts, lieutenant governor; P. C. Schuyler, secretary of state; G. A. Cutler, auditor; J. A. Wakefield, treasurer; H. Miles Moore, attorney general; M. Hunt, S. N. Latta and M. F. Conway, supreme judges; S. B. McKenzie, reporter, and S. B. Floyd, clerk of the supreme court; John Speer, state printer; M. W. Delahay, representative in congress.

In Leavenworth a free state mayor had been elected, but after the December election *emeute*, that officer, despairing any chance to carry out his duty, tendered his resignation, and a proslavery mayor was chosen. In January, when the state officers were to be elected, the new mayor prudently forebore to hold an election,

and issued a proclamation forbidding any such proceedings. The ballot boxes were carried round the city on polling day, and about two hundred ballot papers were deposited in that irregular manner, but although the executive committee consented to issue certificates of election to the members so chosen, the legislature in due course pronounced the vote invalid, and Leavenworth had no representatives in the constituent body that assembled in March.

Easton was even more unfortunate than its neighbor, Leavenworth. The Kickapoo Rangers indulged in so many threats of violence that the polling was postponed until the 17th, two days beyond the time appointed, but on that day the election was held in a house half a mile from the village. Most of the men who voted went armed as a necessary precaution. Capt. Brown and some others went to the village from Leavenworth. There was no disturbance during the day, but in the evening a party of horsemen, about thirty in number, attacked the house in which the polling had been conducted. The free state men came out in force armed for defense, and after several ineffectual orders to charge, the assailants retired. Demands for the ballot box were several times sent to the house, but they were disregarded, and many persons passed to and from the village without further annoyance. About two on the following morning it became known that a free state man named Sparks had been captured by the proslavery party at Easton, and Capt. Brown with a party went to the rescue. Sparks was surrendered without a fight, but with many threats as to ultimate consequences. After the two forces had separated, many shots were fired on both sides, and a proslavery man was killed. About eight in the morning the free state men from Leavenworth started for home, and when about four miles from that town, they were met by several wagon loads of armed men, so numerous that it was impracticable to make a defense against them, and upon a promise of personal safety, the little company of eight men surrendered. Capt. Brown was one of the prisoners. The wagon loads of men, armed with bowie knives, hatchets and rifles, were the Kickapoo Rangers. They were maddened by whisky, and by the knowledge that a proslavery man had been shot during the *fracas* of the preceding night. The prisoners were taken to Easton where an investigation was then

pending. Other prisoners were brought in during the day. Capt. Brown, who had been in command of the rescuing party, was put upon his trial for murder, and it soon became evident that he would be condemned by his accusers and judges. An opportunity was afforded to the disarmed residue of the prisoners to escape, and they availed themselves of the chance, in the hope that there would be some means found to save their comrade, but no such chance occurred. Capt. Martin, the officer in command of the Kickapoos, did his best to defend his prisoner. While the examination was onward the accused was kept closely confined in a room for his own protection, and when the proceedings terminated it was announced that Capt. Brown would be conveyed to Leavenworth to stand his trial under territorial law. The chances were very few for a free state man under that *regime*, but nothing but the instant destruction of their victim would suffice. The room door was forced by the crowd, armed with knives and hatchets, and the prisoner saw his fate before him. He pleaded in vain against such overwhelming odds, offered to fight any man they would select, if they would give him a chance for his life; but they would run no risks, and he was literally hacked to death by them with their hatchets. When it was evident that no surgery could save him, he was bundled into a wagon, without shelter from the freezing air, and jolted over the hard ground to his home in Leavenworth, a distance of ten miles. He was still alive when he reached home; had strength enough to tell his wife that he had been murdered by cowards, without cause; and so perished one of the bravest and truest men in the free state party in Kansas.

The legislature of the free state organization, which convened in March, in Topeka, took cognizance of his services in the defense of Lawrence, and of his death in the service of the territory, by passing a series of resolutions which ordered mourning for thirty days for the man whom they recognized as one of "the martyr host whose blood has watered the tree of liberty." The widow and her child were condoled with in eloquent terms, and it was impossible for any person to avoid seeing that the crime of the ruffians had sunken deep into the hearts of all the legislature which had been assailed in the murder of their fellow-member.

A monument was ordered in commemoration of the virtues and courage of the deceased, and the resolutions arrived at were published in the free state papers. Not appeased by such a manifestation of their prowess, the free state men were next ordered by the mob at Easton to clear out from that portion of the territory. Notices were served upon them in their houses, but they concluded to stay and fight it out. Every man barricaded his little fortification as well as he could, and word being sent to the neghboring settlements, Topeka and Lawrence sent parties to their defense, in the face of which the Missourians backed down. The winter of 1855–'56 was unusually cold for Kansas, and the houses of the settlers were in many cases little adapted to give shelter from such unusual rigors, but when, in addition thereto, every house which stood detached from immediate support was liable to be carried by assault at any moment and the inmates driven out upon the prairie shorn of every vestige of property, it will be perceived that the battle was of a kind to try the souls of men. Against a people so circumstanced the whole of the south was now to be roused by incendiary appeals which would hardly have been justified if a jungle infested by tigers had been the object of assault instead of a free state settlement, and it is highly probable that tigers would have been treated with much greater consideration. While such was the situation of affairs in the territory, President Pierce, who had been so slow to respond to Governor Shannon's appeal for aid against the Missourian horde, when that organization, or disorganization as it may be more fitly denominated, menaced Lawrence, took occasion to present a special message to congress, dealing with the Kansas difficulty as a party movement of a wholly unjustifiable character on the part of the free state settlers. The laws made by the usurpers at Shawnee must be upheld against all protest, and it was very plainly intimated that the action of the men who desired to form a free state, in opposition to Missourian dictation, were already on the verge of treason. But the document from which we quote may be allowed to speak for itself so far as it bears upon the question at issue. After writing at some length on the affairs of the territory, President Pierce goes on to say:

"No principle of public law, no practice or precedent under

the constitution of the United State, no rule of reason, right or common sense confers any such power as that now claimed by a mere party in the territory. In fact, what has been done is of a revolutionary character. It is avowedly so in motive and in aim as respects the local law of the territory. It will become treasonable insurrection if it reach the length of organized resistance by force to the fundamental, or any other law, and to the authority of the general government."

There was a power behind the throne which dictated the language used by Mr. Pierce, and that power could assure the proslavery party of harmlessness when he said:

"Entertaining these views, it will be my imperative duty to support public order in the territory; to vindicate its laws, whether federal or local, against all attempts of organized resistance, and to protect its people in the establishment of their own institutions, undisturbed by encroachments from without, and in the full enjoyment of the rights of self-government assured to them by the constitution and the organic act of congress."

The recommendations of the president were, that congress should authorize the people of the territory to frame a constitution under which they might be admitted to the union, but no steps were to be attempted to secure the expression of the will of Kansas in that matter instead of that of Missouri, as declared by the ruffians on its western boundary. Elections carried by brute force, by invaders, were to be recognized as the essence of republican government, and laws iniquitous as hell itself, the outcome of such tyranny, were to have all the power of the executive of the United States arrayed in their vindication. The president could go no farther than that, even to secure the approval of the proslavery party. Thus reinforced, Missouri was prepared to resume the offensive, and the fruitless issue of the last campaign added exasperation to energy in preparing for the next. The courage manifested by the whole of the free state men in defending Lawrence showed them that there was no easy task before them, but it was only necessary to organize a crusade, the more comprehensive on that account, into which the whole south must enter with an impetus which would leave the eastern states with their sympathies far behind. Extermination was to be the

watchword henceforward, and if the free settlers had only been compelled to surrender their arms at Lawrence, that task would have been greatly simplified. Sheriff Jones addressed a note to Gen. Robinson and Col. Lane on the 15th of January, asking them whether they did not pledge themselves in December, 1855, to assist him with a posse to arrest any person in Lawrence against whom he might hold a writ. There was a purpose behind that inquiry of course, but the men to whom the note was addressed were not blinded by any undue partiality for Mr. Jones, and their reply stated carefully the exact truth, without a possibility of its being misunderstood; that they "would assist any proper officer in the service of any legal process," and further, that the sheriff would be allowed to "arrest one of the rescuers of Branson," in order that an appeal to the supreme court of the United States might determine the validity of the laws enacted at Shawnee. The sheriff had taken nothing by his motion, but he had now ascertained beyond doubt that the breach between the free state men and himself was as far as ever from being filled. They stood on their guard against him at every point. His authority and the laws of his party were alike questions to be tried, and no syllable of concession could be discovered in the memorandum of the free state men. Long before this time the sounds of preparation had come across the border, and here in Kansas the men were by no means laggards at their work. Of a scene slightly differing, Shakspere said:

> "The hum of either army stilly sounds,
> That the fixed sentinels almost receive
> The secret whispers of each other's watch.
> Fire answers fire; and through their paly flames
> Each battle sees the other's umbered face.
> Steed threatens steed, in high and boastful neighs,
> Piercing the night's dull ear; and from the tents,
> The armourers, accomplishing the knights,
> With busy hammers closing rivets up,
> Give dreadful note of preparation."

Missouri was resolved this time to make assurance doubly sure. The hordes had massed themselves in their full strength before Lawrence, and boast as they would of the bravery that

they had not yet proved, they could not deny that the free state men were undaunted and unyielding; therefore they were constrained to look further afield for help against their daring antagonists. The country which they boasted having conquered was not yet an unquestioned possession, and in their secret associations, when the prospects of the war were discussed, it was useless to equivocate as to the fact, that the decisive battle was yet in the future. Plans were discussed and arranged in the blue lodges and then submitted for indorsement to public meetings in Missouri. It was suggested that a partial famine could be induced by establishing mounted patrols of fifty to traverse the territory where free state men were congregated, to prevent the planting of their lands, and by such means they might be starved out of Kansas. Another proposition was, that the Shawnee legislature should be convened for a special session, to make laws still more oppressive, as a means of distressing the enemy, and now that the president had been made to speak, it would not be easy to imagine a law too hard in its exactions for them and their nominees to enact and bring into operation. The disabilities which had incommoded the movements of the proslavery men at Hickory Point, and at Lawrence, could all be legislated away, now that President Pierce had assisted them with his message; and with laws and weapons both on their side, to be used without scruple, the victory must be theirs.

The "Squatter Sovereign" was once more rampant, demanding arms for the Atchison militia, to be supplied by the government of the territory by the sale of town lands, and there was almost a shriek of agony in the cry for an opportunity to determine which party should rule. The rifles which were possessed in Lawrence were terrible weapons in the estimation of the proslavery party, and Colt's revolvers must be provided by and for the proslavery party by way of setoff. "We have the men, we must have arms." The emergency seemed to justify almost any extreme to put weapons in the hands of the president's *proteges*. Another paper, the Kansas Pioneer, came out with columns of leaded type, declaring that "forbearance was no longer a virtue," seeing that the Easton men had dared to vote for state officers, to retain their own ballot boxes, and even to defend their own lives against at-

tack. "The tyrannical dogs" must be driven from Kansas. In the immediate presence of tyrants, who would not bear an assault without retaliation, it was difficult to say what might not be done, and it was declared that the men of Easton had recommenced the war. The proslavery party were addressed as "law and order men," and conjured, "strike for your altars, strike for your firesides, strike for your rights;" which, of course, meant that they should assail the altars of their neighbors, drive them from their firesides, and despoil them of their rights. The answer to all, which was given when the men of Easton barricaded themselves in the homes from which they refused to be evicted, and being defended in their position by the citizens of Lawrence and Topeka, they were enabled to drive back the Missourians once more, in spite of the Kickapoo Rangers and all the threats of the enemy that they would abolish abolition, and leave not a "vestige of abolitionism." Ex-Vice President Gen. Atchison had been among the men who supported Gov. Shannon in his final movements at Lawrence in December, 1855, which ended in temporary pacification, but by the 4th of February, 1856, his temper had slightly changed. He was a candidate for the presidency, let it be borne in mind, and the present incumbent had pronounced in such a manner as might win him the southern vote. It was necessary to outbid the demagogue, and at a meeting held in Platte City the gallant general repented almost, as it were, in sackcloth and ashes his action in December. He swore like a mule driver, and among other pieces of counsel equally murderous, said, speaking of Kansas: "They have held an election on the 15th of last month, and they intend to put the machinery of a state in motion on the 4th of March. Now, you are entitled to my advice, and you shall have it. I say prepare yourselves. Go over there. Send your young men, and if they attempt to drive you out, then, damn them, drive them out. Fifty of you, with your shot guns, are worth two hundred and fifty of them with their Sharp's rifles. Get ready — arm yourselves, for if they abolitionize Kansas, you lose $100,000,000 of your property. I am satisfied I can justify every act of yours before God and a jury."

It was necessary to keep the authorities at Washington on their side, but that duty was not arduous, as long as Jefferson Davis

and men of his caliber held the conscience of the president in commission. They sent special messengers occasionally as they were advised, and neither Mr. Pierce nor his cabinet would believe anything in opposition to the rose colored statements of their undoubted friends, the men who were even now contemplating the dismemberment of the union. The democrats of the north were assured that there had been no outrages committed by them. The democrats of the south were less scrupulous, and to them they only promised victory, being well assured that if that end was attained, there would be little scrutiny as to the means. They did not wish nor expect their friends in the south to think "that proslavery men were being driven from the country." The whole tone of their press went to show the exact opposite of any such statement. But in Washington they had that story always prepared for presidential ears, and they shone as bright particular stars of loyalty and patriotism. Their invasion had been a self-denying effort to rescue their friends from destruction and to assist the governor in an emergency, when, but for them, the laws would have been inoperative. Every act of the free state party was turned into treason by their Iago-like coloring, and Dr. Robinson, the newly elected free state governor, figured as the embodiment of a conspiracy against law and order, which had its ramifications all over the New England states. The success of such representations could be seen in the organs which specially expressed the views of the president, and editorials, evidently inspired, were daily asserting that the free state party in Kansas had violated their promises to the men who had befriended them in their need, and that their action in proceeding to a vote on their state constitution had induced the other side to show their indignation against the flagrant disregard of solemn pledges. In the face of such *punica fides*, a few smashed bottles, boxes, and other casualties were mere bagatelles. Riot was a virtue in Washington, viewed from that stand point, but it became vicious in the extreme when men defended their rights, their property, and their lives, and had not the privilege of representing their action to Mr. Pierce, through an astute secretary of war in his cabinet, a man so able as Jefferson Davis.

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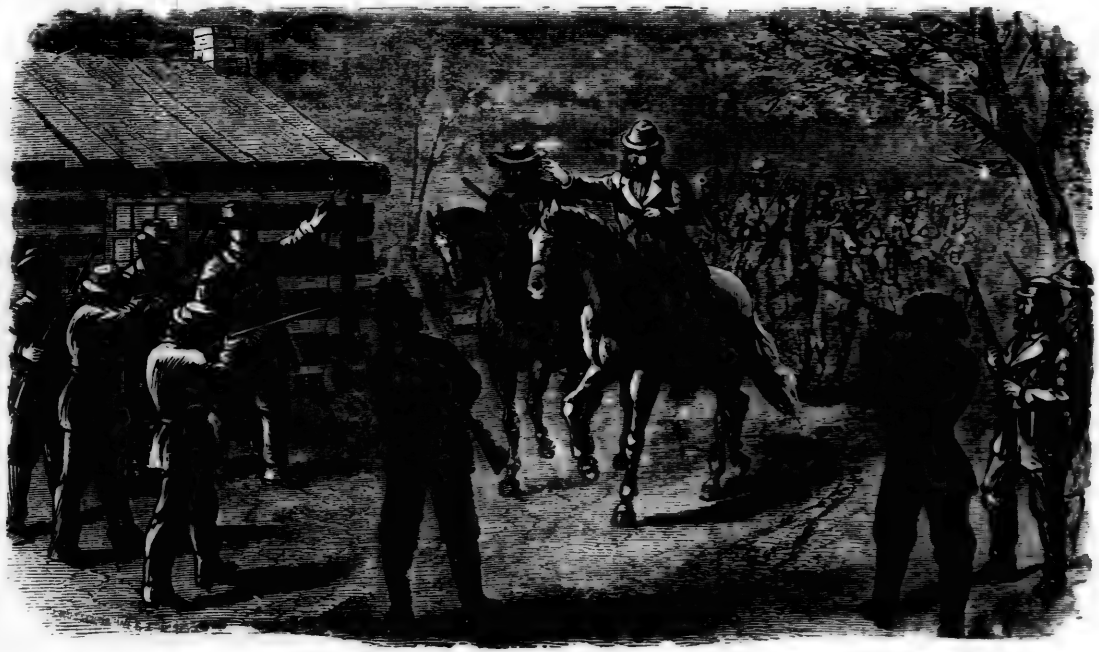
Montgomery's Heroic Defense.



way, discovered the unjust acts of the western counties of Missouri, but that time had passed away, before the end of 1855. In the latter part of November, a card was published at large in the southern newspapers calling for a force of three hundred young men able to bear arms and willing to go to Kansas. Mr. Jefferson Buford, a man of property, proposed to give $20,000 of his own means and to solicit funds from others to pay the traveling expenses of the troops and the cost of their keep during the first year, as well as a homestead of forty acres of good land for each of the company in consideration of their military services in the territory. Those who should help him with the funds were to receive their equivalents in land. Gen. Atchison said that the property of Missouri and the South would be reduced in value to the extent of $100,000,000, should their design in Kansas be defeated, and in the movement of Mr. Buford there was a recognition of the same fact in a practical form. The conquerors who should guard the south against a loss so stupendous might well deserve a few thousand dollars worth of land; and it was hardly possible for them to imagine that they were fighting an inexorable destiny. The attempt of Mrs. Partington with mop and pattens to drive back the Atlantic was a feasible scheme by comparison with that upon which they had entered, but they had no conception of a God in history, except in so far as God had ordained negro slavery for the comfort of southern gentlemen. The scheme grew in favor daily, the press of the south praised Mr. Buford enthusiastically; he was greater than Joan of Arc, Cincinnatus, Quintus Curtius and William Tell embodied in one man, and the Major's expedition to Kansas was the grand theme of southern eulogy. The south was said to be moving like a strong man in his sleep, and then the writers became scriptural, talking of a stirring of the waters which were to heal Kansas or submerge her, according as the passions of the day should determine. Virginia and Tennessee were said to be arming for the fray, South Carolina, Georgia and Maryland were emulating the glorious example, and every warm and true heart in the south was yearning towards Buford, the magnanimous philanthrophist and hero. Meetings were being held in all directions. Some gave him their prayers and blessings, many their commendatory "whereas," and "therefore

resolved," and not a few gave him their money in consideration of the material purpose to be served. Col. Gayle of Dallas pledged the people of his county for $5,000 or more. In Alabama the legislature appropriated $25,000 to equip and forward emigrants to Kansas. In the village of Gainesville, Mississippi, a public meeting denounced abolitionists as "Traitors against God," who had ordained slavery, and then went on by way of anti-climax to mention that they were also traitors to the laws of the country and the people of Gainesville. The meeting thereupon resolved themselves into a society to assist emigration to Kansas in defense of southern rights. Every member engaged to pay one dollar to aid in the object sought. The Missourian invaders were thanked for their action in Kansas, and the legislature was called upon to vote $25,000 for the purposes of the expedition. That recommendation was acted upon, and from many other districts in various states there came word that the clans were gathering, with money and arms for the terrible work of extermination, which was euphonistically covered under the amiable phraseology of aiding Kansas. South Carolina was to send Col. Buford and Col. Treadwell, with a gallant array of heroes, who were indifferent whether they wrought the salvation of the territory, by ballots or rifle bullets, but Kansas must be saved for the south. Florida waited only for the spring to dispatch Col. Titus to the seat of war with her contingent. Virginia had commissioned Col. Wilkes to assist the resident population of Kansas by voting for them with his noble band of warriors, and to drub them into becoming submission and thankfulness, should they be unable otherwise to appreciate his goodness. Kentucky was prepared with Capt. Hampton to convert the abolitionists of the sinful territory to new views of human happiness. These several commanders, with their forces, were all in Kansas in the spring soon after the flowers began to bloom upon the prairies, and they came announced as southern sharpshooters, who were about to extend the area of slavery, carrying rifles and well supplied with munitions of war. Wherever the south lacked energy for the holy war on which border ruffianism had entered, the red hot eloquence of Missouri was shipped to the spot immediately, and the response was almost everywhere procured.

It was no longer scenting the battle afar off, the troops were already in the field, the perfume of powder filled the air, southern chivalry was in the saddle, and the Puritan Roundheads would not easily win Marston Moore and Naseby against such odds, unless a Cromwell should be found to direct them. The fiery Rupert of the Missourian forces, ex-Vice President General Atchison, could figure as a newspaper correspondent upon occasion, as well as do his *devoir* upon the tented field, and one of his lucubrations went through almost every paper in the south. The border ruffians wanted to stand right before the world. Their sufferings were greater than they could bear. The young men of the south must come, and that speedily, to Missouri and to Kansas. They must come well armed and provided for a stay of at least twelve months. The year could not pass before fierce civil war would commence. There was the tone of prophecy in his words when he said to the "far southern men:" "If we fail, the war will reach your doors, perhaps your hearths;" for the events of only a few years saw the failure in Kansas followed by the desolation of the south in the vain attempt to uphold the evil custom in defense of which he was then striving. The institutions of the south were at stake in the same sense in which a mortified limb is at stake when the experienced surgeon uses the only means to save the life of the patient. "We want money and armed men" was the perpetual cry of Missouri, and it was heard all over the south. It told the slave owners there that their patriarchal customs were endangered by progressive thought, which would extend liberty to all mankind without distinction of color, race or country, and it told the men of the eastern states that if they meant to save the little band of noble men and women there in Kansas, there was no time to lose. There was to be no more pacification. The man, who more than any other held the movements of western Missouri under control, said in the letter before mentioned: "I was a peacemaker in the difficulty lately settled by Gov. Shannon I counseled the ruffians to forbearance; but I will never again counsel peace." It was to be a battle to the death between civilization and barbarism. The barbarians were as brave as the Huns that fought under Attila, but they were barbarians still. Human life was to them a little matter compared

with the narrowest views of self interest, and they were unable to see the compensations which advancing knowledge gave for the deprivation of unholy rights. They had planted themselves in a position where society could not aid them without deplorable retrogression; could not advance without crushing them and their cherished system into the earth. Compared with the price that was to be paid in responding to the cry, "We want armed men," it would have been an act of economy and a deed of mercy to have bought every bondsman at his market price and set him free to earn his bread; but no such terms would have been listened to for a second. The south held the destinies of the Union in her hands. Her young men officered the army and the navy, and her old men controlled the councils of the nation. The secretary of the war department possessed the talents of a warrior, an orator and a diplomatist, and standing where he then stood, his words becoming the language of the president, the south through Jefferson Davis dictated the policy of the United States, with one chief aim, the consolidation and extension of the slave power. Who could believe that a confederation so vast, so full of talent and of wealth, so unrelenting and so unscrupulous, could be doomed to an early and crushing defeat, at the hands of a people apparently diverse in aims and interests, the great majority of whom at that moment would, if they had been polled upon the question, have pronounced abolition "impracticable" and "a chimera." The still small voice that was heard by the prophet could move the hearts of men more than the salvos of artillery and the thunder of the heavens reverberating through the eternal dome; and that voice had spoken the surcease of slavery. The cloud no bigger than a man's hand had covered the whole sky, and down upon the thirsting earth, arid with the wrongs of the oppressed, came the rushing torrent that should wash away into the limbo of oblivion every vestige of the power but now so brutally triumphant. They were not all bad men who held manhood in bondage; there were thousands who strove with all their might to live up to the highest plane of the teachings of Christ, in spite of their surroundings, and they were able to point to many of the greatest names that adorn the pages of our history as having been identified with the slave system. They would

have made great sacrifices in defense of their fatherland, had they seen it menaced by a foreign foe; but it seemed hard that they, the old territorial aristocracy, who could trace their lineage back to the days of Sir Walter Raleigh, should be taught their duty by a mushroom growth of yesterday, because their instructors had grown rich with the endowments of commerce and science. While yet they were hesitating on the verge of the conflict, the battle had begun, and loyalty toward their friends and their party would admit no further misgiving. All their best qualities tended then to their undoing, and they saw every shred of their wealth pass from them, their names compromised by acts which they would have shuddered to authorize, and their homes left desolate by the fires of internecine war. The price was terrible, but it must be paid because the insane cry had now been raised, "Come, and come speedily, we want armed men."

CHAPTER XII.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY.

(continued.)

EARLY KANSAS CONFLICTS—EVENTS OF 1856.

In the Free State Camp — Waiting, not Resting — Disquieting Rumors — When, Where and How — Certainty and Uncertainty — Lawrence and Topeka — Will the East Intervene? — Waiting for Spring — Ready, aye Ready — Strengthening Fortifications — The Sentinel — Company A — Couriers in the Saddle — Free State Arsenal — Delegation to Congress — Legitimate Lobbying — Appeal to Free States — Addressing the President — Praying a Proclamation — Prayer Answered — Pierce or Davis? — The Proclamation — Dangers of Warding Danger — Dogberry in High Places — Popular Sovereignty Maligned — Gross Injustice to Kansas — How will it Operate? — Is Ruffianism Licensed? — Gov. Shannon's Authority — U. S. Troops — Growing Responsibilities — Springtime Coming — Waiting for March 4th — Mustering Militia — Mounted Riflemen — Free State Legislature — Treasonable Insurrection — Legislative Session — Gov. Robinson's Message — Reviewing the Situation — Defining Duties — Responsible Government — Reasons for Change — Conduct of Missouri —

Attitude of President — Code of Laws — United States Senators — Memorial for Congress — Sheriff's Memorandum — Executive Report — Satisfactory Conclusion — The Way it was Attained — Scrip but no Money — Perpetual Motion — *Nunquam Dormio* — The End Crowns the Work — Submission to Congress — Causes of Delay — Costs of Wakarusa War — First Free State Legislature — Congressional Action — House and Senate — The Speaker — Anti-Slavery Triumph — Two Delegates — Whitfield Received — Reeder Contests — Kansas Committee — Powers and Duties — Persons and Papers — Scope of Inquiry — Beyond Intimidation — U. S. Military Protection — Beware — Investigate and Report — The Men Named — Session at Lecompton — Reeder and Whitfield — Depositions at Lawrence — Voluminous Evidence — Coming to Daylight — Report — Organized Invasion — Illegal Legislature — Partial Administration — Whitfield and Foreign Votes — Reeder's Majority Irregular — Fair Election Impossible — Constitution Expressing Popular Will — Committee a Success — Appointment Bitterly Contested — Facts for the North — Beginning of the End — Will Free States Submit? — Border Madness — Break the Union — Blockading Missouri — Political Quarantine — Lexington Law — Tar and Feathers — Prospective Hanging — Unseating Whitfield — No Delegate in Congress — Knavery Defeated.

HAVING seen the enemy mustering their forces in the far south and collecting their munitions of war to come down upon Kansas in the spring of 1856, it becomes our duty to visit the camp of our friends, to ascertain whether they are aware of the terrible strait in which they stand, menaced by the forces of many states, and denounced as the enemies of God and mankind. The free state men are waiting, not resting, and they are ready for instant action; but every hour that the attack is delayed is being improved to make the position stronger against the hour of danger, which, from their nearness to the frontier, may come at any moment. The social gathering on the night of the ninth of December was signalized by a rumor that the enemy was concentrating an irregular force to attack the city, and so likely was such an event at that time that Gov. Lane gave a written authority to Gens. Robinson and Lane to defend the place with the forces then enrolled. From that day there had never ceased to be some disquieting expectation.

Rumors often exaggerated and painfully indefinite were continually being half revealed about deep laid plots to surprise the little settlement, and leave it a smoking ruin, are combining a carnival and a massacre within its walls. Well known proslavery

leaders came to Lawrence in hot haste, held whispered consultations with their adherents, and were off for all that could be known, to carry out some nefarious scheme already concocted for the destruction of the free state party. The press in the border counties continually breathed fire and sword, and there was no means of ascertaining at what instant the customary braggadocio might cover the sinister movement long anticipated. Messengers had long since assured the ever wary authorities of Lawrence that stores were being collected on the border, and none could doubt their eventual destination. Civilized nations do not commence hostilities until there has been first a declaration of war, but there could be no surety when the fatal blow would come from an enemy that declared war every second. The assault must come; on that point there was no difference of opinion, but when, where and how, were the momentous anxieties of the troubled citizens. A camisado was the event most dreaded, and men hated the thought of being surprised in their beds by an enemy so relentless as the foes across the border. The certainty and the uncertainty were alike disturbing causes, but the leaders took such precautions as were possible, and trusted the rest to God. Lawrence was known to have earned almost a monopoly of Missourian hate, but Topeka had latterly begun to concentrate upon herself the baleful regards of the proslavery party. One of the ideas which obtained currency was, that an attack would be made on one or both of the cities by bands of armed men coming suddenly from different directions, and, under the pretext of law, carrying off the principal citizens as prisoners, to be tortured to death as Capt. Brown had been. From that ghastly thought it will be seen that law was not considered in Kansas a protection for the weak against the strong. In the larger and broader signification, the Kansas free settlers were willing to commit their interests to the decisions of the courts, but the local enactments and their administration were compounded largely of farce and tragedy. The eastern and northern states were continually warned that the war had hardly yet commenced, and that the next act in the drama would assume more terrible aspects than anything yet seen in the territory. The little community did not fear that they would he forgotten by their friends, but was it pos-

sible that in the cities two thousand miles away, in which life and property were by comparison sacred, the condition of affairs prevailing in Kansas would be fully comprehended? They could not help a terrible doubt sometimes that a full realization of the force against which they were combatting would only reach the population in the free states after they had all fallen fighting at their posts; but in any case they would do their duty, warn their friends as they best might, and commit the event to the God of battles. It was a question of time merely. The mails brought them intimations that there were thousands making ready to come down upon them in the spring, even supposing the assault to be so long delayed, and for all that appeared, there was no sword of Damocles suspended over the rebellious horde which was ready to violate the most sacred ties in the name of law. The reinforcements which they knew had been long called for from the south were already on the march, and the forces were so nearly balanced that a few hundreds added to the ranks of the enemy would render the struggle all but hopeless, unless the free states moved with energy and speed. Even though a sufficient number of men should start at once to sustain the gallant defenders of right, there was no certainty that they would arrive before the contest had been ended for the force now struggling; as the natural highway to the Kansas territory before railways had yet entered this region was by the Missouri river, and that avenue had long been guarded against emigration from the free states. They knew all these facts right well, and by repeated letters had warned their friends at a distance; but even the post-offices were in the hands and under the directions of enemeis, such men as Sheriff Jones being preferred to every position that would enable the Missourians to harass the colony. Still there would be one satisfaction in any event, the free settlers were in the line of duty, ready to die in harness if the cause demanded that sacrifice, ready to do and dare to any extremity rather than submit to dishonoring conditions. The fortifications were strengthened and guarded with redoubled care; the earthwork at the foot of Massachusetts street, which covered an approach from the river, was paced night and day by watchful men, and the barracks within the inclosure would hold and shelter the soldiers necessary for defense with all

the weapons and ammunition requisite to repel a sudden and brief onset. The work itself was one hundred feet in diameter, four feet wide on the top of the rampart, and five feet high on the rising ground ascending from the Missouri, so that unless the citizens allowed themselves to be lulled into a false security, there was no danger of a fatal surprise. Company A was but one of many excellent bodies of men, equipped and mustered for purposes of defense, and carriers were ready at a moment's notice to scour through the territory, to warn outlying settlers to concentrate at the point of danger for mutual safety and protection. There were few noncombatants among the settlers; even the women were prepared by careful practice with firearms to act with precision, if street fighting should become inevitable; and there was a common understanding that the whole body would die in the last ditch rather than submit to insolent dictation. The Free State hotel, in which the pacification feast had been held less than two months ago, was once more a barrack, an arsenal and a magazine, in which the officers slept, with their arms within reach, when there was reason to anticipate an alarm. The troops distributed in their homes knew the *rappel* which might call them to battle, and they were aware that everything might depend upon their alacrity in responding to the first tap of the drum. There was a fierce pleasure in such readiness, but the necessity out of which it arose was cruel.

Some time before this, a deputation of eminent citizens had been nominated by the executive committee of the territory to visit the chief cities of the free states, and, by *viva voce* representations, to make the people conversant with the facts. That nomination was made on the 4th of January, 1856, and the same delegation was empowered to convey to Washington and to lay before congress the constitution recently adopted by the settlers. There was to be some legitimate lobbying on behalf of the free state movement. Such men as Charles Sumner and his immediate confreres would not need to be refreshed by their representations, but there were men in both houses who, at this juncture, could be roused from tame acquiescence in the right course, to vigorous participation; and there was an absolute necessity for

every man in congress to work with a will against the party of the south, and of Missouri more especially:

"Where the cant of democracy dwelt on the lips
Of the forgers of fetters and the wielders of whips."

The light of battle was now on the faces of men; disguises were thrown aside; Douglas was on the side of wrong, as he had been all his life, doing the work of a giant, and earning the defeat of which he died, when the men whom he had served with hardly a scruple deserted him in the crisis of his fate; Sumner was soon to be answered by the deadly assault made upon him by Preston S. Brooks, in the very halls of legislation; Wilson was to be challenged to meet death, because he denounced the outrage; but every movement was tending toward the end, and the lobbyists from Kansas were very valuable adjuncts. The governors of free states were appealed to by the executive committee, and only from Indiana was there one word of rebuke for the very natural action so initiated; from the other executive officers of free states came words of encouragement and hearty assurances of constitutional support. Governor Wright of Indiana, like the priest and the Levite, passed by on the other side, having no sympathy to bestow upon the men who had fallen among thieves, except the hollow suggestion, "that if the people of the territory were aggrieved, it was the duty of the president of the United States to redress them." Assuredly, that was the president's duty, but would he dare to attempt its discharge? The committee had not allowed him to remain unasked, for, on the 21st of January, the facts of the intended invasion were clearly stated in a dispatch to that official, and a "respectful demand" was made that the commandant of United States troops in Kansas should be instructed to prevent "an inhuman outrage." On the 23d of the same month another dispatch was forwarded by safe hands to the same quarter, urging upon the president his duty to issue his proclamation forbidding an invasion of the territory. They accompanied their prayer for constitutional protection with such evidence of the *bona fides* of their representation as could not be gainsaid; and, in return, on the 11th day of February, after a lapse of nearly three weeks, they were answered by the publica-

tion of a document which reminded its readers in Kansas of "these juggling fiends," against whom the brave Macbeth inveighed: —

> "That palter with us in a double sense;
> That keep the word of promise to our ear,
> And break it to our hope."

It might well be questioned whether the hand of the president or that of Jefferson Davis, his astute minister of war, had written the proclamation which made the offense of self-protection among the free settlers as reprehensible as the invasion to which they had been subjected, and with which they were again menaced. Unless the document in question was expressly designed to give succor to evil doers in their trespasses and sins, and to discourage the settlements in Kansas from any further attempt to hold the territory, we are constrained to the conclusion that *Dogberry* had taken possession of the White House in Washington, and was learnedly rehearsing his directions to the watch:

"If you meet a thief, you may suspect him, by virtue of your office, to be no true man; and for such kind of men, the less you meddle or make with them, why the more is for your honesty. * * The most peaceable way for you, if you do take a thief, is to let him show himself what he is, and steal out of your company. * * For indeed the watch ought to offend no man, and it is an offense to stay a man against his will."

The ruffians of the border who could come and go under the provisions of the law made by their accomplices, were hardly touched by the president's pronunciamento; but the settlers who desired to realize republican rule, "the government of the people, by the people, for the people," were to be hemmed in at every point, "corralled" in fact, for the greater convenience of their persecutors and oppressors. But the proclamation is public property and it will speak for itself. The president says:

"Whereas, Indications exist that public tranquillity and the supremacy of law in the territory of Kansas are endangered by the reprehensible acts, or purposes of persons, both within and without the same, who propose to control and direct its political organizations by force; it appearing that combinations have been formed therein to resist the execution of the territorial laws, and

thus, in effect, subvert by violence all present constitutional and legal authority; it also appearing that persons residing without this territory, but near its borders, contemplate armed intervention in the affairs thereof; it also appearing that other persons, inhabitants of remote states, are collecting money and providing arms for the same purpose; and it further appearing that combinations in the territory are endeavoring, by the agencies of emissaries and otherwise, to induce individual states of the Union to interfere in the affairs thereof in violation of the constitution of the United States; and, whereas, all such plans for the determination of the future institutions of the territory, if carried into action from or within the same, will constitute the fact of insurrection, and from without that of invasive aggression, and will in either case justify and require the forcible interposition of the whole power of the general government, as well to maintain the laws of the territory as those of the Union.

"Now, therefore, I, Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, do issue this my proclamation, to command all persons engaged in unlawful combinations against the constituted authority of the territory of Kansas, or of the United States, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, and to warn all such persons that an attempted insurrection in said territory, or aggressive intrusion into the same, will be resisted, not only by the employment of the local militia, but also by that of any available forces of the United States; to the end of assuring immunity from violence and full protection to the persons, property and civil rights of all peaceful and law abiding inhabitants of the territory.

"If in any part of the Union the fury of faction or fanaticism, inflamed into disregard of the great principles of popular sovereignty, which, under the constitution, are fundamental in the whole structure of our institutions, is to bring on the country the dire calamity of an arbitrament of arms in that territory, it shall be between lawless violence on one side and conservative force on the other, wielded by legal authority of the general government.

"I call on the citizens, both of adjoining and of distant states, to abstain from unauthorized intermeddling in the local concerns

of the territory, admonishing them that its organic law is to be executed with impartial justice; that all individual acts of illegal interference will incur condign punishment, and that any endeavor to interfere by organized force will be firmly withstood.

"I invoke all good citizens to promote order by rendering obedience to the law; to seek remedy for temporary evils by peaceful means; to discountenance and repulse the counsels and the instigations of agitators and disorganizers; and to testify their attachment to their pride in its greatness, their appreciation of the blessings they enjoy, and their determination that republican institutions shall not fail in their hands, by cooperating to uphold the majesty of the laws and to vindicate the sanctity of the constitution.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents.

"Done at the city of Washington, the eleventh day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, and of the Independence of the United States the eightieth.

"By the President. FRANKLIN PIERCE.

"W. L. MARCY, Secretary of State."

The purpose of the president's action was unmistakable. Popular sovereignty, about which there had been so much unmeaning talk, even squatter sovereignty, in the only sense in which it was justifiable, where the squatter was an actual resident in the territory, was maligned by the chief executive and an injustice of the grossest description was inflicted upon Kansas. It was an offense of the gravest kind to have called in question the enactments passed at Shawnee in violation of the organic act; and to have sought by the only possible means to ascertain the will of the people; but beyond that there was nothing said by Mr. Pierce which might not, like the words of the Delphic oracle, be read in contrary ways. It still remained to be seen how the charm would work, for the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle invariably to the strong. Would ruffianism receive the proclamation as a license? Would it be acted upon in that sense by Gov. Shannon? Would the officers in command of United States

troops in the territory be obliged or induced to read it in that way? The difficulties hourly thickening would soon bring all these issues to their test; and the people looked toward the event with much anxiety. Five days after the proclamation was issued the governor of the territory was authorized, under a letter from Secretary Macy, which did not reach him until nearly the end of that month, to call upon the officers in command at Fort Riley and at Leavenworth, for aid to suppress "insurrectionary combinations," and "resistance to the execution of the laws." The people in Kansas were still weighted in the race, because Missouri would not quarrel with the Kansas laws which had been made by Missourian nominees to forward the aims of the proslavery party; the only persons discontented with the scandalous enactments were the men who knew that the popular voice had been excluded from the legislature in which the laws had been framed.

Meantime the unusually severe winter of 1855–56 had come to an end and the attack was still deferred; spring had come and it was known that troops were concentrated upon the border, ready to cross the Missouri upon the signal being given. The fourth day of March was the time named for the free state legislature to assemble, and Gen. Atchison had named that date for his attack in force. On that day he would call upon his indomitables to march into the territory. The newspapers in Missouri, at Independence and elsewhere on the western frontier, had called upon the militia of the border counties to assemble at Fort Scott, the present capital of Bourbon county, Kansas, on the last day in February, and that notice also pointed to the probability of offensive action being soon resumed. The men thus to be mustered were mounted troops, armed with rifles, against whom the territory had no corresponding arm of defense. The assembly of the state legislature was held to be an offense under the proclamation recently issued, and should the officers recently elected organize and subscribe their several oaths, it was contended with some show of reason, that every man might be adjudged guilty of treason; at any rate guilty enough to warrant their enemies from across the border, in coming to the rescue of the territorial executive, against "organized resistance, such as the message of Mr. Pierce had described to congress, as treasonable insurrection."

There were many courageous friends of the free state movement, who saw in such a combination, at such a moment, cause for prudent hesitation: and they did their best to dissuade Dr. Robinson and others against assuming the responsibilities of office, lest under the pretense of law, every one of the popular leaders should be arrested and held for trial, under the territorial enactments, supported by the whole force of the general government. In spite of every scruple the legislature met at Topeka at the time appointed, and the newly elected officers were also present, answering the call of the chairman of the executive committee. Col. Lane called the assembly to order, and the secretary nominated for the occasion, after calling the roll, administered the official oath. There were thirty-two men that answered to the roll call, and one member, Capt. Brown, had long before answered the roll elsewhere, having been murdered by the rabble known as the Kickapoo Rangers. Mr. T. Minard of Easton, one of the men that had been obliged to barricade his house to prevent eviction, was elected speaker, and Messrs. Goodin of Blanton, Tappan of Lawrence, Snodgrass, Goodin Junior and Mitchell as clerks and sergeant-at-arms respectively. The senate was also organized and the oath having been administered in a similar form by Mr. Curtis, president *pro tem.*, the two houses held a joint session for the installation of the governor and the other officers of the state. The business of the day came to an end without any attempt at a disturbance by the other side, but the vigilant sheriff, Jones, was present during the whole of the ceremony, and it was evident that he was taken aback by the coolness and unanimous disregard of consequences which was evinced by the free state officials. The inaugural address of Gov. Robinson was delivered immediately upon his installation, but the houses deferred its consideration until the next day, the interval being used in printing and distributing the document among those who were entitled to that courtesy. The governor's message came under consideration on the second day of the session, and it was found to be a very statesmanlike production. The peculiar difficulties which had obstructed the course of the free state party were adverted to with much care, but it was evident that there had been much discrimination in the use of language,

and the relative positions of the state officials and the territorial government were so handled as while the truth was told, there was no wantonness of expression, such as might be likely to antagonize those who were still neutral on the questions of the day. Dr. Robinson referred to territorial organizations as necessarily transient, and intended to prepare the way for state institutions, such as the people had now authorized on their own behalf. The provisional character being thus defined, there was no attempt to question or deny the validity of the territorial appointments pending the recognition by the general government of the state constitution and the official staff elected. Good reasons were given for the expectation that the action of the people would be indorsed at Washington, by the admission of the state of Kansas to the union, whereby the government would become responsible to the community governed, instead of owing allegiance only to a remote and half informed body of men, necessarily unconversant with the wants of the population. The peculiar tyranny which had invested the institutions of Kansas from their proper functions to make them the means of oppression were insisted upon with cogency and force. The fact that outrages of the most flagrant kind could be committed in Kansas territory, by the friends of the usurping legislature which had assembled at Shawnee, and that such crimes remained unchecked and unchallenged by the authorities, was cited to prove that the executive power in the territory was inoperative for good, while there had been evidence enough that the same officers could act with crushing force on the very lightest pretext, against law abiding residents. The conduct of the neighboring state of Missouri was submitted to a scathing criticism, and the action recently taken by Prest. Pierce was animadverted upon with the freedom which belongs of right to a citizen of the great republic, the equal of any officer in every respect save in the representative character conferred upon him by the people.

The task of codifying the laws for the state of Kansas, subject to the will of both houses after the work so assigned should have been completed, was handed over, by joint ballot of both houses, to three commissioners. Col. Lane and ex-Gov. Reeder were chosen as United States senators for the state, to assume their

positions, of course, upon the admission of Kansas to the Union. The laws and customs which govern deliberative assemblies were adopted, and some unimportant acts of legislation were carried through. State officers were allotted their respective salaries, and their duties were defined. The importance of agricultural improvements was recognized by the passage of a bill for its encouragement, and a joint memorial to Congress prayed for the admission of the state to the union, under the constitution framed at Topeka and accepted by the people. The session was brought to an end on the 15th of March, eleven days from the opening, when the legislature adjourned, to reassemble in the same place on the 4th of July, 1856. There had been no treason dreamed of, and there was none uttered, but it would have been an interesting matter to have perused the well used notebook of the sheriff of Douglas county, in which Mr. Jones most diligently entered the words and acts of the several members, with, it is probable, many flourishes, such as his own economy in the use of truth would naturally suggest. There remained now one duty to be done to complete the programme: The executive committee, to which the work of organizing a state government had been entrusted, must give an account of its stewardship, and in so doing, pass away. The committee made their report with considerable detail, in a document remarkable for its perspicuity, which was published in the Herald of Freedom, and commanded the approval of those who were best informed. The committee had discharged many of the functions of a provisional government for the free state party, and had won the respect of all classes, until the convention first nominated for the purpose had framed the constitution; accepting, then, the additional duties imposed by the convention, the constitution had been presented for the decisive vote of the people, and when that conclusion in the affirmative had been arrived at, it became the duty of the same body to convene the people for the nomination of the officers whose inauguration, under their arrangements, ended the existence of the temporary executive. Col. Lane and Mr. J. K. Goodin were the chairman and the secretary of the body which had now become *functus officio*. When the executive first assembled in Lawrance to form, as it were, the nucleus of a government, the organization was

without money or means, except such contributions as the individual members subscribed from their own resources, and the scrip which they had been authorized by the convention to issue, to be redeemed by the legislature which they were to assist in procuring. They had carried out the several elections, organizing the territory for that purpose into electoral districts, and had conducted the elections of October 9, 1855, for delegates to the convention. They had then distributed through the territory, by special messengers, the documents necessary to procure an expression of the popular will upon the constitution which had been framed, and on the 15th of December, 1855, had carried the business of polling the population successfully through. One month later the executive had submitted to the people the official ticket, which, in spite of a seditious attempt, had obtained popular approval, covering all the expenses of the several steps in succession by issues of scrip. During the month of December, when the vote upon the constitution was pending, Gen. Schuyler was sent to the eastern states to collect funds to assist the executive, and his mission was crowned with success; but during his absence the city of Lawrence had been defended against the ruffians, and the committee, instead of reimbursing themselves for their individual outlay, devoted all the money so obtained to paying the expenses of defending the settlement from invasion. Mr. Parrot, of Leavenworth, who tried to be heard in the law and order convention, of which Mr. Shannon, on his first coming to the territory, permitted himself to be made chairman, visited the east under the auspices of the executive, to convey an accurate statement of Kansas affairs to members of congress, and to whomsoever might assist in moulding public opinion in the free states. One member had been compelled to absent himself from the sessions of the committee during nearly all the time, and in consequence nearly all the executive work had devolved upon four men, who had only succeeded in their onerous task by dint of sleepless energy, nearly allied to perpetual motion. The discomforts endured by these unwearying public servants, without fee, or the probability of reward, except in the consciousness of a duty well done, and in the gratitude of their fellow colonists, is beyond all praise. The detailed statement of their actions and expenditure was presented to the legis-

lature during the March session and duly audited, and it then appeared that the whole cost of their action in bringing the state government to perfect organization, pending the action of congress, hardly exceeded $11,000. Their labors were then completed, and, as they looked round upon the able and self-sacrificing body of men, democrats and whigs, abolitionist and proslavery, whom they had united under the free soil banner to uphold the integrity of Kansas territory against the Missourian faction, they were able to say with satisfaction: "The end crowns the work." They had carried their undertaking to a successful issue within six months, and had found leisure to assist in the defense of Lawrence, as well as in the negotiations arising therefrom; and there were none who could say that they had omitted one duty which it devolved upon them to do, or had shirked one danger on account of their manifold labors. There were some who inquired why the constitution had not been submitted to congress as soon as it had been pronounced upon by the people in December? but when it is borne in mind that the house of representatives was not organized by the election of a speaker until the end of January, 1856, after a nine weeks contest, which ended in the choice of a man upon whom the free soil men could entirely rely, there was no cause to complain of the wise discretion which had been used.

The murder at Easton and the necessity to conciliate the free soil forces in that quarter, to prevent the proslavery Missourian faction driving every free soil settler from his dwelling, had taxed the energies and the time of the executive considerably, bringing their proceedings down to the date when the legislature was about to assemble; and when only a few days more would suffice to enable the members of that body to add their memorial to congress to the constitution, which remained to be submitted, it was thought best that the completed work and the evidence of the perfected organization should be forwarded together; so that the friends of the free state movement could answer the sneers and insinuations of the dominant faction as to the lawlessness of Kansas, by pointing to the best possible proof that the settlers who were maligned, and who had been almost trampled upon, were a law abiding, intellectual class, capable of well wielding

the powers with which they ought to be endowed. It was now beginning to be evident to careful observers, that the reign of the democratic party was drawing near to its end, and that the people, the great mass of the community which holds aloof from party organizations, were dubitating whether the great thought which had been made to live and move in the old organization by the patriotism and the genius of Thomas Jefferson, had not long since died. The balance of power, which had been held for so many years in the house of representatives, had gone out of the hands of the democracy, and in the senate, brutal violence rioting almost unchecked, was giving a fatal indication, that in the growing weakness of the better thought, the worst features of party existence were assuming direction. Under such circumstances delay might help the men of Kansas, and could hardly injure them, when their friends were improving their position every hour.

The costs of the Wakarusa war were found to have slightly exceeded $4,000, in addition to the sum expended after the return of Gen. Schuyler from the east, hence the amount of scrip to be provided for by the state legislature showed a total of $15,266, bating a few cents. That amount would have been provided for in due course, according to the promise contained in the Topeka constitution, but the first state government could not survive the difficulties with which it gallantly struggled, and eventually the scrip became of no value in the market; but the men who had bought it had not gone into the venture for the sake of pecuniary gain; they had given freely from their means to sustain a gallant struggle, and they were more than repaid by the event. The members of the first free state legislature in Kansas were men of intellect and courage, and their names will live in history; without that record the history of the conflicts of 1856 would be incomplete, and they are given in this place for more convenient reference.

Senators. — Adams, J. M. Cole, J. Curtis, J. Daily, — Dunn, L. Fish, P. Fuller, J. C. Green, B. Harding, G. S. Hillyer, H. M. Hook, J. M. Irvin, D. E. Jones, S. B. McKenzie, B. W. Miller, J. H. Pillsbury, J. R. Rhaum, T. G. Thornton, W. W. Updegraff.

Representatives. — S. N. Hartwell, J. B. Abbott, John Hutching-

son, H. F. Saunders, James Blood, C. Hornsbury, E. B. Purdam, J. McGee, M. C. Dickey, W. R. Frost, W. A. Sumnerwell, S. McWhinney, S. T. Shores, S. R. Baldwin, David Rees, D. W. Cannon, Isaac Landers, J. M. Arthur, H. H. Williams, H. W. Labor, A. B. Marshall, J. D. Adams, T. W. Platt, Rees Furby, B. H. Brock, John Landis, E. R. Zimmerman, W. T. Burnett, L. P. Patty, F. A. Minard, Isaac Cady, Thomas Bowman, J. Brown, Jr., Henry Todd, J. Hornby, Abraham Barre, Richard Murphy, William Hicks, B. R. Martin, William Bayliss, J. W. Stevens, J. K. Edsaul, S. J. Campbell, S. Goslin, H. B. Strandiford, Isaac B. Higgins, T. J. Addis, D. Toothman, William McClure, J. B. Wetson, William B. Wade, A. Jameson, A. D. Jones, William Crosby, S. Sparks, R. P. Brown, A. Fisher.

Congressional action during December and January, 1855-6, became of great moment to the settlers in Kansas. Nine weeks were consumed in ineffectual ballotings before the house of representatives could organize by electing a speaker, and at length, when it had become apparent that there was no party in the house strong enough to obtain an absolute majority of the members present, it was resolved to end the deadlock which was injuriously affecting public business, by allowing a plurality of votes to carry the sense of the house. The result of that movement was, that Mr. N. P. Banks was chosen speaker, and in that fact, a man well known to Massachusetts, and in every way worthy of trust by the freesoil party came to the front. In the house the popular party had obtained control, and were not to lose their ground again until many years had passed away. In the senate there were savage attacks upon men because of their social position, or their want of social position, which were soon afterwards to degenerate into a form of brutality still worse, but the popular party were daily gaining ground. The house of representatives had for Kansas more interest, because to that body, the two delegates recently chosen in Kansas territory, Gen. Whitfield by the ruffians from Missouri border, and Mr. Reeder by the popular vote without the sanction of legal forms, must appeal for a decision. In the beginning of February Gen. Whitfield presented himself as a newly elected delegate, the forms of the house were complied with, the member was introduced, the cus-

tomary oath was subscribed, and the general assumed the seat. No sooner had that process been completed than ex-Gov. A. H. Reeder announced in proper form his intention to contest the position, and so well was the case laid before the house, that instead of the customary handing over of such matters to be dealt with by a committee on the spot, a special committee of three was appointed on the 19th of March, armed with all the powers of the house itself, with summoning officers and clerks sufficient for every purpose, and with a sufficient appropriation to cover all the outlay necessary during a journey of two thousand miles to the scene of disturbance, and a full investigation into all the statements made in the process served by Mr. Reeder. The men forming that potential body were not limited by questions of dry law; they were competent to look into the equities of the case under consideration, to call for persons and papers, to administer oaths, and to compel the attendance of witnesses. Although the claim made by Mr. Reeder was the beginning of the investigation, the committee were not limited to that question, but were fully authorized to examine into and report upon "the troubles in Kansas generally," touching all elections under the organic law, "and under any pretended law." The scope of the inquiry and the powers of the court were alike as full as the occasion might require, and should there be manifested at any point a design to intimidate and overawe the members in the execution of their duty, the president was requested by the house to cause military aid to be afforded, sufficient to enable them to pursue their investigation unmolested. This was a new feature in Kansas experiences. Men of the Lecompt class might be influenced, if not intimidated into acquiescence or vigorous participation in the schemes of oppression, but this committee could not be reached by any mechanism known to the Missourian faction. The press in the border towns of Kansas might be broken and cast into the Missouri, so that men feared to say the thing which lay nearest to their hearts, lest the result should be not only a ruffianly assault, but the destruction of the means whereby a livelihood could be procured and further good work accomplished for the cause; but in the movements of this committee the presses all over the union would be set to work, and the records of crime

which had been systematically denied in one place, while boasted of in another, would find currency all over the world, to the disgrace of the men and parties who had lent their countenance and support to such abominable proceedings. There was no time lost in preliminary business; there was urgency in the business, and before Gen. Atchison and his party were quite sure that the spring had set in, the committee were at their labors in Lecompton. The committee nominated by the new speaker of the house, consisted of Messrs. John Sherman of Ohio, Wm. A. Howard of Michigan, and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri. They commenced their sittings in Lecompton, April 18, 1856, and the two delegates who were present were requested to give the committee their assistance in fathoming the truth, by making such suggestions as were likely to prevent a wrong statement going uncontradicted. Witnesses named by them were subpœnaed by the committee, and the public papers likely to affect the case were duly copied. From Lecompton, the committee adjourned to Lawrence, where the work went bravely on, and from that point to others all over the territory, until four months had been spent in procuring evidence which supported, among other "facts and conclusions" now slowly coming to the light, such results as justified the committee in saying, "that each election * * had been carried by an organized invasion from * * Missouri." "That the alleged territorial legislature was illegally constituted * * and their enactments * * void. That these laws had been used for unlawful purposes." That Gen. John W. Whitfield's election was not valid, and that the election of Andrew H. Reeder "was not held in pursuance to law," but that Mr. Reeder received more votes of resident citizens than Mr. Whitfield. It was also evident to the committee that no election could be fairly held without "a new census," a stringent, well guarded election law, "impartial judges," and "United States troops" in every precinct; and that the constitution submitted to congress "embodied the will of the majority." The committee did not give satisfaction to Missouri, but they had not been appointed for that purpose; they had succeeded in finding the truth and they gave it to congress and to the world in more than three hundred depositions, with numerous documents, filling more than twelve hundred octavo pages.

Many parties had joined to procure the nomination of that committee, some believing that the free state men would be found as much to blame as the border ruffians; others thought there had been much exaggeration; the abolitionists having faith in their friends, wanted the whole truth to be made known; and the general public acquiesced in the nomination as a step toward the realization of justice. There was, of course, a party which had fought the inquiry step by step; they had nothing to gain by coming out into the daylight; and on a closely contested vote, in which 194 members were represented, the committee was only carried by a majority of eight. The facts of which the north had now become possessed more than justified all that the press had hinted in its occasional correspondence, but not one syllable of such confirmation would have been obtained if the proslavery party could have negatived the motion. They knew that when the truth became known, the beginning of the end would have arrived, and that unless in the meantime they could so arrange their forces as to defy public opinion, their chance of ultimate success was small indeed. Kansas was, and they knew it, the key to their position, and they were prepared to fight for victory to the bitter end. The facts were now patent to every reading man, and indeed to every man that walked the streets. The newsboys in the pursuit of their vocation shouted the main items of sensational matter as an incentive to the purchase of their sheets. Congress rang with the clamor of debate night after night, and editorial columns from such men as Horace Greeley demanded an answer to the question: "Would the free states submit to see a free colony dragooned to death by border ruffians because they dared to say that the area of slavery should not be extended?"

The men across the border had not been held back even during the time that the committee sat; they were now as near to madness as was consistent with their being outside the walls of lunatic asylums; they said that all their forbearance had been thrown away; their conduct became worse than ever. Congress had no longer an atom of their respect, the general government was beneath contempt when it could not prevent an exposure such as must now supervene, the union was no longer worth preserving, and against all the forces of earth and heaven, they would

bring the machinations of the nethermost pit to make Kansas a slave state at all hazards. The war became more bitter at every step. The policy of extermination was the only alternative that remained. The Missouri River had long been watched by gangs of men at Lexington and elsewhere to annoy and assault emigrants from the eastern states who might be so indiscreet as to attempt that dangerous passage; while the committee sat in the territory the system of *surveillance* was being carried on about forty miles from the territorial boundary, and of course evidence as to that fact was certain to reach the committee. A steamer having on board a quantity of rifles was detained at Lexington, the weapons seized as contraband of war, and the mob of Missourians armed with the property of other men. The idea was mooted in the press that the Missouri River should be regularly blockaded, and a political quarantine station established at Lexington, where every boat should be regularly searched for free state passengers and their weapons, and that no infectious papers should be permitted to pass that point. Neither mails, cargo nor persons should be safe against their most odious inquisition; and when the free settlers were thus cut off from being succored by their friends, there would be less difficulty in disposing of the settlements which were to be ridden down by the mounted riflemen and sharpshooters from the south. Immediately before the committee commenced their session at Lecompton, the Rev. P. Butler, who has been mentioned in these pages before, as being set adrift, after many indignities, on a cottonwood raft on the Missouri at Atchison, was once more seized by a mob in the same town, and subjected to innumerable insults, which ended in a mock trial and a sentence of hanging. The ruffians engaged in this exquisite sport were some of the chivalrous young men of the south recently imported in response to the cry, "we want armed men." The noncombatant clergyman was of course fair game on which to try "their 'prentice hands," so that they might earn their passage, their sustenance, and their bounty in land, by doing essential service to the cause. Having failed to "extend the area of slavery" by such enlightened proceedings, they next stripped the defenseless man to the waist, tarred and feathered him, and then

sent him on his journey with an assurance that he would be hanged should he ever again be seen in Atchison.

The Kansas committee submitted the evidence and their report to the house of representatives on the first day of July, 1856, and immediately after that event the committee on contested elections came down to the house with their recommendation that Gen. Whitfield should be unseated, and his opponent, the Hon. A. H. Reeder, be declared the sitting member. The resolution embodying the two propositions, was lost; but upon the question being divided, the house unseated Mr. Whitfield on August 4th, by a vote of 110 against 92. The pro-slavery party was one vote weaker than when the committee was appointed, and the popular vote was stronger by nine. The proposal to seat Mr. Reeder had a respectable minority of 88 in its favor, but it was negatived by 113. The tide had turned, but it moved slowly and it was something, that by the middle of 1856, a vote so strong as that could be obtained on that issue in the house. Stephen A. Douglas had been heard on his popular sovereignty nostrum in the senate, and had been answered with many withering rebukes, and the whole of the influence of Massachusetts, which printed and circulated more newspapers than the fifteen southern states, was being moved like the strength of one man against the tyrannous party which had stricken down with a coward's blow one of the ablest and truest men in the senate, and then had justified the outrage with such words as were even worse than the physical assault upon Charles Sumner. The year was bearing fruit, and the popular party was advancing steadily to the front.

CHAPTER XIII.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY.

(continued.)

EARLY KANSAS CONFLICTS — EVENTS OF 1856.

Free Settlers Helpless — Proclamation Working — Free State Sympathy — Mustering for Battle — Armed and Ready — Not Homes but War — Public Meetings — Lectures on Kansas — Judge Wood — Constitutional Obligations — One-sided Reciprocity — Southern Forces — Presidential Authority — Buford's Contingent — Homesteads and Slaughter — Mine and Thine — Taking the Oath — Southern Honor — Plan of Operations — Arrest and Prosecute — Wood and the Sheriff — Keeping Sabbath — Rescue Sought — Siezure of Tappan — Striking the Sheriff — Troops Demanded — Ten Soldiers — Col. Sumner's Courtesy — Punishing Contempt — Illegal Detention — Wood's Exit — Shooting Jones — Lawrence Denounces Assassin — Reward for Arrest — Sheriff Deputy — Continuous Arrests — Branson's Rescuers — Free Settlers at Bay — Troops Marching — Lawrence Environed — Kansas Investigators — Whitfield's Fears — Shannons's Discretion — Sumner not Wanted — Sumner and Robinson — Vindicating Lawrence — Arrest of Reeder — Pro-Slavery Hate — Congressional Privilege — Natural Rights — High Treason — Chief Justice Lecompte — Grand Batton — Arrest of State Government — Missourian Designs — Mine and Countermine — Defending Institutions — Arrest of Robinson — The Governor's Wife — Detention Unauthorized — Shannon a Tool — Prisoner in Danger — Reeder Escapes — Brown Captured — Sheltered by Love — Indicted for Treason — Marching to Lawrence — Ruffian Pretexts — Border Motto — Shannon Censured — Marshal's Proclamation — City Alarmed — Appeal to Governor — Border Coercion — Abandon Defense — Citizens Replication — Leaders Absent — Anarchy — Safety Committee — General Pomeroy — Submission — Discontent — Southern Chivalry — Depredations — Sergeant-at-Arms Imprisoned — Manifold Seizures — Terms for Surrender — Denial of Accusations — What do you Seek — Constituted Authorities — U. S. Marshal — The Reeder Escape — Conqueror's Taunt — Insolent Effrontery — Still Pleading — Visiting Shannon — Envoys Imprisoned — Troops Waiting Orders — Offer to Surrender — Deputation Arrested — Hideous Nightmare — Murder Reigns — Resistance is Rebellion — Col. Sumner's Duty — Doomed to Destruction — May 21, 1856 — Policy of Weakness — Southern Rights — Weeping not Fighting — President's Victory — Making Arrests — Sheriff Jones Commander — Pitiful Declaration — Surrender Arms — Submission or Bombardment — Cannon Abandoned —

Atchison on the Stump — *Delenda est Carthago* — Tenderness to Women — Final Orders — Army with Banners — Supreme Race — Subterfuges — Vengeance — Down with the Press — Flame Rising to Heaven — Work of Ruin — Writs Executed — Riot and Plunder — Killed and Wounded — Horse Stealing — Wearing the Spoils — Southern Disgust — Ruffian Rejoicings — Robbing Stores — Level Every Settlement — Shannon's Compliance — Harvest Endangered — Defense Inevitable — Reprisals — Free State Guerillas — Preserve Peace — Capt. Walker — $500 for a Head — Capturers Captive — Mercy Misplaced — Judge Wakefield Prisoner — Georgian Enterprise — Assaults and Mishaps — Feasting Shannon — Search for Weapons — Congressional Committee — Capt. Hemp — Leavenworth Order — Vigilance Commander — Warren D. Wilkes — Reign of Terror — How Long, O Lord! How Long!

THE free settlers in Kansas were now helpless in the presence of their enemies, not because they had not stout hearts and strong arms, as well as trusty weapons as of yore, when they had held the forces of the Missourian faction at arms length and dictated the terms upon which a pacification had been concluded; but the president's proclamation was doing the deadly work that was designed by its fabricators, and, in its letter and spirit, the free state men saw that they could only proceed with the vindication of their rights as citizens of the United States on Kansas territory by entering upon a contest with the whole force of the Union. Prudential considerations as well as patriotism said that they must bear and forbear greatly rather than be betrayed into a position so terrible as that. The sympathy of the free states, which was now steadily rising to fever heat, would have gone down to zero in a moment if it had appeared that there was a design to rise in rebellion against the general government, however mistaken had been the policy of Mr. Pierce, and their own feelings forbade one step in that direction. Supposing the conflict to continue, as it had commenced, between border ruffians and free soilers, there would speedily have been an end of the fight; nor would the addition of a few hundred or thousands from the southern states have been an insuperable difficulty, for the men from the eastern states and the north were mustering for the onslaught, armed and ready, in such numbers and with such enthusiasm as would have borne down the southern troops twice told, and the men who came at this era were not speculators seek-

ing investments, nor settlers primarily in search of homes, but men whose minds had been fired by the recital of the wrongs of their kindred and eager for battle in their behalf. There had been many public meetings held in the free states, and lectures on the condition of Kansas had aroused such interest in the movements of the resident population as must find an outlet in the abundant energies of the more warlike in every community. Many of the fighting men were settlers also, but the necessity for a struggle had for them a higher charm than the emerald green of the fertile glades in which they would make their homes, or lay down their lives, as the chances of war might determine. Judge Wood, not then risen to the office which entitled him to the appellation, had gone east after the Wakarusa war was over, because it was advisable to avoid an arrest for his share in the rescue of Branson, and he was one of the ablest lecturers on the wrongs endured in the territory. In April, 1856, he came back to his adopted city, bringing with him one hundred free settlers prepared to share the toils and the destiny of the colony. There had been no wrong done by him in rescuing Branson, for whom he had acted as an attorney, demanding to see the instrument under which the old man had been captured, but his absence from Kansas had been advised, because, in the then condition of the courts, neither law nor justice would be administered unless it suited the Missourian faction. The men that accompanied Mr. Wood on his return, and hundreds besides who were soon to join them in the land of their adoption, were of course powerless to help the cause which they had at heart, because of the one sided reciprocity established by the president, in which free state men must sit down meekly under oppression, and the pro-slavery party could enforce their usurpations under the name and form of law. The southern recruits were just as enthusiastic as their opponents, and there was nothing to damp their ardor. If they were in the wrong, they did not know enough to be aware of that discouraging fact, as they had been born and educated among slave institutions, taught to consider the ordination of negro bondage as God appointed, and accustomed to think the whole earth as only meant for slave plantations; moreover, they were reinforced at every point by the presidential proclamation.

In speaking thus of the men from the south, it must not be supposed that they were all so high toned as to care whether they were right or wrong, and many a southern gentleman saw enough of his comrades in his first campaign to determine him against any further participation in the difficulty. Many of the men who formed Col. Buford's contingent were such characters as no honest man would willingly associate with, attracted by mercenery considerations mainly, and looking more toward plunder than even to the warlike service for which they were not disinclined. The commandant of the force was robbed by his own gang before they arrived in the state of Missouri, and many of the border ruffians shrank from such disreputable company. Their ideas of *meum et tuum* were so lax that they did not even practice "honor among thieves." Their homesteads, should they be obtained, would speedily melt into whisky, and there was no danger of their becoming permanent residents in the territory, unless strong prisons were built for their accommodation. Before entering the territory, the Buford company were sworn on bended knees in a manner revolting and brutal, which would have made "Kirke's Lambs" shudder, black as they have been painted by Macaulay. But such items do not call for detailed statement, and their misdeeds will speak for themselves. Pending the commencement of active service these worthies were quartered in the border towns, and Missouri must have borne its daily cross with many shrugs of impatience and discontent. The other companies were variously composed of men who believed they were engaged in a holy enterprise, and others who sought nothing but free quarters in an enemy's country for twelve months, and the pay which would reward their brutality; with all the grades of character necessary to fill in between the two extremes. Now that the levies from the south were in position, it was necessary to move with such skill as that the forces of the Union should be neutralized, or compelled to act with the proslavery party. While Jefferson Davis remained secretary of war in the Pierce cabinet, there would be no uncertain sound from that quarter, but it was necessary to be wise as serpents, although they did not emulate the harmlessness of the dove. The territorial enactments, as we have seen, were oppressive in the last degree, as well as the work of usurp-

ers, consequently they were distasteful to free settlers, and it would be only necessary to enforce them in letter and spirit to evoke some show of discontent, sufficient to warrant a demand for a *posse comitatus*, failing to obtain which, the president's message, proclamation, and orders would suffice for every purpose of spoliation. The scheme was devised with devilish ingenuity, and its execution was worthy of a fiend. Old and trivial offenses were rehashed to justify arrests. Shortly after Mr. S. N. Wood's return to Lawrence, Sheriff Jones took him a prisoner April 19, 1856, for the old offense in the case of Branson, but a diversion was effected in the streets, Mr. Jones was disturbed in the execution of his duty, and Mr. Wood walked leisurely away. The sheriff went to Lecompton, procured a posse of four men and returned to the city on the Sunday following to arrest the men who had interfered with him. Men going to church were called upon to aid him in the execution of his self imposed duty, and when they went on to their places of worship their names were duly entered in the sheriff's book as guilty of contempt. The plot was working well. The search for Wood was of little consequence, except as a means of annoyance, but while it was onward, Mr. Tappan, who had also been in the Branson *escapade*, was seized without a warrant, and roughly handled by the officer. After satisfying himself that Jones had no authority to touch him, the gentleman assailed illustrated the force of a blow sent square from the shoulder, and the sheriff retired with more rapidity than grace. There was provocation enough now to warrant extreme proceedings, and a requisition was penned immediately for United States troops to aid in the arrest of nearly all the principal men in Lawrence. Gov. Shannon had now fallen back under the control of the Missourian party, and he complied at once with the demand. Under the circumstances, that officer was bound to do as he was requested, and Col. Sumner sent a detachment of ten men under a lieutenant to assist the sheriff. The detachment left Fort Leavenworth April 22, 1856, and at the same time the commandant sent to the mayor of Lawrence a very courteous note, informing him of the action taken, and counseling compliance with the laws, but expressing no opinion on the merits of the dispute.

The troops arrived on the following day, and six men were

arrested for having gone to church on Sunday instead of assisting the sheriff in arresting persons that he was unable to find. The citizens arrested should have been taken before a justice at once, but instead of that course being taken, they were lodged in custody, in violation of law, apparently in the hope of further exasperation affording greater scope for official tyranny. That night, while the sheriff remained in the tent of the dragoon officer, he was shot by some person, who succeeded in keeping his secret so well that it has never yet transpired. The injury was not mortal, but it provoked the citizens of Lawrence more than any other event in the war, as it tended to cast the blame of assassination over the whole settlement. There were few in the free settlers' camp that doubted that Mr. Jones had committed crimes of a deep dye against society, that deserved punishment, but no man had one word to say in defense of assassination. A public meeting was convened to give expression to the indignation of the community, and a reward of $500 was offered for the conviction of the offender; but no discovery resulted. An event more unfortunate for Lawrence could hardly be imagined, because it gave to the men across the border precisely such an excuse for action as they had sedulously endeavored to find. A deputy was appointed to carry on the sheriff's work, and arrests were now continuous. Numbers were seized on the pretense that they had contemned the authority of the sheriff, or refused to help him, and the United States marshal, a man from South Carolina, made himself conspicuous in such proceedings. The rescue of Branson was made the plea for innumerable processes, and the men threatened by these jacks in office sought refuge in the surrounding country, being hunted from place to place by the dragoons acting as the sheriff's posse. All this while the ruffians from across the border were marching upon the city. Before the shot was fired at the sheriff, the Delaware reservation had been occupied for several days by one company, and now the whole country was scoured by patrols on horseback, so that no man could enter Lawrence or leave it without being subject to an inquisition. The Kansas congressional committee were then sitting here, and Gen. Whitfield declared that himself and his witnesses were in danger, but the committee could not be induced to ad-

journ until the work at that point was completed. The environment of Lawrence having become known to Col. Sumner, that officer proceeded from Leavenworth to Lecompton with his whole command, to offer his advice and assistance to Gov. Shannon, and a simple acceptance of that aid by Mr. Shannon would have dissipated the war cloud at once; but the help which could be invoked so freely against the settlers was not wanted for their defense, and the military were now relieved from duty, except that the services of a small posse would continue the show of United States troops on the side of the faction, without endangering the success of their ultimate intentions. While near Lawrence, Col. Sumner wrote to Gov. Robinson, giving his views as to the course which should be taken, and the doctor replied, showing what had been done by the citizens to show their regard for law and order.

The continued presence of ex-Gov. Reeder in the sessions of the committee, where he examined his own witnesses and cross examined the witnesses of the other side with great acumen was an eyesore to his enemies, and he was subpœnaed to come before the grand jury of Douglas county. He was aware that his attendance upon the committee representing the highest court in the union, congress itself, was a sufficient answer to the summons of the grand jury, and he acted accordingly; for which act of contempt a writ was issued and Mr. Reeder was arrested in the committee room. The motive could not be questioned; the proslavery men had long hated the governor that would not be governed, the lawyer that could not be duped, and beyond all doubt he would have fared badly at the hands of the border party, who were now in force at Lecompton. When the copy of the writ was handed to him in the presence of the investigating committee, Mr. Reeder claimed immunity from arrest in his *quasi* congressional capacity, and as being cited to attend their inquiry; but the committee hesitated to assume a responsibility, about which there might have been room for doubt; although unquestionably the claim made by Mr. Reeder embodied sound parliamentary law, and showed much intimacy with the *lex et consuetudo parliamenti.*

The committee said neither yea nor nay, but Mr. Reeder was

much more decided, and the marshal, intimidated by appearances, finding the contestant delegate determined to try his "natural rights," where the law temporarily failed him, retired to Franklin without his prisoner. Chief Justice Lecompte had long been the brains of the territorial usurpers, and he had fulminated a project for a grand batton that should bring down the whole of the state government at one shot, as well as every other of the leading free state men in Kansas. The grand jury found true bills against every man presented for indictment, and of course a petit jury would have no difficulty in finding verdicts of guilty. High treason, usurpation, larceny, perjury, contempt of court; there was a charge to suit every case from Andrew H. Reeder through a long list to Gaius Jenkins. The design of the proslavery men was to arrest all the principal men identified with the state government, and then whatever became of the accusations, ultimately the government would be broken up, as the executive would be unable to carry out the duties devolving upon them. The scheme was to have been met by a countermine, and the state legislature was to have been convened at an earlier date to authorize the levying of state forces to defend the institutions recently organized; but the proslavery party succeeded in making many of their arrests, and the organization fell into hopeless wreck for the present. The state governor, Dr. Robinson, had been selected to visit Massachusetts and other free states, to ascertain what help would be forthcoming, as there would be plenty of time for him to go and come before the adjourned session would resume; and as there seemed to be some danger of the voluminous evidence taken by the committee of investigation being destroyed by a mob, his visit to the east was to be utilized for the conveyance of the depositions and other valuable documents to Washington. The doctor and his wife went down the Missouri river as far as Lexington, but at that point he was taken from the steamboat on some Missourian writ of *ne exeat*, and detained without any pretense of right until an indictment could be issued against him, many days later, and he was then brought back under a requisition from Gov. Shannon. Happily the documents forwarded by the committee were in Mrs. Robinson's custody, and she conveyed them to their destination. After his return to

the territory there was so much danger of the prisoner being murdered by the border ruffians that many of the leading men on their side constituted themselves his body guard in his temporary prison, lest he should share the fate which had befallen so many good men already. He remained in Leavenworth until June 1, when he was conveyed to Lecompton, where for the present we will leave him and see how the battle fares elsewhere. Ex-Gov. Reeder knew when he had defied the marshal and his warrant, that his days could not be long in the land, unless he escaped from Kansas territory without delay. For a short time he remained in the neighborhood of Lawrence, and then struck for the Missouri river as his best chance. All the border towns were guarded, and the steamboat landings had a numerous picket on the watch for the enemy, far down the river; but, disguised as an Irish laborer, with an axe, that might prove serviceable, upon his shoulder, the man they most wanted sauntered through their ranks, and had the satisfaction to learn that he was an object of solicitude to many hundreds. Taking a deck passage by steamboat, Mr. Reeder passed down the river in safety to St. Charles, forty-five miles above St. Louis, and, disembarking there, he had no difficulty in crossing the country to Illinois, well pleased for a time to be out of Kansas, and more resolved than ever to fight the common enemy. While Mr. Reeder was in Kansas City waiting for a steamer, the editor of the "Herald of Freedom," who had been absent from the territory for some time, returned to that point on his way to his home in Lawrence. He joined Mr. Jenkins here, who had been the ex-governor's escort, and the pair set out for home on horseback. They were arrested and held in custody for many days, being conveyed to Westport as prisoners. Their wives having learned what had become of them, proceeded to Westport, Mo., to share their captivity, and it has been shrewdly guessed that but for the affectionate zeal with which their better halves watched over them, the captives would have fared much worse in duress. There were times when the violence of the so called guards could with difficulty be restrained from murder; but some rudiments of gentler training seemed to hold them back from the committal of their worst deeds with women as spectators.

The indictment for treason against the leaders of the Free State party set forth, as the finding of the grand jury of Douglas county that Andrew H. Reeder, Charles Robinson, James H. Lane, George W. Brown, George W. Deitzler, George W. Smith, Samuel N. Wood, Gaius Jenkins, late of the county of Douglas, had intended "to levy war against the United States with a great multitude of persons," with much other such matter too piteously stupid for reprinting, but at the time a most malicious and not by any means stupid production; the treason being of course a quality that the accusers in these instances could and did subsequently supply until the market was glutted. Having disposed by arrest and dispersal of the leading men from whom a wise and vigorous defense of Lawrence might have been dreaded, and having arrayed on their side enough of the United States troops to give a show of authority from the general government, for all their subsequent proceedings, while as we have seen the command under Col. Sumner had been declined lest his influence and authority should have restrained the vicious purposes of the assailants of the Free State party, the Missourian faction now began to march upon Lawrence with fell intent. The failure to arrest Mr. Wood had been availed of to bring the new levies from the south into Kansas, and of course the shot that wounded the sheriff served every purpose that the proslavery party desired. Much as they appreciated the services of that official, they would have been willing that he should have been mortally wounded rather than that they should lose so excellent an excuse for seeking their revenge on Lawrence. "The total destruction of the Union" was said to be a small price to be paid for "levelling Lawrence," and judging from the subsequent action of the men that made that statement, their description of their own feelings may be implicitly believed. The border motto was to be "War to the knife and no quarter," an excellent show of courage on the part of men who had just succeeded in disabling the effectives among their opponents by a cowardlike use of sham legislation. Gov. Shannon was freely blamed for having invoked the aid of United States troops when men so brave as the Kickapoo Rangers were ready for militia duty and to settle all difficulties with abolitionists. The United States marshal suddenly became an au-

thority on all affairs pertaining to the territory, and seeing that so much success came from proclamations, he tried his skill in the same direction, and sent the document freely through the border counties of Missouri, calling upon "law abiding citizens of the territory" to muster at Lecompton in numbers sufficient to enforce the laws. The marshal knew where the citizens that he wanted could be found, hence it was only accident that the people of Lawrence became aware of the incendiary manifesto. That document was dated May 11, 1856. On the same day the men of Lawrence alarmed by the frequency of the depredations of the southerners and the hostile array that was surrounding the city on every side, addressed the governor pursuant to a resolution adopted by a public meeting on the evening previous, informing him that it was believed that guerrilla parties had been formed in Missouri to destroy their town and its people, and praying for protection by the United States troops under his orders. The answer displayed in the boldest characters the border ruffian inspiration which now controlled Mr. Shannon. The force of which the citizens complained was only the largely constituted posse of the United States marshal and of the sheriff, and he would not interfere with those officers. As long as Lawrence remained armed and organized, he left the town to the consequences; as though there had not been special provision in the United States constitution that every citizen might possess arms without in any degree sacrificing his claim to all the protection of the constittued authorities. This answer was dated May 12th, and the following day the marshal's proclamation was reviewed by the citizens in a terse and vigorous way, such as the untruthful document deserved. The absence of the men who in the former trouble had assumed the direction of affairs was now severely felt, and anarchy was perceptible where hitherto the greatest unanimity had always prevailed. The old committee of safety had been broken up, but a few of the members remained, and they, seeing that they must fight against United States forces, if they moved at all, counseled submission.

Gen. Pomeroy, who had been absent in the east for sometime, returned just as a new committee of safety had been elected, and the new body coincided with their predecessors in the conclusion that

the responsibility of the situation attached to the general government, and consequently their policy must be nonresistance, let the consequences be whatever they might. A condition of things so shameful could not continue, and it required no small amount of constancy to recommend submission, but placed as the citizens were, there was no other course open, without seeming to incur the guilt, and certainly incurring the odium of rebellion. The people demurred with much spirit, but that line of conduct was carried out. There were many proposals by way of modification, but the time wore on and nonresistance remained the only course open to the community. The sturdy fighting men, who could not remain in the town while such dishonoring conditions were being adopted, left Lawrence, and were ready, should any change of policy supervene, to come to the rescue with such force as they could command. The companies from other towns which were already marching to the rescue were warned to return whence they came, but the Wakarusa company would not be warned back, and they stood ready for action all the time. The U. S. Marshal's proclamation reached the "law abiding citizens" for whom it was intended, and they came by hundreds like comorants scenting carrion, to flock round the standard at Lecompton. The Platte county riflemen, under their distinguished commanders, the chivalry of the south, recruited from almost every jail in the union, *Chevaliers d' Industrie* from their birth, and not a few good men who were now to see for the first time, the type of humanity with which they were brigaded, came to the call of the representative of constituted authority, to compel the defenseless people to submit to terms which no conqueror in his senses would offer to sane men. In a few days the morals of Buford's contingent seemed to have pervaded the whole host; nothing was safe from pilfering fingers, and while the common soldier stole without disguise, the more gentlemanly officer "pressed into the service" all that he coveted of his neighbor's goods, but in the end it made little difference whether property was requisitioned or merely robbed. The assistant sergeant-at-arms of the investigating committee was some time a prisoner among the legions, but was at length allowed a pass by way of compliment to congress. Muskets, provisions of all kinds, and men were

seized, and when citizens declined to stand upon the first order, they were rained upon by bullets. A delegation to the U. S. Marshal asked for terms that would allow of that official entering the town unaccompanied by the regiments with which John Falstaff would not have marched through Coventry, and that grandiloquent official gave as his ultimatum that every man against whom there was a warrant should be surrendered, that all munitions of war should be given up, and that the citizens should pledge themselves to obey the territorial enactments in every respect. The conditions were the occasion of a letter from the citizens, denying all charges of disloyalty, but calling attention to the proclamation circulated on the other side of the border, and definitely asking what was sought by such an armed force as the marshal had gathered together. The citizens appealed to the constituted authorities of the union to defend them against such hostile designs as were freely spoken of by the *posse comitatus*, and once announced their willingness to render all proper aid in any legal process. The reply of the marshal could hardly have been more pompous in its tone had the Czar of all the Russias been the writer. The fact of Mr. Reeder's escape figured as a charge against Lawrence. The conqueror by anticipation taunted his suppliants as one holding the power of life and death would not have done, and the whole communication was a finished specimen of insolent effrontery. The citizens wrote again, calling the marshal's attention to the depredations committed by the posse ostensibly called together to enforce the laws, but no answer was vouchsafed to that letter; it was indeed unanswerable. The citizens strove to move the governor to some action which would call United States troops to the front, instead of the ruffian horde, but that gentleman was implacable. Their envoys sent to him were detained and subjected to numberless indignities. An offer was made that if Col. Sumner would encamp with his force in the vicinity, the citizens would surrender all their arms into his keeping, to be returned after the marshal should have made his arrests.

The congressional committee was appealed to, but they were of course powerless in such a case; they could only note the facts for future action. Col. Sumner was personally kind and just, but

his hands were tied unless the proper authority called for his interference. The offer to surrender their arms *pro tem.* to Col. Sumner was at one time listened to, but when the delegation, after being for some time held as prisoners, returned, the citizens were told that their arms must be given up to the marshal or to the governor, or else the alternative was war. Murder was now in order. A young man carrying provision to his mother's house was shot without one syllable of provocation, by the marshal's "law abiding citizens;" some boys, going to the spot where the young man was killed, were fired upon and one of their number murdered, and still in spite of an indignation which almost defied control, the policy of nonresistance was maintained; and every modification that pointed toward a demonstration in force was resolutely voted down. There was no hope for Lawrence save in the intervention of United States troops, but the commandant, Col. Sumner, could not depart from the strict *role* of duty, which left him under existing circumstances no discretionary power whatever. The fact that murders were being committed was matter for the civil government to consider, and his position did not entitle him to interfere unless the governor sent him a requisition. The city was doomed to destruction, and the press were already moving to accomplish their end. The morning of May 21, 1856, was the time named to commence the work of desolation, and before daylight the enemy was in the saddle, making the final dispositions for the advance. The sweet morsel of revenge so long anticipated seemed almost too delicious to be realized, now that the hour was at hand, and the assailants came on toward the sleeping town like men dreading an ambuscade at every step, or fearing that a mine would be sprung beneath their feet, to send them nearer to heaven than their deeds deserved. The same month and the same year saw Charles Sumner prostrated by a blow as cruel, in the presence of the supreme power in the United States, and in both cases the stroke recoiled upon the party which inflicted it with a vengeance which reminded men in after years that the sins of mankind, in the abstract as in the concrete, are sure to find them out. Preston Brooks committed what was denounced in congress "as a brutal, murderous and cowardly assault," and at that moment the air was filled with ru-

mors of a companion crime against a community: the leader of the party, Stephen A. Douglas, standing sponsor for both offenses, because of an ambition which blinded him to the misfeasances of his supporters. The men who led in these offenses are known but by their crimes, and the greater man who became their apologist failed in the very crisis of his fate, because of the faithlessness of the party for which he had sacrificed his duty to God and the race. The ruffians and their leaders would not be absent at such a time, when the policy of weakness had been forced upon their enemies. The southern forces were content to figure in many such triumphant scenes, if southern rights could be secured by the wrongs inflicted upon Kansas. There was little danger and no glory in such conquests over men whose hands were almost literally tied behind them, and over women who could weep but dared not fight, because they would have endangered the ultimate success of a cause which they esteemed more dearly than their own immunity from suffering. It was the president's victory they knew, although the gloating smile of triumph sat upon a thousand meaner faces, as though their prowess had made them conquerors. When the sun arose, Mt. Oread was in the hands of the foe and their flag floated over the city, and in succession the several positions from which, in a military sense, their weapons would enable them to command the city were occupied, the troops all the time playing at danger as though there was cause for fear from the silent inhabitants. Messengers and scouts sent into the city reported that perfect order prevailed, and an officer with ten men rode into the place, summoned the principal men to act as his posse, and proceeded to make arrests. That work being accomplished, the force was handed over to sheriff Jones, and that functionary assumed the command with a characteristic oration. The committee of public safety had subscribed a most pitiful declaration while the marshal's posse was at work in the city, promising in a manner reprehensibly abject, to obey the territorial enactments, and asking for safety under the flag of the union, but even that terrible humiliation was not enough; the sheriff rode into town in the afternoon and demanded at the head of an armed troop that all the weapons in Lawrence should be surrendered, allowing ten minutes for the completion of the work of disarma-

ment and stacking the rifles in the streets, to save the place from being cannonaded. At that point a stand was partially made, the cannon should be surrendered for the sake of peace, but the weapons that were private property should be held by their owners. The conditions thus insisted upon were accepted, and the great guns were unearthed from their hiding places. Some rifles were also handed over among the trophies of the victors.

There was a faint hope that the end of the abominable outrage had been reached, but no such idea prevailed in the camp of the Missourians and southerners. The great commander, Gen. Atchison, mounted the breech of a gun and made an inflammatory speech to the Kickapoo Rangers, declaring himself one of their number, glorying in the victory before them, which he in part accounted for, unintentionally, by saying that "the abolitionists did not dare fire a gun," and then after recognizing the fact of the peace which, so far as the citizens were implicated, reigned in Lawrence, he went on to define the several acts of wanton ruin which were to perpetuate their revenge. Printing presses were to be destroyed; the Free State Hotel was to be demolished, and they were to act as southern gentlemen; but if they found a woman carrying the arms of a soldier, they must trample her under their feet. The horrible profanity of the speech may well be left to the imagination, as it would soil the page of history. Nonresistance being rigidly adhered to by the citizens, the murderous instincts of their enemies were held in check, but the city could be dismantled. The final orders were given by Mr. Jones, in accordance with the programme laid down, and the terrible army with banners marched on under the several flags which formed the rallying point of each section; a motley crew of thieves and ruffians, who could scarcely keep their hands out of each others' pockets as they marched, followed a piece of bunting which proclaimed the supremacy of the white race, while another contingent more consistently ranged themselves behind a crouching tiger, and Southern Rights, as usual, flaunted over the throng of wrongdoers. The grand jury, when indicting men, had indicted buildings also, and as the men, wherever found, had been imprisoned without the idle form of a trial, so the edifices were now to be destroyed. The Free State Hotel, the Kansas Free State News-

paper office, and the Herald of Freedom were visited in succession. The presses and type were broken and destroyed, and part of the material carried to the river until the ruffians grew tired of drowning iron and lead; the books and paper in stock were torn and burned, and the Herald of Freedom office repeatedly set on fire. Cannon, planted in front of the hotel, battered its walls for some time, without producing any perceptible ruin, so powder was employed to blast the edifice, and when that charm failed, the assailants had recourse to incendiarism, in which they were naturally better skilled. The hotel was soon enveloped in flames, which mounted to the sky in mockery of eternal justice, while the factors of desolation rejoiced aloud in the ruin which they and the president had wrought. When the building was on fire beyond hope of rescue, the sheriff dismissed his posse in pursuit of individual gratification, with the announcement that the writs had been executed, and plunder followed demolition. The stores containing clothing were, of course, greedily sought, some contenting themselves with adorning their bodies and filling their pockets; others, who had been better warned, had wagons to enable them to steal in wholesale quantities, while much that could not be conveniently carried away was wrecked in pure malice. Before the conquerors retired, they set fire to Dr. Robinson's house, at the foot of Mount Oread, and by its flames the rear guard was illumiated as the ruffians returned to their camps to celebrate their exploit in drunken orgies. While the work of pillage was going on, one man gave chase to a retreating personage, whom he believed to be ex-Gov. Reeder, and the pursuer being unable to keep his saddle, fell and broke his leg in the service. That was the only man wounded in the inglorious sack of Lawrence, and one man was killed by a brick accidentally falling from the Free State Hotel, which he was assisting to destroy. Every kind of crime that long experience could devise found favor among the warriors at Lecompton, and the proceeds of robbery were worn in the camp with as much pride as the Indian finds in showing the scalps that he has taken; but horse stealing was the strong suit among the upholders of "law and order," the *Chevaliers d'Industrie*, in whose companionship the U. S. marshal emulated the glory of his leader, Franklin Pierce, the slayer of liberty by proclamation.

Many of the gentlemen from the south who had supposed until now, that they were taking part in a holy war, abandoned the enterprise, when they had seen how the cause they believed in was championed at Lawrence, but that was not an advantage to Kansas, because the worst elements were now unchecked by even a vestige of moral purpose. The groceries around the camp at Franklin were plundered, and Gen. Atchison passed through Lawrence in triumph at the head of the riflemen who were on their return to Platte county. It was not enough that one city had been sacked; the newspapers across the border deprecated a return home until every free state settlement had been leveled with the ground, or until the people now living therein had been driven out by the proslavery party. There had been a purpose declared long before, to scour the territory with mounted patrols, and prevent the fields from being cultivated; a work as baleful to the cause of freedom could be done by destroying the harvest, or by preventing it from being gathered, so there were bodies of troops left in the territory, in part under the command of Coleman, the Hickory Point murderer, who had once been nominally the prisoner of the sheriff and was now his comrade. The company that was engaged in robbing the mail bags, stopping wayfarers on the road, plundering wagons, and continuing the manifold depredations which have been before described, honored Gov. Shannon by assuming to be his sharpshooters, and the man who should have represented justice and the honor of the United States had not one word of censure for such misdeeds. There is a point beyond which submission is impossible, and that limit had been passed. United States troops were no longer in the field, and there was no earthly reason why men should not defend their own property from marauders. So, many of the men with arms in their hands, who had left Lawrence before the city was sacked, united with settlers in the open country to form guerrilla bands, which soon passed from the simple work of defense to the equally natural process of aggression upon the scoundrels who were ravaging the country. Reprisals became the order of the day, and it was soon apparent that the free state fighting men were more than a match for their enemies, but the settlements all over the territory suffered terrible devastations. Lecompton, the head

quarters of Mr. Shannon, was in hourly turmoil lest the free state party should demolish the dwellings of their enemies, and the governor, seeing his allies driven in confusion before the men whom they were about to exterminate, found that it was his duty to call in the aid of Col. Sumner. Troops were stationed at Lawrence, Topeka and Lecompton, to keep the peace, and the incompetent official once more breathed securely. Capt. Walker was one of the ablest of the guerrilla leaders that the troubled times brought to the front, and his name was somewhat famous in later days in the command of Union troops against the southern rebels. His head was valued at $500 by the Missourian faction then, but the day came when they would gladly have purchased it at a much higher valuation. Many schemes were elaborated to win the reward, but somehow the captain always knew the plans of his enemies in time to have his troop of friends around him, and occasionally the pursuers "caught a Tartar." Twelve men came to his house at midnight on one occasion, to surprise him in his sleep, and the stillness of death seemed to be only broken by their own stealthy tread as they rode up to the defenseless dwelling. Revolvers and knives were already in imagination flourished over the heart of the slowly awakening prisoner, when the reverie of the capturers was disturbed by a volley of rifle shots directed at their horses. There was a mad rush to escape, and one of the marauders with difficulty extricated himself from his dead horse, but there was no bridge of gold for a flying army, and two prisoners were secured by a second troop of defenders who had been posted in anticipation of just such a retrograde movement. Death at the nearest tree would have been a fit reward for such a ruffianly enterprise, but Capt. Walker and his friends dismissed the penitent captives on the following morning with a caution, and were rewarded by the rascals with a full description of the settlers whom they had recognized, so that there were many additional names added to the number already outlawed and constrained to fight for liberty and life.

Judge Wakefield, who was one of the defenders, and deserves honor for the fact, having learned that a writ had been issued for his arrest, started for the east to procure reinforcements, but he

was arrested and brought to Lecompton, where he soon regained his liberty. In one instance, where a party of Georgian horsemen had assailed a house on Washington Creek, the occupant and his friends fortified the position as well as they could and fought like men. The attack had been seen and notice was given to the troops at Lawrence by a lady living in the neighborhood. Four dragoons were dispatched to the seat of war and some of the free state party rode with them, but the assailants retired when the reinforcements hove in sight, and the party from the city, riding up to the dwelling, were fired upon by the brave defenders by mistake. Two of the rescuing party were wounded and two horses killed in a twinkling, and it was not until the next day that the misunderstanding was explained. The times did not warrant men-at-arms in approaching a detached dwelling without ceremony. South Carolina, the state that reelected Preston S. Brooks with *eclat* after his assault on Mr. Sumner, had now obtained complete control of Mr. Shannon's conscience, and the men from that state could mold him to any purpose. They flattered him as though he had been Phillip the Great, and feasted him like Sardanapalus, and, in return, the more than Macedonian marched through the territory at the head of a party, searching for arms with a delirium of zeal that was not always due to mere enthusiasm. The congressional committee adjourned from Lawrence soon after the Reeder difficulty, the work in that city being ended, and subsequently they assembled in Leavenworth; but they had never been popular among the Missourians, as was natural, considering the fight which their friends in the house of representatives had made against an inquiry, and they had grown in disfavor with every sign of vigor in pursuit of the truth. This had been well understood before the documents and depositions collected by the committee had been entrusted to Mrs. Robinson for conveyance to the east, and there were now many manifestations on the part of the ruffians, that only a pretext was wanted to embolden the mob to break up the sessions of the terrible tribunal, destroy the accumulated evidence, and take the consequences. Lawrence was sacked on May 21st, and soon afterwards the military force at the fort was distributed over the territory by Mr. Shannon's requisitions; on the 26th of that month,

the "law abiding citizens" that had sacked Lawrence under the eyes of the United States marshal were assembling in Leavenworth in considerable numbers, and a "reign of terror" was sought to be established there. The Missourian committeeman was of course understood to be on the side of his own state, but the two others, Messrs. Sherman and Howard were warned by "Capt. Hemp" by a notice served on them by affixing it to the door of their room, that they could no longer sit there unless they changed their "obnoxious course." Two days later, the "Leavenworth Herald," a pro-slavery organ, gave publicity to the suggestions of the Missourian press, that every free state settlement must be abolished, and meetings were called in which resolutions were adopted to carry out that design. A vigilance committee was nominated, the command entrusted to Col. Warren D. Wilkes from South Carolina, and the names of all the prominent free state residents handed over to that gentleman, with instructions that they should be compelled to quit the territory. Mr. Conway, one of the clerks of the Kansas investigating committee, was arrested, among others, by the zealous commander, who paraded the streets in ridiculous state at the head of the Kickapoos and a band of southerners, and arrested everybody that was named in his list and could be found. The arrest of the clerk was denied, but the seizure continued until thirty men were in durance vile, and at night many of the prisoners were permitted to escape on theirl parol engagement that they would finally abandon the territory. Thus the war of extermination was waged against the little band in Kansas, which represented the advancing thought of the age, and the men in high places were on the side of the oppressors, until thousands all over the land as they heard of the wrongs which were being perpetrated in the name of South ern Rights, cried out in the agony of their inaction, "How long, O Lord, how long" shall Thy vengeance against the persecutors of Thy people be stayed?

CHAPTER XIV.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY
(continued.)

THE "JOHN BROWN" WAR—EVENTS OF 1856-7.

Rock Foundation — Blood Will Tell — John Brown — Military Career — Detroit Surrender — Religious Enthusiasm — Noble Progeny — Gerret Smith — Among Negroes — Kansas Home — Abolitionist Zeal — Marching On — Arms and Men — Oratory — Against Slavery — Harper's Ferry — Funds and Weapons — Southern Kansas — Deeds not Words — Faith in God — Rescued Slaves — Young Brown — Sacking Lawrence — Ossawatomie — — Bell Eviction — Starving Family — Insolent Tactics — Extermination — Fighting Men — The March — Shibboleth — Reprisals — Proslavery Victims — Reaction — Fresh Troops — Dispersal — Shannon's Sharpshooters — After Brown — Captain Pate — Prisoners Shackled — Insanity — Encampment — Palmyra — Drugged Preacher — Riotous Plunderers — Prairie City — Armed Worshippers — "Old Brown" — Hunting Missourians — Combined Forces — Brown and Shore — 26 to 50 — Cross Fire — Ruffians Retreat — Shooting Prisoners — White Flag — Demanding Pate — Unconditional Surrender — Brown's Camp — Buford's Company — Lecompton's Surprise — Failed to Connect — Recovering Plunder — Cannon Recaptured — Bull Creek — Approaching Palmyra — Governor's Order — Sumner's Force — Deputy Marshal — Hickory Point — Guerrillas — Brown Captured — Entrenched Force — White Feather — Merciful Captors — Pate Censured — Brownites Disperse — Whitfield's *Congé* — U. S. Camp — Punic Faith — Cantral Shot — Prisoners Murdered — Ossawatomie Sacked — Major Sedgwick — Defenseless — Ruinous Devastation — Rogues March — War Prevailing — Missouri Pirates — Robbing Immigrants — Purloining Clothes — Traitors Death — Hang Abolitionists — Food Wanting — Eastern Solicitude — Congressional Report — Doubts Resolved — "Kansas Aid" — Mr. Beecher — Buying Rifles — Wabaunsee Colony — New York — Illinois — Wisconsin — Free States — Free Kansas Friends — National Committee — Stores Intercepted — Arms, Money and Men — Boston Relief — Prophetic Armament — Presidential Campaign — Furore — Ruffian Portraiture — Kansas Refugees — Congressional Art — Southern Reinforcements — Lying and Relying — Taxing Friends — More Troops — State Legislature — Strengthening Topeka — Road Inspectors — Popular Convention — Leaders Absent — Robinson's Deputy — Shannon Commands — Disperse Traitors — Sumner's Dragoons — Woodson's Hope — Special Session — Divergent Views — Regular Session — Remonstrance

— Woodson & Company — Territorial Staff — Government by Proclamation — People's Meeting — Marshal's Blunder — Obliging Bystanders — Fourth of July — Hail Columbia — Day we Celebrate — The Declaration — Calling Roll — Sumner's Speech — Must Disperse — Painful Duty — Obeying Orders — Marshal's Brag — Dispersed.

WHILE the governor and the committee of safety were arranging the details of the first pacification, John Brown and his four sons were among the defenders of Lawrence, and they were so resolute against concession of any kind to the enemy, that it was necessary for Dr. Robinson to assure the courageous crowd that no conditions committing them to obey the territorial enactments were included in the treaty before Mr. Shannon and the representatives of the free state party could go to the Wakarusa camp. The old man and his sons were "rock rooted" in the best sense. Their ancestor was one Peter Brown, a sturdy pilgrim that landed on Plymouth Rock from the Mayflower on that day in December, 1620,

"In the Old Colony days in Plymouth, the land of the Pilgrims,"

concerning which Longfellow has sung in matchless numbers in "The Courtship of Miles Standish." Peter signifies a rock, and of such materials the Brown family were compacted. There was a regular succession from that Peter to represent the family in every trial through which the colony of New England passed from Dec. 22, 1620, until the revolution of 1776, when one of the noble stock died in the service, captain of a train band near New York City. Twenty-four years after that event, the grandson of the revolutionary sire, John Brown, who was to die for his courage displayed at Harper's Ferry and elsewhere, was born May 9, 1800, at Torrington, Conn. Blood will tell, and the child had come of good stock on both sides. His mother's father was one of the men of '76. Soon after Ohio had been admitted to the Union, the father of John Brown moved his little family into that state, where he settled in 1805, and during the Indian–British war of 1813, Owen Brown was engaged in procuring supplies for our army. The boy John accompanied his father on his expeditions, so that he was not without insight as to military matters; but the conduct of Gov. Hull, at Detroit, in tamely submit-

ting to the enemies of the Union, gave a special tincture of disgust for cowardice to the whole of his after life. Had he remained in Connecticut he would have been well educated; but the removal to Ohio, a state only three years admitted to the Union, when he was five years old, robbed him of many school advantages. Three years after leaving Torrington his mother died, and that deprived him of the best teacher that childhood knows, just at an age when training was most important in the formation of character. The boy's fondness for his mother became one of the dearest memories in his career; and she was, there can be no doubt, an admirable woman. Religious enthusiasm was the substratum of the character thus being formed by toil and privation, and it continued to manifest itself in every crisis of his life. He had learned the trade of a tanner, but his design was to enter the church; and but for his eyes failing him while he was preparing for college, it is tolerably certain that he would have been an effective Congregational preacher. Resuming his old avocation and becoming a farmer, he was twice married, and twenty children were the noble progeny that were in part left when two of his sons with himself were sacrificed for their zeal on behalf of the slaves in Virginia, in Charlestown, Dec. 2, 1859. Business vicissitudes in 1849 left him penniless; but Gerret Smith, to whom the abolitionist proclivities of the veteran were known, gave him a piece of land in New York state, in the Adirondak mountains, where he made his home for some time. The settlement in which Brown then lived consisted in part of negroes befriended by Mr. Smith, and his family made their home there to the end. When John Brown was executed, his remains were buried in the graveyard there. The wool trade, in which he again embarked in 1851, took him to Ohio, and he remained there for about four years; but, in the year 1855, when reports came back from the early settlers in Kansas that they were being tyrannized over and insulted by the border ruffians, the old man, now rapidly approaching sixty years of age, and having little more than four years of his career to run, turned his attention towards the territory. His four elder sons were among the earliest emigrants, arriving in Kansas in the spring of 1855, when the Pawnee legislature was chosen by Missourians. When the young men

saw that there must be fighting in the territory, they wrote home to their father to send them arms; and he, scenting danger, carried the weapons, together with his own harness, to the scene of the conflict. Thus it happened that he was in Lawrence with his young men when the treaty was made. Kansas was to be his home for the future, because he could see that for some years to come the warmest corner in the proslavery battle would be made in that location. He was "marching on" to the great purpose of his life, the war against slavery any where and at any cost. He was no holiday parade man, but a veteran always ready for the battle.

He went east in 1856, to detail what he had seen in Kansas, and his sons accompanied him, his object being to make the people understand how terrible the struggle must become. He was requested to detail his experiences before the legislature in the old Bay state, and he addressed that body in a vigorous oration early in January, 1857. Harper's Ferry was already in his mind's eye, and the weapons were ordered at this time which were eventually used in that adventure. Every movement of his life was now dominated by his desire to consummate abolition. At the antislavery conference held in Canada, he was the master spirit, but when it became more evident than ever that help was required in the territory, he used all the influence that he possessed to secure a troop of men sufficient to strengthen the settlers against southern aggression. Without funds and weapons, it was not possible to fight the battle successfully, and so large a proportion of the munitions of war sent from the east had been seized in transit by the enemy, that continued appeals had to be urged upon the friends in the free states. May, 1857, saw him once more in Ossawatomie, prepared by doughty deeds, as well as by spoken words, to testify his faith in the Lord of Hosts, who was to him essentially the God of Battles, by whose fiat slavery must be ended. It was from this point that he set out in 1859, upon the enterprise which has left his name imperishably written upon the page of history for his faith sake, and he carried with him there a number of slaves that had been rescued from their masters in Missouri. But we have to deal with the John Brown war in Kansas, and we must not wander too far

ahead of our theme; besides which, the concluding year of his career has been the theme of so many, and such glorious utterances by the world's great thinkers, that there is no need to trespass upon that territory. We are in Kansas, and the city of Lawrence is at the point of being sacked. Among the men marching to the rescue of the threatened city, we find Capt. John Brown, Jr., son of the old man, now absent in the east. Sixty men marched with him, but the policy of weakness prevailed, and they, with many others, were turned back from what might otherwise have been a sanguinary encounter. The city was sacked, the men were disbanded, and things were once again falling into old grooves, when the proslavery faction became possessed of the idea, as we have seen at Leavenworth, that every free settler must be driven out. Ossawatomie was one of the places chosen for the exhibition of that line of policy, and one of the settlers named Bell, who had come from Missouri to settle among proslavery men, was especially offensive; not for anything done by him, but because he, having lived in Missouri, had yet the indiscretion to avow free state opinions. He was compelled to leave the house he had been occupying, in spite of the sickness of his wife, and when he had gone to a distance to procure food for his homeless and starving family, he was seized and held a prisoner by the insolent foe, regardless of the peculiar circumstances of suffering, which were intensified by every hour of his absence. In addition to this instance of wanton cruelty, the Missourian settlers about Ossawatomie availed themselves of the absence of the free soil fighting men, to visit and insult their wives and families, giving them orders to quit the territory on pain of death. There may have been no deliberate intention back of all these threats, but there is abundant reason to be found in the tactics of the party elsewhere for the assumption, that every free settler would have been compelled to vacate his lot, if he could not defend it by his own right arm. This condition of things remained when "Old John Brown" returned from the east, and it did not tend toward softening his feelings against the proslavery party.

The belief was common that the whole settlement, and the Browns more particularly, would be destroyed by an act of sim-

ultaneous assassination, and there were very few that wished to sit calmly down and wait for the consummation. A council of war was held, and "Old John" advocated war on the instant. The majority inclined to bide the course of events, waiting for reinforcements and watching the enemy closely, but a small minority of nine, including the leader, declared for the arbitrament of the sword. It is not easy for us to determine which policy was the best. The younger Browns were not among those who followed the more impetuous leader, but the men who had chosen the more eventful career were soon heard from. The little army of observation determined, upon mature consultation, that certain men who were the leading spirits of the proslavery section, and had made themselves peculiarly conspicuous by their evil deeds during the Lawrence invasion, should be held responsible for the actions of their party, and if any indication appeared that the scheme of murder was to be prosecuted, they should be destroyed *instanter*, as a precautionary measure. On the 24th of May, 1857, during the absence of the leader of the little band, five men thus marked down as specially dangerous, Messrs. Sherman, Wilkinson, Doyle, and two sons of the latter, had committed outrages against the free settlers which pointed toward the speedy realization of the larger design, and the war policy determined upon in council was executed, the offenders were brought from their several dwellings and killed. The event was one of the shocking incidents of a warlike time, and it is not easy to determine where the blame primarily belonged. When Napoleon returned from his ill-starred invasion of Russia after Moscow had been burned, and when his army was nearly destroyed, he complained to his minister of police that some one had said the "assault upon the Czar was a crime." "Sire," replied Fouché, "It is worse than a crime; it is a blunder." Fouché was wise after the event. Apart from the criminality of this cold blooded line of conduct, it was a blunder, because it cooled the ardor of their own best friends, and in a corresponding degree it infused greater rage into the hearts of the dominant faction. But there never yet was a quarrel between two sections in a community where all the right was on one side, and all the wrong on the other. The constitution of humanity forbids any such phenomena, and the war in Kansas

was of a kind especially calculated to carry extreme men on both sides to their worst deeds. It is however only fair to the participants in these executions to say that old Capt. Brown, who was absent at the time, fully indorsed the action of his command when he returned, and it is probable that he knew more than will ever be told as to the provocation which he held to be sufficient. The border newspapers teemed with inflammatory appeals once more, there was a perceptible reaction within the territory itself against abolitionists, and the governor was importuned to supply every proslavery man with weapons, while many wanted all the United States troops that were procurable precipitated at once upon the offending district. Officers were dispatched with small detachments to Ossawatomie and to Pottawattamie Creek, to ascertain the facts as far as possible, and to disperse armed bodies of men, should any be found to have gathered. Capt. Brown with eighty men was found by one of the officers, and he, upon being ordered to disperse his force, did homage to the U. S. uniform by commanding his friends to repair to their homes. The lieutenant in command reported all quiet in consequence of that act of obedience, but there were parties not to be so easily contented.

After the sacking of Lawrence, one Capt. Pate, a Virginian, an editor and newspaper correspondent, remained in the territory in command of a troop of freebooters, who assumed the name of "Shannon's Sharpshooters," and were for some time a terror to peaceful travelers. The reports sent to the press by the gallant commander were as wonderful as the exploits of *Parolles* himself, but in reality his command were more dangerous to henroosts than to free state settlers when armed for defense. Mr. Pate had stayed in Kansas contrary to orders, after the sheriff's posse had been dismissed, because his command would cease when he crossed the border, and he hated to realize "*Othello's* occupation gone," with "all the pomp and circumstance of war." The correspondent would be a freebooter rather than relapse into private citizenship, so he remained ready to carry out any designs that might be suggested against the other side. The hoped for chance had come, he would capture Brown, and before anybody could suggest a doubt as to the success of a proposition so feasible, the dashing officer was at Ossawatomie, and had failed to find the

man of whom he was in search. The old man was absent, but he found two of his sons, made prisoners of them, put them in irons, burned houses, arrested any person that objected to his home being set on fire, and generally deported himself like a brave commander of irregulars, who wants to create sensational incidents, when there is no armed force to compel respect for property and life. The John Brown war had commenced in sober earnest, and May 31st found several Ossawatomie settlers being driven, handcuffed and ironed, from camp to camp, on their way to Lecompton. Two of the captives were John Brown, Jr., a member of the Topeka legislature, and Jason, his brother. But little time elapsed before the old man was made aware that his sons were in the hands of the enemy and that he had been inquired for. Perhaps it may have been politeness, or affection, or a mixture of both feelings, but he certainly became more anxious for an interview than Capt. Pate himself. The freebooter doubled and turned like a hunted hare, trying to recover its form, but the prisoners could not move quite as rapidly as he desired, and they suffered accordingly. Eventually the captives were handed over to Lieut. Wood and a detachment of dragoons, and conveyed to their destination, at Lecompton, whence they were transferred to Leavenworth, where young John Brown became insane. The town of Palmyra was the next point of attack for Capt. Pate; it was just as defenseless as Ossawatomie, and entirely taken by surprise. The troop came upon the place by night, enjoyed the privilege of plunder, took several prisoners, and among the rest an old and unoffending Baptist preacher, whom they bound, and then compelled to swallow a quantity of whisky which, except for such malicious purposes, they would not have spared from their own throats. Having finished their Saturday night's work at Palmyra on Sunday morning, they went next to Prairie City, about fourteen miles from Lawrence, a small village of about five hundred inhabitants now, but then with little more than a tithe of that number. Their success in the smaller village of Palmyra had given them confidence for larger exploits, and the villagers at church were astonished by the sounds of an armed force in the streets. It was a time when prudent men went armed, even to church, and unfortunately for the assailants the villagers did not

know that the troop was invincible, so they sallied out from their place of worship, made some few prisoners and drove the balance of the freebooters away in great disorder. The pursuer of Pate was now close upon his track, and on Monday morning news was obtained as to the whereabouts of the encampment of the pro-slavery men.

John Brown had formed an alliance with Capt. Shore of the Prairie City Company, and between them the two commanders could bring twenty-six men into the field, when they ascertained where the "spoil encumbered foe" was posted. The enemy numbered fifty, and being on the defensive, could use their wagons as a fortification, so that the odds were largely in their favor. The alarm was soon given that the attack was imminent, and the freebooters were drawn up behind their line of defense. The force of the assailants had been divided, and the warrior journalist was under a cross fire for which he was entirely unprepared. Five minutes of sharp firing dislodged the freebooters from their wagon fortress, but the prisoners were left in a tent exposed to the fusillade of their friends. One of the Missourians concluded that it devolved upon him to shoot the prisoners, who were lying flat upon the ground, so that the bullets of the attacking party whistled above them, doing no harm. Already a flag of truce had been sent to the assailants, asking for quarter, but pending the result of that appeal it would be perfectly safe to murder their own captives, who, being under fire, might be supposed to be killed by their comrades on the hill. Dr. Graham, who had been seized at Palmyra during the camissado on Saturday night, was to have been the first dispatched, but he made his escape and ran to join Brown's party, regardless of a few musket shots, one of which struck him in the hip. That made the murder of the rest too risky, when a surrender on any conditions was to be preferred to instant death, and punishment for such a crime would certainly follow. The firing lasted just three hours, when the Missourian force at Black Jack sent to pray for quarter from a force just half as large as their own, but free settlers have or should have always a marked advantage over freebooters. John Brown respected the white flag so far as to allow safety to the bearer, but he would not treat with any man except Pate, and that worthy being noti-

fled of the fact, speedily answered the demand in person. A graphic column for the "Missouri Republican" might have been written by its correspondent as to his own appearance in that fateful hour, but the powers of description, which revelled in hen roost victories, failed in the task of describing an ignominious defeat of fifty valiant troopers by twenty-six of the colonists. The surrender was unconditional, and Capt. Brown with a detachment of five men proceeded to the camp on Black Jack to receive submission, and more prisoners than all his party could have guarded but for reinforcements which now began to arrive from Lawrence, Franklin and elsewhere. The Palmyra plunder and prisoners, and all the camp equipage of the plunderers fell into the hands of their masters A fortified camp was established in the woods back of Prairie City, on Middle Ottawa Creek, and John Brown with his command was ready for all comers. The forces of the enemy were moving this way, and so were troops of supporters. Franklin was of course near at hand, little more than ten miles distant, and Maj. Buford with his company remained there ready for emergencies, and guarding the spoils obtained from Lawrence. When the mountain would not go to Mahomet, the prophet made a merit of necessity by going to the mountain, so when Buford did not seek his enemy, the free state men went in search of him. A few parties from Lawrence planned the attack on his force, but the Wakarusa contingent failed to connect, and the free state men blundered into the fight, each section fighting its own battle with an undivided force fully prepared for the assault. The result in spite of all disadvantages was in favor of the settlers, the smallness of whose numbers could not be ascertained in the darkness, and before morning Buford's men had abandoned their guard house with all their munitions and stores. The spoils of the victors embraced the cannon surrendered at Lawrence, and more of the goods which were stolen during the sack of that city than the free state companies could carry away, before the United States troops would be upon them from Lawrence, only four miles off. Bull Creek was the camping ground of a force organized under Gen. Whitfield, who failing to secure a seat in congress was glad to obtain a post. Palmyra was selected by him as a good point for operations with a force of three hundred men, including many

notables from over the border, because from his position there he could menace his opponents with much damage. Coleman, the murderer, was one of his council, and could give information as to the men who served in the opposing ranks, and the best way to distress them.

The pro-slavery men were uniformly worsted in every encounter, and it was time for their patron to come to the rescue, so Gov. Shannon issued a proclamation commanding a truce. All armed bands were to disperse, and Col. Sumner with his dragoons was commissioned to carry out the order. Arrests were to be made at the same time, and the deputy marshal accompanied the United States forces for that purpose. The proclamation prevented some of the free state men rallying with their comrades at Hickory Point, but a formidable company of more than one hundred assembled there to watch Gen. Whitfield, and to intervene effectively if his three hundred border ruffians should assail Palmyra. The two camps were about one mile apart. All the guerrilla leaders on the free state side were in the neighborhood, and their united forces made about two hundred opposed to about five hundred Missourians and their allies. On the 5th of June, 1856, Col. Sumner arrived near Palmyra and commenced his labors in breaking up the panoply of war. The free state men dispersed at the first order, because nothing would induce them to come into hostile contact with the forces of the Union. Capt. Shore was the first officer to disband his troops. Brown having communicated with the colonel, seeking an interview, was encouraged to come out of his strong entrenchment in the woods and made a prisoner; but he was not dismayed by that circumstance, having well grounded faith in the commandant. When he led the United States troops to his camp, they found twenty-seven prisoners guarded by fifteen settlers, in a position all but impregnable. The deputy marshal was the same personage that had once taken ex-Governor Reeder under a writ and allowed that gentleman to escape from a discreet regard for his own personal safety; he had come now with Col. Sumner under the pretense that he must make arrests, but his conscience was mastered by a sense of the possibilities, and he declared that he had no writs for the men around him, and John Brown and all his men were at liberty to

return home. The freebooter Capt. Pate was set at liberty with his gang, but Col. Sumner reprimanded the worthy commander for his misdeeds. Capt. Brown represented that he and his men were only acting in concert to save their homes and properties from the Whitfield party close at hand, but, upon the distinct promise that the enemy should be dispersed immediately, he and his friends went on their various ways to resume the industries of peace. The other camp was visited in good faith, and, upon an express engagement entered into by the congressional delegate of the Missourian faction, that there should be no further hostilities on his part, the colonel commandant went into camp near Prairie City for one night, and then returned to the fort. Gen. Whitfield was a man of his word, as it is believed that many prisoners were murdered by his force on the following day, and certainly a young free-state settler named Cantral was shot as a traitor to Missouri, because he had formerly resided in that state, and had since borne arms against slavery. The facts were witnessed by the free state prisoner Bell, whose case has before been mentioned, who was also an old Missourian resident, and had been captured when conveying food to his sick wife and homeless family. Col. Sumner would have rescued Cantral, but that he had faith in the promises of Mr. Whitfield, and perhaps that gentleman may have been overruled by comrades with less honor than himself. The invaders availed themselves of the absence of Col. Sumner to divide their forces instead of dispersing, and Ossawatomie was menaced with an attack. The commandant was certain there would be no hostile act, but, in the event of such an outrage being attempted, Maj. Sedgwick with a sufficient force was left in the locality; thus it happened that Ossawatomie was a second time defenseless in the hands of the enemy, and, after the departure of the major, the village was sacked, houses were burned, and the ruffians retreated precipitately with all the spoil they could carry away. During the whole summer such exploits were the order of the day, all the horrors of civil war prevailing in Kansas in addition to the outrages incidental to invasion, and the assailing force had only to cross the border or to come under the protection of United States troops, commanded by the Centurion Shannon, to be personally safe from repri-

sals. The rule of Mr. Shannon meant ruin for the territory. There was no house safe from midnight robbers and asssassins, who made partisanship their pretense for carrying on their depredations, and found safety in the governor's protection, unless they were suspected of free state proclivities. Men were shot down and robbed on the highway, women were overpowered and outraged in houses, woodmen procuring fuel for their families were hanged on the branches of trees which they would have felled, homes were attacked and set on fire in the night, so that women and children were left without clothing, shelter or food in the open prairies, harvests were destroyed in the field, burned in the granaries or left to perish upon the ground, so that food became scarce in the last degree all over the territory, and supplies sent from afar to succor the starving were taken by the pirates on the Missouri, or thrown overboard into the river. No men could enter upon an undertaking, however legitimate with a reasonable expectation of reward, and all the time new arrivals were reporting that they had been robbed on their way to the territory, deprived of money, weapons, clothing and food, and forbidden to proceed into the accursed land under the penalty of death. The evils of civil war ravaged the country, and all the time the forces of the union were compelled to serve on the side of the oppressors. The blockade of the Missouri was more complete than ever, and although the fact had been publisbed far and wide, Franklin Pierce had not even a proclamation that could be hurled at the offenders. The press of the Missourian party knew so well that there would be no action on the part of the chief executive, that a project was discussed in cold blood for hanging abolitionists trying to enter Kansas by the river highway, in order that the spectacle of a few boat loads, meeting the fate of traitors, should deter others from attempts of the kind. The spring of 1857 found famine prevailing all over Kansas, except among the Missourians, and according to all appearances the state of siege was going to be continued as long as the beleaguerment of Leyden, where for one year the Netherlanders resisted Spain, and for seven weeks the defenders were without bread before the Prince of Orange could come to their rescue. There was no lack of solicitude on the part of all classes

except the duly constituted authorities, but food, clothing, arms and reinforcements were all contraband of war upon the Missouri, and there was no force available to compel justice. The free states were being aroused to a pitch of bitterness never before realized, lecturers were traversing the country from city to city, bearing aloft the symbols of distress, and in no tame or insufficient way, describing the woes which must be relieved. Some of the men so engaged had fought for the side for which they were pleading, and money was readily procured to send aid to the sufferers. The incompetency and favoritism of Mr. Shannon were insisted upon in the press, on the platform and in congressional circles, but that procured no redress, because it only tended to convince Mr. Pierce and the senate with whom the appointing power rested, that they had given to their friends, the proslavery faction, a valuable ally. The congressional report had become public property in August, 1856, and during the whole winter the mass of evidence which accompanied the finding of the committee of investigation had been served up by the press, as well as commented upon in lecture halls, resolving the doubt of the community. It was idle for the other side to say that the evidence was not worthy of credence, for the committee had published the depositions of well known democrats as well as of whigs and free soilers, and many of the witnesses were men for whose veracity hundreds on every side were ready to swear. It became the fashion with one section of the people, and the passion with another, to form "Kansas Aid Societies," and meetings under such auspices were attended by hundreds of thousands. Some went because they had relatives engaged in the struggle from whom they had not heard for months, in consequence of the destruction of mails. Many more, because they were interested in the principle for which the emigrants were fighting, and not a few who sought only to gratify an idle curiosity, or to float with the stream, became fired by the recital of the occasion, until they would have fought Satan himself, to assist the oppressed. In such cases as well as in that desribed by Goldsmith, the orator realized that,

> "Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway.
> And fools, who came to scoff, remained to pray."

Henry Ward Beecher was one of the men whose voices were

being heard on the question, and his oratory thrilled his hearers everywhere; he was a man entirely in earnest, and he could answer for a daily increasing congregation in Brooklyn, as well as for many hundreds of thousands to whom his name was a household word. At one meeting in New Haven, Conn., where he lectured, contributions were collected instantly to purchase fifty rifles of the best description, and Plymouth church stood pledged for half as many more, irrespective of what individual members might give, for the outfit of the Wabaunsee colony, now flourishing as one of the most prosperous communities in Kansas. Wisconsin was represented in the movement by a great meeting in the city of Milwaukee, in which a quantity of arms was given and $3,000 in money, besides which every county in the state was organized to procure assistance. Companies were being raised and drilled to march into the debatable land, and determine the whole difficulty by skillfully propelled lead. Chicago, as usual, stood for Illinois, and when it was reported that some emigrants from that state had been robbed, ill used and turned back by the Missourians, there was a meeting held in the great metropolis, which within one hour contributed $20,000 to remove obstructions from the Missouri River. Other parts of the state were equally on the *qui vive*, and there was to be no dearth of treasure for carrying on the war which the south had wantonly provoked. When the free states held their conference in Buffalo, N. Y., Illinois was represented by three delegates, the other free states having one each, and a society was organized which collected and distributed money to the amount of $120,000, besides sending other material aid which was contributed by members and friends all over the free states. The meetings of the Directorate continued until January, 1857. Friends of free Kansas were becoming a considerable body, and in spite of all that could be done in the way of intercepting aid, Missouri had done more to increase the impetus of public opinion against the system of slavery, than all the abolition presses that had been at work since Benezet published his book on the subject in this country in 1762. Massachusetts had a society of its own which collected for similar purposes nearly $100,000 in money, besides arms, clothing and food in considerable quantities. This association, or rather two societies in suc-

cession, worked in the old Bay State from the early part of 1856 until nearly the end of 1858, and rendered good service all the time, sending at first only contributions to the commissariat of the free settlers, but at length contributing arms and ammunition. Two hundred rifles which were sent by the society, through some misunderstanding, remained in Iowa until 1859, when John Brown carried them along to Harper's Ferry, and they fell with him into the hands of the Phillistines. While all this excitement was prevailing, the presedential campaign was in full blast, and in many towns usually quiet, the bonfires were piled to mountainous heights to receive the effigies of the more noted leaders of the border party, after they had been paraded round the neighborhood by torchlight processions. The outrages committed in Kansas were the main stock from which illustrations were drawn, and the proslavery men would have had good grounds for complaint, as to the manner in which their faces and forms were libelled in the free sketches by which they were presented to the populace. There were not a few Kansas refugees among the speakers in the grand rally and mass meetings of the season, and the vivid descriptions which they could give of personal dangers, as they

> "Spake of most disastrous chances,
> Of moving accidents by flood and field;
> Of hair breadth 'scapes i' the imminent deadly breach;
> Of being taken by the insolent foe,
> And sold to slavery,"

made the territory and everything thereto pertaining the absorbing theme of conversation. The picture which had been exhibited by congressional art had not been sufficiently realistic to present the truth as these men rendered it, without incumbrance with the forms which pertain to question and answer before a congressional tribunal.

The other side was not without similar machinery throughout the south, and in every state where proslavery sentiment prevailed. Every act of the free settlers, whether reprehensible or praiseworthy, came in for appropriate coloring to suit the taste of men who were opposed to abolition. Missourian settlers were being murdered in their beds, they were falling victims to wholesale incendiarism, they were the majority in the territory, but

their just laws were disregarded by a tyrannical faction, and the south was asked whether gentlemen desirous to uphold the customs of their forefathers should be overridden by "mechanic slaves with greasy aprons, rules and hammers," who were not fit to come "betwixt the wind and their nobility." They were electing their last president, and yet they were obliged to content themselves with a man who could not be relied upon to favor the extension of slave territory, while the friends of Millard Fillmore and John C. Fremont were able to command 122 electoral votes against the 174 which elected the president in 1856; a strange contrast with the vote in 1860, when Abraham Lincoln received 180, and Stephen A. Douglas only 12; the remainder being divided between Bell, for whom 39 were recorded, and Breckinridge, who obtained 72 from the proslavery men, because Mr. Douglas would go no farther than squatter sovereignty for their purposes.

Lying in and relying on the south, the proslavery men taxed their friends freely to supply them with arms and treasure, and companies of men were arriving continuously, subject to none of the drawbacks which decimated or destroyed the aid sent to the other side. An anxious time was now approaching, as the free state legislature was appointed to convene at Topeka, July 4, 1856, for the adjourned session, and it was anticipated that the Missourian faction, with Mr. Shannon as the mouthpiece, would strain every nerve to prevent the assembly. A mass convention of citizens in the temporary capital was called for July 3, the intention being that a body of men should be in that way prepared to defend the legislature against ruffian aggression, but there were so many road inspectors and guerrilla parties on every line of communication, that hundreds were afraid to leave their families unprotected by their absence. Some men could see no advantage likely to be gained in the then aspect of affairs from a meeting of the legislative body, and they would not take part in the movement; some could not be notified of the intention because nearly all the free state presses in the territory had been destroyed; still, with all these disadvantages to militate against the demonstration, there were about a thousand men in Topeka on the 3d of July, and fully half of these bore arms, so that there

were enough to have made a sufficient defense if only the border men and their natural allies came to the assault. The convention men came in in considerable numbers the day before, but all the leading minds had been scattered or were held in bondage. It was thought advisable that an extra session of the legislature should be convened, and, in the absence of Gov. Robinson, his deputy, John Curtis, called that body together on the 3d of July to consider and order as to the best course to be pursued. The territorial governor had gone to St. Louis, having left orders for the dispersal of the legislature with Col. Sumner, and his instructions were imperative; consequently the dragoons were ready to act on the Fourth. Mr. Woodson, the supple secretary, hoped that there would now be a collision between the settlers and the military; but the meeting on the day before in an extra session was not contemplated. The members on that day might have adjourned over the 4th, but there were many differing views, and many urged a battle rather than forego the secular session, but to the great majority it was evident that the game was not worth the candle.

Before this time, Col. Sumner had been consulted by a committee, to ascertain whether there might not be some arrangement, but the answer of that officer, given in writing, was courteous, but precise; he hoped they would not drive him to extremities, but if they did, he must still disperse them, and do his duty. Mr. Woodson, once more governor *ex officio*, had taken up his quarters in the camp, and on the morning of the fourth of July, that personage, with Judge Elmore, the U. S. marshal, and some others by way of staff officials, came into Topeka, and with much ceremony attended the popular convention, where they were accommodated with seats upon the platform allotted to speakers, much to the astonishment of all concerned. The marshal was called upon to speak, and he modestly deferred to the judge, who thereupon read to the crowd a long winded proclamation of his own, indorsing that issued by President Pierce, and in furtherance of the system of government by proclamations, wound up with an announcement by Col. Sumner, that he must enforce the order against the assembly of the legislature. Some of the bystanders could see the absurd blunder that was being

made, but they did not interfere until the U. S. marshal and his squad were leaving, when some one told him that he had been wasting his sweetness upon the convention, while he thought he had been fulminating his thunder in the legislature. At high noon on the day we celebrate, Col. Sumner entered Topeka, his band playing "Hail Columbia," and his troops being stationed with military precision. The day was being honored by a partial review of volunteers, which in the presence of border ruffians might have proved a more practical illustration of the art of soldiering. Col. Sumner, having adopted every precaution to secure the execution of his orders, if necessity should arise, entered the assembly chamber and was accommodated with a seat. Those who were to be molested by him in the exercise of an undoubted right knew that his own manly instincts would not have tended in such a tyrannical direction. When the roll had been called by the clerk, the colonel rose and said: "Gentlemen: I am called upon this day to perform the most painful duty of my whole life. Under authority of the president's proclamation, I am here to disperse this legislature, and therefore inform you that you can not meet. I therefore order you to disperse. God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will hold none so long as I occupy my present position in Kansas. I have just returned from the borders, where I have been sending home companies of Missourians, and now I am ordered here to disperse you. Such are my orders, and you *must disperse.* I now command you to disperse. I repeat that this is the most painful duty of my whole life." The members remained until they had ascertained that force would be used, if necessary to carry out the orders of the executive, and the house then dispersed. In the senate the colonel was equally courteous, but just as decisive, and in answering a question from one of the body, he said: "My orders are, that you must not be permitted to do any business." The pompous marshal, who had already distinguished himself enough for one day, was desirous to indorse the views of the commandant, but no person appeared to notice him, and the senate, at the suggestion of Col. Allen, after a few words from the members, concluded that no session could be held. During the whole procedure, Col. Sumner impressed the

men against whom he was compelled to act, with a high sense of his appreciation of the unconstitutional duty which had devolved upon him.

CHAPTER XV.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY
(continued.)

THE JOHN BROWN WAR — EVENTS OF 1856-57.

Sumner Superseded — Major General's Record — Gen. P. F. Smith — Lane's Army — Guerrilla Movements — Ruffians Fortifying — Fort Ossawatomie — Washington Creek — Maj. Hoyt-Treadwell's Treason — Franklin Captured — Fort Saunders — Col. Titus — Near Lecompton — Herald Type — Capt. Shombre — To Lawrence — Maj. Sedgwick — Disturbing Clark — Shannon at Lawrence — Second Treaty — Solemn Oath — Ruffianism — Abolition Scalps — Lovely Woman — Shannon Resigns — Governor's Status — Woodson *redivivus* — Embodying Militia — Proslavery Terrors — War Bulletins — "To Arms" — Insurrection — Newspaper Praise — Exterminate — Northern Emigrants — Lane's Record — Richardson — Robbing Quakers — Missourian Rout — Anderson, Cline & Shore — In Time — Camp Plunder — Casualties — Old John Brown — Reverend Murderer — Reed's Command — Ossawatomie — Defense — Destructive Fire — Cannonade — Infantry Charge — Town Demolished — Proslavery Brown — Promiscuous Stealing — Wesport, Ho! — Prisoners Murdered — Revenging Black Jack — Merciless Evictions — The Commander — Murderer Executed — Gen. Lane — Singular Record — Inconsistent Order — Reed's Escape — Douglas County — Pursuing Lane — Col. Cook — Level Topeka — Loyal Disobedience — Topeka Protected — Lecompton Attacked — Rescue Prisoners — Col. Harvey — Where's Lane? — Slough Creek — Surrender — Abandoned Plunder — Foolish Mercy — Capitol Hill — Disbanded Militia — Prisoners Liberated — Leavenworth Horrors — Death's Harvest — Regulators — William Phillips — Polar Star — Capt. Emory — No Refuge — Anarchy — Murder — Mystery — Growing Worse — Around Lawrence — The Defenders — General License — State Offenders — Bail Bonds — *Nolle Pros.* — Robinsons's Trial — Looking Ahead.

Some of the popular party supposed that Col. Sumner had been needlessly harsh in his conduct toward the free state party;

but could they have looked into the motives of that officer, and, above all, could they have understood the pressure which was brought to bear upon him in the discharge of his duty, under the vigilant watchfulness of the secretary of war, Jefferson Davis, always kept fully informed as to his movements, as seen from a southerner's standpoint by Gen. Atchison, their judgments would have been much changed. His subsequent career, during which he rose to the rank of major general, fighting the battles of the union on many a bitterly contested field, showed that his sympathies were on the side against which the duties of his position in Kansas compelled him to act, because the chief executive of the United States had assumed the role of a partisan; but his removal from the command at Fort Leavenworth in the latter part of July, 1856, left no room for doubt that his manly and nonpartisan course, in the discharge of a peculiarly trying duty, had given the Missourian faction much cause of offense. They wanted such an officer as would carry out the policy of repression against free soilers, and they found in him one who would go just so far as the position demanded, and where justice could not be strictly observed, tempering even law with courtesy and consideration. The condition of things which might have supervened in Kansas during the time that Mr. Shannon was governor, had Col. Sumner been a man after the heart of Atchison and his confreres, requires no elucidation. The leading men of the free state party, who came most into contact with the commandant, did not fail to render him justice as to his desires, and as to the discrimination with which he sought always to give sound advice and the protection of abstinence from action to the struggling settlements. Discipline ruled him as it must rule military men worthy of the name everywhere; but his heart was in the right place, and for that reason he fell under the ban of the power behind the throne at Washington. His death seven years later, in 1863, was a loss of some moment to the union cause. President Pierce, now coming near the end of his career in office, sent Gen. Percifer F. Smith to outrank and supersede Col. Sumner, and in that gentleman the Missourians found an officer whose sympathies were entirely with the proslavery men, although his failing health did not allow him to remain long in the position, nor while he continued therein, to

render any very brilliant service to his accomplices. Born in Pennsylvania, he had passed a large portion of his life in Louisiana, and had become entirely subject to the views of life and the prejudices as to color, by which he had been for so many years surrounded. The storming of Monterey had proved him, long before, a brave and capable officer; but, happily, the changing circumstances of the time were of such a character as to deprive him of active occasions to display his zeal against free settlement in the territory.

The complete blockade of the Missouri, long since described, had rendered it indispensable that a new road should be found unless a naval or military force could be brought into operation against the pirates, and [illegible] the beginning of August, 1856, a force began to arrive in the territory through Iowa and Nebraska. Gen. Lane, who had long before gone to the northern states on a mission to procure reinforcements, had arranged the plan of operations, and the settlers and fighting men, some of them accompanied by their families, were known as Lane's northern army. The general was the first to come by that route in this movement, although many had reached the territory through Council Bluffs and the site where Omaha now flourishes, before that date. The action which preceded the resignation of Gov. Shannon had given to Col. Sumner the opportunity to disperse the guerrilla parties in the territory, and most of the free state men had gone to their homes content with the promise of security which his action offered; but the southern allies of Missouri having no homes to which they could retire, and not being encouraged to return to Missouri, had for a time scattered far and wide in comparatively harmless disarray, but during the latter part of July, and more especially after Col. Sumner had been relieved from duty, they once more became dangerous, assembling in the Indian reservations, and in places remote from settled habitation, where they established fortifications, and were soon prominent as robbers. In the places where the armed bands found shelter, they put up fortifications, and unarmed or solitary travelers passing near such places were frequently molested. The mails were often interrupted and plundered, crops were destroyed, robberies of all kinds abounded, incendiarism was

common, and it became necessary about the end of July to make an example of a fort near Ossawatomie. Some free state men combined for the work, and on the morning of August 5th, the Georgian raiders seeing a worse fate before them, unless they moved expeditiously, abandoned all the spoil that had been accumulated, and fled for their lives. The stronghold, which might have been held for some time by courageous men, was at once destroyed. The force which had retreated from Ossawatomie joined another body on Washington Creek, and precisely similar outrages were redoubled at a point which brought their radius of operations only a few miles from Lawrence. If Col. Sumner had been in command, it is probable that he would have carried out his former instructions, or yet, more probably, the reputation that he bore would have relieved him of any such necessity; but under the new condition of affairs the military were not available to repress outrages against the settlers. The fortification on Washington Creek was called Fort Saunders, and the citizens of Lawrence sent an envoy to the enemy on the 11th of the month, to procure a cessation of robberies and brutalities by peaceable means. Major Hoyt, a man held in high esteem by his fellow citizens, was chosen for the visit, and he was well received by Col. Treadwell, the officer in command of the ruffians, but on his way home after the interview, he was waylaid and murdered, his body being shot through in all directions. Such an abominable outrage fully justified the reassembling of guerrilla bands, and the headquarters at Franklin, where the Wakarusa camp once stood, and where the proslavery party still maintained a formidable show, was the first point attacked. The position, only four miles from Lawrence, could not be left untouched if war was to be the order of the day. The forces were found strongly fortified, and the demand for a surrender was answered by whistling bullets, and the fight lasted about three hours, when the defenders, fearful of being burned out of their nest, surrendered their arms, ammunition, plunder and cannon, being only too glad to escape with their lives. The force so escaping retired to Fort Saunders, where a strong body was now assembled, and on the 15th, three days after the murder of Maj. D. S. Hoyt, Col. Treadwell, with all his command, a medley of Georgians and border ruffians,

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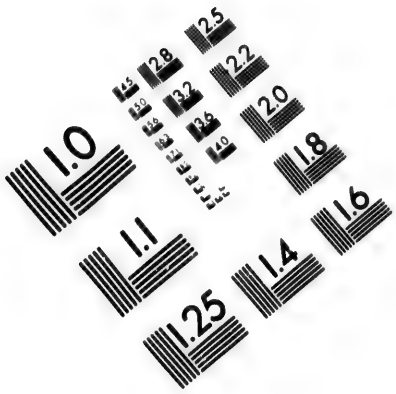

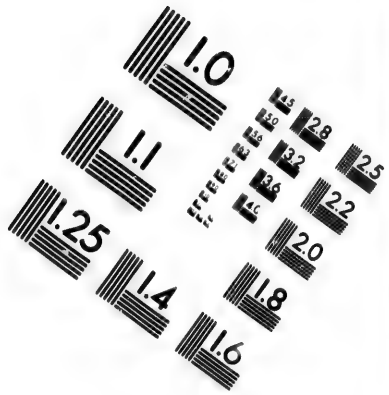

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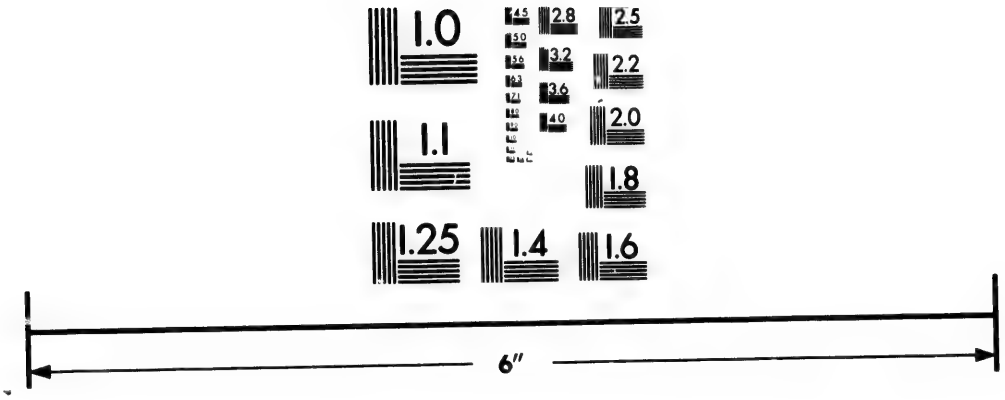

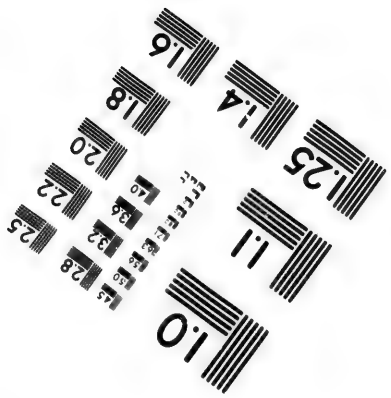

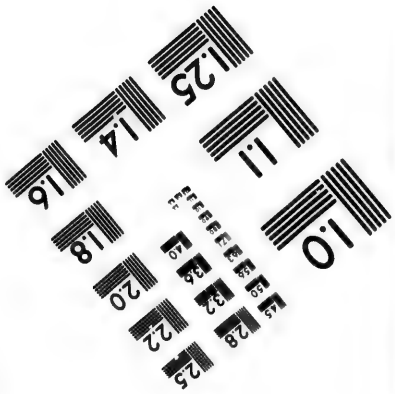

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stampeded from Fort Saunders on the approach of Gen. Lane and Col. Grover. Once more an immense spoil fell into the hands of the free state men, and many who had been robbed recovered their property. Many articles were recognized as having been taken during the sack of Lawrence. Only one stronghold remained south of the Kansas River, and that was a fortified residence near Lecompton, occupied by Col. Titus, a well known desperado, who was always surrounded by proslavery bands. This place had long been the territorial capital, and many fears had been entertained as to the possibility of an assault from free settlers, which were intensified, when on the morning of August 16, 1856, the guns of the assailants of the Titus fortification were heard. The well planned attack was a complete success, after only about half an hour's fighting. A cannon planted in front of the building was loaded with shot made from the type of the "Herald of Freedom," which the ruffians had destroyed in Lawrence, and the reissue was more forcible than any leaded article that had ever issued from editorial hands. There were five prisoners held in the house; of course they were released, and for one of that number, the rescuing party were only just in time, as he was to have been shot that morning. Titus, the leader, made a piteous appeal for his own life to be spared, and his appeal was granted much to his surprise. Capt. Walker, whose name is familiar to our readers, was one of the attacking party commanding one division, while Col. Grover led the other. There were killed and wounded on both sides, Capt. Shombre, from Indiana, being the most notable loss among the settlers. The prisoners and spoil were carried off to Lawrence, and that city was once more the center of attraction.

While the assault was being made on the Titus stronghold, the Lecompton citizens were in a terrible state of trepidation, as they naturally expected that their habitations would next be ransacked, but they were doomed to disappointment. The United States camp was only two miles from the city under the command of Major Sedgwick, whose removal from Ossawatomie was the means of that town being demolished by ruffians and he found his quarters overrun by people seeking shelter from the onslaught which was dreaded. The troops were set in motion to find Gov.

Shannon and to ascertain whether that gentleman had any orders to give in the emergency, but there were no instructions, and the whole of the territorial officers had fled. Maj. Clark, the surveyor general, who was accredited, perhaps wrongfully, with having shot the free settler Barber, who was murdered by the patrol, was specially an object of solicitude to Mr. Shannon, who was amiably fearful that the assault was disturbing Clark. Maj. Sedgwick was not likely to attempt interference on his own account, as he belonged to the Sumner school of officers, and stood high in deserved respect among the free soil men. The governor visited Lawrence again the next day accompanied by Maj. Sedgwick and some other officers, and while there, a second treaty was made with the settlers, under which Titus and his band were surrendered by the city in consideration of an engagement that five free state men taken prisoners since the attack on Franklin should be set at liberty, and that no further arrests should be made under the territorial enactments; besides which the howitzer taken from the city at the time of the sack of Lawrence should be returned to its original possessors. To all the conditions of this treaty the governor bound himself by a solemn oath, and during the brief remainder of his days in the territory, it is evident that he tried to keep his word. He was no longer the obedient tool of the proslavery faction, and they for some time had been hoping that in the event of his resignation or removal, Secretary Woodson, their unscrupulous abettor, would procure the nomination. Ruffianism was rampant as ever, and hardly a day elapsed without some outrage being perpetrated, and Leavenworth was now the head-quarters of the gang, the presence of United States troops under the new commander, affording no protection to the minority. A ruffian made a wager on the 19th of August in the town of Leavenworth, that he would take an abolition scalp within two hours, and he won his bet, having shot an unoffending young man named Hops, for that purpose; nor did the murderous frolic end there, as one the bystanders having expressed his horror at such an inhuman assault was himself immediately shot dead. The village of Bloomington was the scene of a horrible event. A young lady was seized in her own house by four scoundrels, and conveyed to a distance of more than a mile, where,

being gagged and bound, her tongue drawn from her mouth and tied with a cord, the last indignity was inflicted upon her in spite of her mute intreaties for mercy. Thus day followed day in the territory, and there was no redress save in recourse to arms which permitted scounderlism to assume the guise of either party to carry on their career of spoliation. Mr. Shannon resigned his office August 21, 1856, and must have been, there can be no doubt, pretty well informed as to the intrigues for his dismissal, as the dispatch, which would have removed him, if he had not resigned, came to Lecompton on the same day. He was never strong enough for the position, yet he had too much conscience to become the tool of Atchison and his party unless the force of ruffians around him was sufficiently powerful to overcome every scruple. Doubtless he was in his heart a proslavery man, and his first impulse undoubtedly pointed to an alliance with that party, but the dose which was tendered for his acceptance was on several occasions too much for him to swallow, and before leaving the territory there were doubts whether his own life would be safe from his boisterous allies in the "Law and Order" association over which he presided in Leavenworth. When he came, Mr. Woodson was wanted, and that official was now more than ever in demand. The secretary was governor *pro tem.*, whoever might obtain the permanent appointment, and there was no time to be lost. Mr. Shannon had disbanded the militia at a time when the Missourian faction hoped that they were marching to certain, because undisputed, victory under the *ægis* of the United States flag and it now devolved upon the secretary to bring the so called Kansas militia again together from the border counties of Missouri. At that point Mr. Shannon had refused to move and the secretary was a man to be relied upon for any work demanded by the party. Mr. Reeder being removed because he would not sanction Shawnee legislation, Mr. Woodson signalized his temporary accession to office by signing all the bills. Now, also, when Mr. Shannon had resigned rather than call out the forces that Missouri hungered and thirsted to send into the territory, this man was again ready for the emergency. He found the proslavery men demoralized by fear, actually flying with their families before the demon they had aroused, and he did all that

lay in his power to give them fresh courage. War bulletins, chiefly remarkable for their sensational untruthfulness, had been distributed when the robber strongholds were broken up, but the governor stood in the way of an effective reply. It was useless crying "To arms" as the scared leaders repeatedly did, so long as the men across the border knew that they would have to fight their own battles with the free settlers, unaided by the military, and in the then mood of the governor, that was their prospect. With the removal of Mr. Shannon secured, should he fail to resign, other arrangements were possible and expresses were sent through the border counties, once more carrying appeals together with secret information that the forces arriving would be mustered in as territorial militia.

Secretary Woodson came into his kingdom on the evening of August 21st, and on the 25th of the same month the territory was proclaimed in a state of insurrection, the militia being called out by the same proclamation. The border press overwhelmed the supple secretary with laudation. He was more than a "Daniel come to judgment;" he was a Draco, prepared to execute the most odious laws in the blood of his subjects, and but for the mildness of the later Athenian philosopher, they would have sworn that he was Solon also. Extermination was now to be carried into instant practice before an inconvenient successor might arrive, and western Missouri carried the call far and wide, with resounding echoes, "To arms!" "To the rescue!" There was no longer a Sumner to be consulted, nor a weak, changeling of a governor, who might fail them in the very pinch of the game. There was only one source of disquietude. The army of the north was coming into the territory *via* Nebraska, and it was necessary to detail a force to intercept them without delay before they could become identified with the settlers. They were led by a man who had given the proslavery party some cause to dread him — Col. Lane — a native of Lawrenceburg, Indiana; a man now forty-two years of age; was admitted to the bar in his native state, in 1840; enlisted as a private in a volunteer corps in Indiana, in 1846; rose to become colonel and commanded a brigade at Buena Vista, when Gen. Zachary Taylor "declined to accede to the request" of Santa Anna to surrender his force of 5,200 to the

20,000 of the enemy; and when he followed up his refusal by a complete repulse of the enemy. Col. Lane had consequently seen some service before coming to Kansas, and he was a man of undoubted courage, although essentially irregular. In his native state he had served as lieutenant governor, and was in congress when the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed in 1854. Being indicted for high treason after the defense of Lawrence from the first assault, he had gone east and north to the free states and had been mainly instrumental in bringing the reinforcements of which he was to assume command.

The day before Gov. Shannon resigned, Gen. Richardson had sent him a dispatch announcing the approach of "Lane's army," and that he had called out the militia of his division to repel the invasion. Mr. Woodson wrote, approving the measure, and at the same time ordered Gen. Coffey to take the field with the militia of the southern Kansas district. In addition to the movements of the acting governor, the Atchison newspaper, the "Squatter Sovereign," ungrammatically shrieked its demand for additional forces to wreak a "tenfold retaliation" upon the free settlers, with the watchword, "extermination, total and complete." This was to be the last time of asking, as no man would be left alive to give further trouble to the invaders after this movement had been completed. Gen. Atchison, always ready for an effort of the kind, was one of the first to respond to the call, and he brought with him a force of four hundred and fifty men. There was a Quaker mission on the Shawnee Reservation and the first exploit of the Missouri-Kansas militia was a descent upon the harmless noncombatants, who were robbed and brutally ill used. So prompt had the response been, that although the proclamation that called out the militia only bore date August 25th, on that very day a force of Missourians encamped near Ossawatomie one hundred and fifty strong. As we have already seen, this promptitude was not extraordinary, seeing that prior notices had been given for the Missourians to be in readiness to cross the border as soon as the publication should be made, and before the free state men would be able to get ready to receive them with a warm welcome. The new comers were quick, but they were not quick enough, as three companies, consisting of 118 men, under

the command of Captains Clive, Anderson and Shore, encamped in the neighborhood of the invaders the same night, and by noon on the 26th the camp of the Missourians had fallen into the possession of the free state force after a total rout of the ruffians. The attack at that moment saved the life of a free state man who was to have been hanged before dinner, but he escaped and was able to participate in the repast which the invaders abandoned, with much other valuable property, in their hasty movement back toward the soil of Missouri. One of the free state men was wounded in the assault, Lieut. Clive, who afterwards died of his injuries. There were many prisoners taken, but on the following day they were liberated upon their parole engagement never to serve against the settlers again. Old John Brown was the commander of this valiant force of defenders, although he was not present at the assault in person. It was not anticipated that an action so decisive would be fought before a larger force had been massed, or the veteran would not have missed the opportunity to be present. Three days later a band of 400 Missourians in part commanded by the Rev. Martin White, started from Bull Creek for Ossawatomie with the intention to reach that place about midnight, but they did not reach the point of attack until the morning of the 30th of August, when the clerical warrior signalized his command by slaughtering two young men who were found at their work in the fields. One of the young men was Wm. Garrison, the other Frederick Brown, son of old John Brown. The defenders of Ossawatomie were speedily on the alert, but they numbered only forty in all, and their assailants four hundred, with cannon, and otherwise well appointed. The old man whose son had just been murdered, was in command, assisted by Capts. Updegraff and Clive. After an obstinate fight the little band, having inflicted great losses on the assailants, were obliged to retire.

Capt. Reed, the officer in command of the Missourians, had subjected the defenders to a cannonade for some time before they gave ground. Several prisoners were taken and some of the defenders were killed before the invaders became masters of Ossawatomie, which they this time completely demolished. The village had been originally founded by a pro-slavery man named

Brown, who was the principal loser by the vengeance of the party with which he was identified. Every building and store was plundered and then set on fire, so that, after the foe retired, only four cottages remained in Ossawatomie, and they owed their continuance to no favor on the part of the enemy. Stealing was evidently one of the accomplishments of the Missourian-Kansas militia, and when they made war upon a settlement they took wagons along to secure the booty. As soon as enough had been secured upon which to realize a return, the cry was heard, Westport, Ho! and it was necessary to dispose of prisoners who were of the wrong color to be sold. Two of the prisoners were Missourians and free settlers who had been participants on the assault at Black Jack creek, when the journalist captain and his troops had surrendered, and for that high crime and misdemeanor, they were led out in cold blood and shot. Others, who had not added being Missourians to the crime of being in favor of a free state, were only conveyed as prisoners to Kansas City, where they were put on board a steamer, and ordered never again, on pain of death, to set foot in the territory. The murderer of Frederick Brown was chosen a member of the Lecompton legislature, and, while there, the Rev. Martin White described in glowing terms the service he had rendered to the state by his cowardly deed of slaughter, being rewarded with many plaudits for his heroism; but Mr. White never boasted again of his misdeeds. At the end of the session he started on his way home, but was not seen again for some days, when he was found stretched on the prairie, with one ball through his heart. His boast had reached one man that could not allow a double murder to go unpunished, and who had removed the only shadow of doubt as to his guilt. Who was the avenger? It is written, "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."

The father of Frederick Brown was last seen after the unavailing defense of Ossawatomie, when, unattended, but fully armed, he had struck off from the settlement looking very like a person that no one man would wish to encounter; but, inasmuch as nobody heard from him, it was naturally supposed that he was dead. A week later, when Lawrence was once more surrounded by armed ruffians, bent upon completing the work of destruc-

tion there, when only four hundred men within the fortifications stood as against ten times their number, but when every man was ready to sell his life as dearly as his thews and sinews would permit, the old commander strode into the beleaguered camp just as quietly as he had left Ossawatomie, and, by common consent, John Brown was requested to assume the direction of the defense.

But we have left the assailants of Ossawatomie retreating with their plunder after burning the village, and, of course, there were movements in pursuit. Col. Lane, dubbed a general in Kansas records, set out with a force of three hundred men to intercept the enemy, and, having information that Capt. Reed was encamped on Bull Creek, his forces proceeded double-quick to the anticipated battle-ground, but for some reason, just when a battle was within reach, the general ordered a retrograde movement, and finally encamped eight miles from the enemy. Possibly, he prudently concluded that his men, fewer in number than the Missourians, without cannon, and exhausted by a forced march, were unequal to the encounter before them, and if so, he acted wisely in declining to fight the enemy that night. The Missourians were in good condition, while his men had traveled twenty-five miles without food. Some of the more impetuous blamed Gen. Lane, and often quoted this incident in after days in connection with his unhappy death by his own hand, as an evidence that eccentricity had long been noticeable in him; but no man with a knowledge of the facts will doubt that he was wise in declining to risk an engagement that evening at Bull creek. The attack would have been a success next morning beyond doubt, but during the night Reed and his men made all their dispositions for a forced march, and early the next morning, before an assault was possible, they were far on their way toward Westport. Gen. Lane, having ascertained that the foe had escaped him, returned to Lawrence with part of his command, many of them murmuring loudly because his precaution had lost them the chance of grappling with the pro-slavery force under all disadvantages.

Lecompton was now the scene of proslavery activity, and every kind of outrage was being perpetrated under the semblance of law; houses were being burned, arrests being made on the most

flimsy pretexts, and insults of the most abominable kind, being offered to the families of the absent. The officials of Douglas county were justifying all the worst charges against them by their tyranny, with the aid of a posse of United States dragoons. Lane was now to be captured, and Gen. Richardson was ordered upon that somewhat risky duty, but he did not manifest much alacrity in carrying out the order. Topeka had secured the malison of Sec'y Woodson in several ways, and the force that had gone with Gen. Lane to operate against Capt. Reed were made extremely solicitous by reports that their much loved and beautiful city was to be destroyed. Col. Cook was ordered by Mr. Woodson to level Topeka so that not a breastwork should remain to protect the defenders of the state capital, should an attack at any time be made; but the colonel had the loyalty to disobey the order and to refuse compliance with the request of the malevolent secretary. The design was well considered, beyond doubt, but the refusal to act was overwhelming, just at the moment when everything seemed to favor an aggressive purpose against the place and its inhabitants, the leaders of whom were to have been kept in close confinement, and all men found in arms to have been subject to the tender mercies of the U. S. marshal. The immigrants coming into the territory through Nebraska were also to have been fallen upon by the same force, and all these benevolent intentions were thwarted by the gentlemanly instincts of Col. Cook. The men that we saw under the command of Gen. Lane, anxious to fall upon the enemy at Bull Creek, were made up in part of the Topeka company, most of whom were young men; and on the morning after that aborted action, they were roused from the languor and dejection of disappointment by a message telling them that their homes were even about to be assailed. There was no longer any room for dejection in their full hearts while their roof trees were possibly being desecrated by the invader, and rapidly as they had marched the day before to the assault, they were still more fierce in their anxiety to be on time for the defense. Fatigue had no longer a meaning for them; the wearied sinews became vigorous once more, their muscles ready for the fray, and as they strode over the intervening ground, it seemed as though impatience might almost lend them wings that they might the sooner come

in contact with their foe. The ruin which they saw being worked in Lecompton, as they marched past, only made them more and more anxious for the safety of their dear ones at home, and they had scarcely ears for the story of the wrongs which were being inflicted upon their neighbors, whose delegations sent to ask for justice were successively imprisoned. The urgency of the needs of others was for the time swallowed up in the eager solicitude with which they looked towards their own hearths; but when at length arrived near their destination, they learned that Topeka was not in danger, not even the gladness of relief could cheer them further. Physical fatigue, which had in vain appealed to their mastering emotions, so completely possessed them now that numbers sank exhausted on the prairie road, and slept there, all unconscious until the sun shone down upon them next day to invigorate them for fresh labors. The power that an overwrought mind has over physical action is a chapter in human history, and but seldom has there been a more complete exemplification of the phenomena than in that march from Bull Creek to Topeka. Meantime the offenses of the proslavery party at Lecompton were calling for vengeance, and it was determined by the free state men that it was time to carry rescue to their brethren. The men who had been taken prisoners, unconscious of wrong doing, must be at any cost set free, and the headquarters of the enemy might be perhaps improved in some respects by the polite attentions of free soil men. The attack upon Lecompton was determined upon on the third of September, and the forces were at once set in motion. Col. Harvey, commanding one section, marched on the north side of the Kansas river, and was in position immediately north of the town, ready to bear his part in the concerted assault early next morning. Gen. Lane, with the other section of the attacking party, started on the south bank of the Kansas river at the same time, and should have been in position at the same hour, but for some reason that has never been explained, that officer saw fit to delay his march so that he did not appear on Capitol Hill until 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the fourth, when Col. Harvey, assuming that the movement had been abandoned, had turned his attention elsewhere.

Leaving Gen. Lane with guns in position on Capitol Hill, de-

manding the immediate surrender of all the free state prisoners in Lecompton, without conditions, we will seek for Col. Harvey. He was a man usually to be found where duty was the most imperative, and there was good reason for his absence now. Sitting idly on his post, waiting for Gen. Lane, was all very well as long as there seemed a reasonable probability that the attack was yet to be carried out, but when that time had passed, other work must have attention. At Slough Creek, fifteen miles from Lecompton, was a camp of ruffians that had for some time been an eyesore to the neighborhood, and the time favored calling them to an account. "Quick march," was the order, and Slough Creek was soon reached; the camp was surrounded, so that not one man escaped, and Col. Harvey was in a position to command a surrender. One of the party fired at the free soil men an aimless shot, which only told of the malice of the individual, and the answer was given in a deadly hail of rifle balls, which more than decimated the ruffians, for the weapons used were arms of precision, within point blank range, and the men who used the rifles were only too well acquainted with their powers. Once, when Napoleon was asked whether, in quelling a riot, he had fired over the heads of the malcontents, he answered: "That would have been ill judged mercy; it would have cost more lives afterwards." So these free state men were very careful not to fire over the heads of their enemies, but like wise soldiers, they were more desirous to wound than to kill. The robbers did not wait for a second volley; they laid down their arms, and the plunder found in the camp revealed the extent of their peculations; but Col. Harvey was much too merciful with such cattle, and allowed them the privilege of going at large to join some other body of marauders, content only to have given them a lesson in the art of war, and to have procured their asseverations that they would never again bear arms against the force that spared their lives. Having dispatched that piece of work, Col. Harvey was returning to Lecompton, when Gen. Lane brought his battery into position and made his formal demand, preparatory to an attack in force. The military under command of Col. Cook were encamped only two miles from Lecompton, and the commander was on the hill confronting Gen. Lane before his messengers could

return. A change had come over the spirit of the dream; the militia which was to have done such wonders had been disbanded, and the prisoners were already released; there was a new power at work in the governing machinery of Kansas, and Secretary Woodson was no longer able to obey the dictations of Missouri. Elsewhere in Kansas horrors were being enacted, and more particularly in Leavenworth, where the reign of terror had not yet been outlived. Death reaped its daily harvest in that city, and we find Gov. Shannon bearing testimony as to the shameful proceedings of a gang of men called regulators, who, making their own brutal wills the law of the land, announced it as their sovereign pleasure that all free state men must choose between death and an immediate departure from the city and territory; yet when they attempted to leave they were just as likely as not to be shot down by other parties for trying to escape. A man named Emery, a mail agent, was the leader of the gang. Mr. William Phillips, the lawyer who was ordered long since to quit the territory, for having sworn an information as to the illegality of the first election to the legislature in Leavenworth, and who was taken to Weston to be tarred and feathered and sold for a slave, because he refused to submit to the dictation of the pro-slavery party, was visited in his own house by a band of marauders and pierced by a dozen bullets, but he had slain two of his assailants before he fell. His wife was an agonized spectator of the ruffianly assault. There were more than fifty residents in Leavenworth collected in one batch, and driven like cattle to a corral, by Emory and his band, on board the Polar Star steamer, the captain being laid under an embargo not to leave until further orders. The band of regulators, eight hundred strong, paraded the streets all that day and the next, and on the second day of September one hundred more were added to the cargo of the Polar Star steamer; men, women and children, without any provision for their journey, and with an escort ready to shoot them down, they were forced away upon their ill starred course. There was no refuge for the people of Leavenworth. Some, who ignorantly thought that under the folds of the stars and stripes they must find protection, were warned to leave the Fort, and driven back upon the streets where murder reigned supreme.

Many were lost sight of in those days and have never been seen nor heard from since, by sorrowing and anxious relatives, but until the graves render up the dread mysteries, none can know how many died in that fearsome anarchy. Leavenworth was hell, with a difference in favor of the infernal region, and the fiends that were reveling in wickedness in the streets of that afflicted city had none of the dignity of the father of evil. It was simply impossible that anything could be imagined worse than that era of abomination. The ease with which Leavenworth could be reached from the western border of Missouri, and the certainty that within that region the faction were masters, brought hundreds to this point, who would have shunned a conflict with equal forces, because in and around Leavenworth their tyrannical lusts might be indulged with the license common in the country of an enemy, and without danger. Humanity forbids that the veil should be further lifted from those horrible days in Kansas.

Lawrence was to be again visited, and this time with an overwhelming force. The proclamation of Sec. Woodson had that city for its object more than any other in the territory, and toward that point all the forces bent themselves, until the city was surrounded. But there were no half hearted men in the little troop of defenders who had joined hands to save the city from another desecration. John Brown was there, as we have seen, his heart bleeding with personal wrongs, but without one pulsation of weakness as to the enemy. There were fresh accessions to their ranks just now, for the state prisoners held in durance for four months were set free upon bail bonds, to come up for trial when called upon, as the government was not ready to proceed to trial, and of all the prisoners so arraigned but one was ever tried, so flimsy were the charges of treason upon which they had been held so long. When spring came, the accused men surrendered for trial, but the prosecuting attorney had entered his *nolle prosequi* in every case save that of Dr. Robinson, who could not be found guilty of the crime of usurping an office which had no existence under the law. But this chapter has been so full of incident, and so much remains untold, that it is necessary to begin afresh with the new record, which the disbanding of the militia and the re-

lease of the prisoners at Lecompton tell us will before long change the aspect of Kansas history, substituting for the blood stained records of faction the peaceful progress of a happy and contented people.

CHAPTER XVI.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY.
(continued.)

END OF THE JOHN BROWN WAR — GOV. GEARY'S RULE — EVENTS OF 1856-7.

Pierce's Best — Gov. Geary — Soldier Administrator — Manly Record — Changed Aspects — Border Dismay — Blockade Relieved — Missouri Spectacles — "Kansas Militia" — Great Guns — Proslavery Hate — Causing Famine — Lawrence — Woodson's Allies — Suppression — Secretary's Proclamation — Foraging Parties — Delay Geary — Threatened Assissination — Fort Leavenworth — Emory — Military Concurrence — Lecompton Reviewed — Governor's Address — Wise Suggestion — Disband Forces — United States Troops — Missouri Militia — Kansas Force — Proslavery Design — Brigadier General — Return Home — Special Agents — Visiting Lawrence — Fearing Lane — Comrades — General's Departure — Marauders Attacked — Grasshopper Falls — Fortified — Capt. Stephens — Disbanding — Lawrence Reinforcements — Fort Reduced — Cannon's Mouth — Cook's Command — Col. Harvey — Arrests — Prisoners' Fare — Judge Cato — Murder — Bail Refused — Inhospitable — Commander Titus — Sentences — Geary Intervenes — Escapes — Better Days — Pardoning Power — Threatening Lawrence — Woodson's Work — Orders Contemned — Sharp Scrutiny — Lawrence Ready — Assailants Rampant — Citizens Armed — Governing Kansas — Militia Morale — Jones Discounted — Union Haters — Destruction — Farewell Missouri — Justice Abused — Territorial Officials — Laborious Idleness — Wrongs Everywhere — Zeal Misplaced — Kickapoo Murder — Executive Witnesses — $500 Reward — Murderer Found — Straw Bail — Rearrest — Executive Quarrel — *Hebeas Corpus* — Regular Courts — Lecompte Evades — Cato's Action — Prisoners Released — Official Misfeasance — Manly Effort — Marshal's Devices — Troops Refused — People Protected — Industrial Army — True Settlers — Good Faith — Why Interfere? — North and South — Bringing Artillery — Redpath's Troop — Governor's Permit — Dragoon Guard — Peaceable Citizens — Changed Conditions — Perplexing Duty — Topeka Inspection — Preserving Peace — Officers Supported — Warlike

Societies — Other Side — Good Reasons — Impartial Endeavor — Peace Guarantied — Commerce Sustained — Leavenworth Quieted — Law Rules — Thanksgiving — Moral Tone — First Impressions — Inevitable Results — Wooing Peace — Fruitless Arrests — Catiline and Cato.

President Pierce could not have been entirely in the hands of the proslavery party, or else most assuredly he would have sent them one man exactly such as they wanted to serve as governor. He could be influenced to issue a destructive proclamation, but when it came to appointing the chief territorial executive, he found some democrat acceptable to the senate, who could not be tortured into complete acquiescence with their policy in Kansas. The Reeder experience we have seen, and although there was one blamable concession in the concession of certificates of the first elections to the legislative assembly, he proved in the main an honest and capable man. The weakness and fatuity of Mr. Shannon were painfully visible, but there were points beyond which he was immovable, although he knew that his firmness would cost him his office, and might possibly endanger even his life. The last nomination by Mr. Pierce showed still greater independence. Mr. Geary was no nursling of fortune, and he had no southern proclivities, although he was a democrat. To work was a disgrace according to the creed of the south, and he had been a worker all his lifetime. Born in the village of Mount Pleasant, in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, he was early thrown upon the world with a widowed mother dependent upon his exertions, but his speedily attained proficiency as an engineer, gave him the means to acquit himself well of every obligation. In the second regiment of his native state he rose from the ranks, and during the Mexican War, in which he participated from Vera Cruz to Mexico, he became colonel in active service, being once wounded, and always distinguished by his faithfulness and courage. When the capital city was captured, Gen. Zachary Taylor gave him the command of the citadel, and he proved therein his administrative capacity. When San Francisco was passing through some of the earliest tumults of the gold fever, and when Montgomery street was not the array of palatial buildings that is now seen, he was one of the foremost men, not only in organizing the postal service of the Pacific coast, which was specially his duty,

but in every organizing movement his genius for administration, blended with military and engineering precision, being just what the city wanted to repress such excesses as were at length quelled by vigilance committees. The population of San Francisco rose from a few hundreds in 1848, when gold was first found in Coloma county, Cal., to 250,000 in 1852, so that it will be seen that there was work for an administrator in such a vast aggregation of humanity rapidly attracted from every quarter of the globe, including beach combers, gamblers, and a chance medley association of all kinds. Mr. Geary was very popular in the city, and when he ceased to be one of the official staff of the general government, the citizens elected him gladly to their highest offices, in which they recognized his eminent usefulness as a governing power, as well as his acumen and impartiality as a judge. Four years of private life had, in part, but as we shall see not wholly, weaned him from the haughty demeanor of the camp disciplinarian, but that term passed in Pennsylvania could not assist to make him a southern tool, and his arrival in Kansas was opportune. Later in his manly record he became a general of division in the Union army, and after the close of the civil war he was twice elected governor of the state in which he was born and reared. Such men as he must have faults, but they are venial, and his coming into the territory at this epoch gave a changed aspect to all the affairs of Kansas. His appointment as governor by President Pierce dated from July, although Mr. Shannon did not resign until August, and there can be no doubt that his influence was felt in Lecompton when the militia was disbanded and the prisoners released as Col. Cook communicated to Gen. Lane. That he knew something of the difficulties with which he would have to contend in his new appointment is made apparent from the fact that on his way to Kansas he paused at Jefferson City, the capital of the neighboring state, to confer with the governor of Missouri, from whom he procured a promise that the pirates of the Missouri should be compelled to raise the blockade of that river. He was in that city on the 5th of September, and immediately after that date the Missouri could be traveled as securely as any other stream in the Union. It was something that there was an earnest man of business to govern the territory. The

spectacles which met his gaze on the steam route to his destination were not such as to reassure a timid person, but they must have given pith to the arm of one able and resolved to do his duty.

At the village of Glasgow, seventy-two miles from Jefferson City, and two hundred from St. Louis, he witnessed the embarkation of Capt. Jackson and a company of so-called Kansas militia, with a cannon for the purpose of invading the territory, over which he was expected to rule with such aid. The lesson was not lost upon a man of his stamp. The comments which he could not fail to hear on his voyage with such companions left him very little in the dark as to the aspirations of Missouri, and as to the hatred which they bore to himself by anticipation, as a person not pledged to their policy, nor identified with the institutions of slavery. He was a democrat, but that was not enough; Mr. Douglas also was a democrat, but he had lost the nomination for president in spite of his eminent services, when Mr. Buchanan was chosen in the year now passing, because there were limits which "The Little Giant" would not pass in serving the proslavery men, and where the line could be so rigidly kept against him and persevered in, as it was so vindictively four years later, how could the moderate democratic views of Mr. Geary support him among the worst specimens of the extreme section of that organization? Already there were two democratic parties in fact, and he, without knowing it, was drifting toward the republican party. It must have interested him exceedingly when an address put forward by Mr. Woodson's allies showed him what was the game of the faction, and that he was an intruder upon their manipulations. That address said in subtance — for it is long and in a literary sense worthless, so it need not be republished — that the proslavery party wanted a man, such as the supple secretary, although they did not name him, wedded to slavery by choice rather than by birth, who would do just what they wanted, caring nothing for any wider horizon of public opinion; and they contrasted with that picture the unlovely appointee himself, that President Pierce had sent them in their need. Their obligations to Mr. Woodson were readily and freely acknowledged, as well they might be, but no one could say how soon he would become pow-

erless, and therefore they must act before the new man could interfere, and all Missouri was invited to come, as he then saw it coming, and heard it bellowing at every landing place, from Glasgow to Kansas City, with muskets, cannon and all the munitions of war, to demolish the free settlers, and so give peace to the seat of his government. He found from the conversation going on around him, which was public property, for it was almost hissed into his ear, that famine was largely relied upon to do the work of the invaders; that Lawrence and other free state settlements were supposed to be on the last gasp for want of food, and that every road which could carry supplies to the practically beleaguered people was closely watched by plunderers, who would not allow one scrap of provision to escape their vigilance, nor succor of any kind, unless they found them unexpectedly overmatched. The end could not be distant, for neither men, arms, ammunition, nor supplies of any description, could run the blockade of the Missouri to sustain the defenders, while they were living evidences that well fed reinforcements were daily pouring in to help the invaders, who must win before the new man came, or they might lose their chance for ever. Their chance was already gone, but they did not know that, for although Mr. Geary could not fail to make mistakes, being only a man, he could neither be cajoled nor intimidated. So long as Secretary Woodson continued acting governor, there was little hope for the party to which he stood opposed, for his unvarying answer to every story of spoliation and wrong was, "Acknowledge the territorial enactments and then you shall have protection." Because the free state men could not submit to such conditions, and because their food was daily being stolen by marauders, they were forced at last to send out foraging parties and make reprisals on the enemy. If they must starve it should be in company with the proslavery residents in Kansas, and their barns were laid under contribution. Burlington, Tecumseh and Osaukee were proslavery settlements, and the farms in their several localities were favorite places of resort for young men and old who could not in any other way maintain the commissariat at home. Their stomachs if not their consciences must be satisfied, and the morality of a state of siege differs very materially from that obtaining at other times.

The proslavery men wanted Gov. Geary delayed at any point and on any pretext, until their scheme of extermination could be carried out; but he did not wear the aspect of a man that would invite aggression, and although when he stepped on board the steamer at Jefferson City he was warned by an excited personage that unless he did what was wanted in Kansas he should be assassinated, he went on his way with an unfaltering purpose, determined to administer the affairs of the territory as an honest man. There was much excitement at various places along the banks of the river, but no man was commissioned to seize the new governor, and nobody wanted to run chances; so, in spite of every malevolent design, the rapidity of his movements outwitted his loyal militiamen. He arrived at Fort Leavenworth September 9th, and the scenes which were being enacted daily showed him that the talk on the boat had been no vainglorious boasting. An officer, detailed for the protection of three free settlers with their wagons, made his report that, in spite of his authority, the men and their property had been seized by the notorious regulator, Capt. Emory and his gang, with an overwhelming force, who had carried off the settlers as captives to some unkown fate, and had confiscated their property as spoils of war. This piece of robbery had been consummated almost within gunshot range from the fort. A detachment of U. S. troops brought in Emory as a prisoner very speedily, and set at liberty the men who had been seized; but the property was not recovered, and the unabashed leader and his confederates were set once more at liberty, to find in additional brutalities to others satisfaction for the mild rebuke then administered. Mr. Geary exerted himself to procure the recovery of the stolen property, that duty being devolved, by special command, on Col. Clarkson and the militia force in Leavenworth. The governor left Leavenworth on the 10th, and arrived in Lecompton, the territorial capital, on the 12th of September, where he found everybody on the tiptoe of excitement, talking about Lane's recent visit, and the stampede they were not proud of having made before an enemy that did no harm. His own desire was that bygones should be bygones, that peace should now reign, and that all armed intervention should cease. He issued an address full of sound advice, but for the fact that it was given to

deaf ears on one side, and to men powerless to give effect to his policy and theirs on the other. He engaged to do justice at all hazards, and he urged that the residents in Kansas alone had the remedy for all wrongs in their hands. In theory he was right, and it was not easy for a man newly come into the territory to be aware how far the practice had gone astray from the proper course, under the influences of such militia nonresidents as he had seen pouring in upon the people. He commanded all officers of militia to disband their forces instantly, as there were sufficient men at his disposal in the U. S. forces to serve in every probable emergency. He was determined, at all hazards, to have none of the force that he had seen gathering along the Missouri under the insolent pretense that they were the territorial militia, and at the same time he called upon the residents in Kansas to arm and enrol themselves, ready to be mustered in and used by him in any emergency that might arise. Herein were the elements for a crushing defeat of all the designs, and it is very clear that his boat ride on the Missouri had been the occasion of many valuable lessons. He had seen that there was an intention to make war upon Kansas under the specious disguise of the array of militia, and he was taking the best possible steps to compel abandonment of the strategem, whereupon, should the foe avow the purpose of aggression, he would have at his disposal the military already encamped in various parts of the territory, as well as in Forts Leavenworth and Scott; as well as a formidable embodiment of free settlers, to fight under his direction, and send back the invader in most admired disorder. Immediately upon his assuming his position, a letter came to his hands which had been meant for Mr. Woodson, announcing that Brig. Gen. Heiskill had eight hundred men in the field, ready for action and impatient to begin. It must have been painful for the brigadier to receive in reply an order to disband his forces, and return to his and their homes. That and the governor's proclamation were the only replies vouchsafed to so much mistaken zeal. Finding that it was not possible to depend upon the statements of his surroundings as to the condition of the country, Mr. Geary had initiated a system of special agents, such as he had long before had in use in California and in Mexico, to supply him with complete reports as

to public feeling and the several dangers of which he had heard; and the answer which came from Lawrence by such means showed him that the people there residing could not break up their organization, because they were threatened by a force of more than two thousand five hundred men, who would once more sack their homes and imperil their lives, unless they remained ready for defense. He was in the saddle immediately, and reached Lawrence without delay, finding less than four hundred men under arms; but he still thought that, in a military sense, they had overestimated their dangers. The city was found well fortified, and the people were strengthened in their resolution by the few manly words that he addressed to them during his first visit. It was easy to see that although Mr. Geary did not court popularity by any unworthy devices, he was bound to become popular in his rule. His brief absence from Lecompton had worked a change in the capital, as he found upon his return that some rumors of a visit to Osaukee had filled the city with a panic lest Gen. Lane should come and devour them all. The terror under which the proslavery party were suffering was probably assumed to win a point upon the governor, the facts not being of such a character as to justify extreme fear. Col. Lane had served in the same force in Mexico, although not in the same regiment, with Col. Geary, the one having risen from the ranks in the regiment sent by Indiana, and the other in one of the regiments from Pennsylvania; but Col. Lane was sufficiently acquainted with the *morale* of the governor, to be sure that, under his control, Kansas would soon find peace, consequently there was no need of his services in the field, and he concluded to leave by way of Topeka, returning upon the road then known as Lane's trail, through Nebraska and Iowa, so that during his journey he could give succor and counsel to the new emigrants coming by that route. It was not safe to travel alone, but the force with him was very small. When at Osaukee, the general was informed that some ruffians had been raiding Hickory Point and the neighborhood for some days. On the day of his setting out, the robbers had attacked Grasshopper Falls, a village about twenty-five miles from Leavenworth, and, as their last request, the people begged him to break up the stronghold. Reinforcements having been procured from Topeka

under the command of Capt. A. D. Stephens, better known as Capt. Whipple, Gen. Lane proceeded to Hickory Point, where the enemy was found strongly fortified in three houses, under competent commanders. Without artillery, nothing could be done, and, while waiting for such assistance from Lawrence, the proclamation of the governor disbanding all armed bodies, reached his camp, and of course he had no option but to leave the matter as it stood, only notifying the reinforcements which were to have reached him at Osaukee, that he had abandoned the expedition for the reason assigned. The force then commanded by Lane broke up, some going to Topeka with Capt. Stephens, others accompanying the general on his journey, consequently Lecompton had nothing to fear from the man that was most dreaded. The Hickory Point marauders did not, however, escape, as a force from Lawrence, with a twelve-pounder cannon, bombarded the rude fort for about six hours, and, after some slaughter, the enemy capitulated. Knowing very little of the facts, but being assured that warlike proceedings were being prosecuted in the neighborhood after his proclamation should have procured a cessation of all hostilities, Gov. Geary sent Col. Cook with a force of dragoons to enforce obedience, and on the night of September 14th, Col. Harvey, with a force of over one hundred men, surrendered to the dragoons, and every one of the body so found in arms was in fact arrested and held prisoners on very scanty fare indeed. The fact of their being in arms could not be denied, and there could be no justification of that offense before Judge Cato, who had so often committed the like offense on the other side. The prisoners were accused of murder, and bail was arbitrarily refused, although the murderers of Dow, Barber and Brown had never been even examined upon the charge which laid at their doors of deliberate and unprovoked murder, and, in this case, the offense that was imputed could only amount to constructive murder at the most. Gen. Smith refusing to retain the men as his prisoners, they were handed over to the civil authorities and were guarded by Col. Titus, of whom we have some knowledge, but their treatment was on the whole deplorable. They were tried in the following month, and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment with hard labor, dragging the ball and

chain at every step, but the governor exercised his power to annul the degrading feature of the punishment, and many of the men made their escape, so that thirty-one could not be found in December. The remainder were then handed over to the custody of Capt. Hampton, who behaved very kindly to the men under his charge. Many escapes continued to occur all the time, so that in March only seventeen remained under guard, and on the second day of that month, 1857, Gov. Geary used the pardoning power vested in him to return the remainder to their homes, in compliance with petitions from all parts of the territory.

Following to an end the story of Col. Harvey and his company has temporarily carried us away from Lawrence and its affairs; but a stroke of the pencil carries us back to September 14, 1856. Secretary Woodson is now at Wakarusa under directions from the governor, striving to induce his friends to recross the border and surrender their impossible revenge; but it is said to be easier to raise the Devil than to induce his Satanic majesty to return to sulphurean shades after his allies would like to dispense with him. Some such experience was now falling in the way of Mr. Woodson. His proclamation had been the means of bringing the pro-slavery men into Kansas, but his protestations and entreaties could not remove them, and it is doubtful whether he would have ventured into their den at Franklin, without an escort of United States dragoons. His eloquence failed to impress the border chiefs, and the disbanding order was treated with contempt. They had come into the territory to destroy Lawrence, and nothing would induce them to leave until that town and every other free state settlement had been razed to the ground. The same day Gov. Geary rode to Lawrence, accompanying Col. Cooke and all his force, resolved to be ready for the worst. Already, of course, he knew the threats that were being fulminated against himself, but he was not cursed with timidity, and he meant to grasp the nettle with energy. He could see now that the danger was not being overrated in the city. Nearly three thousand men were in the old Wakarusa camp imploring to be led on to the destruction of Lawrence, and in the city there were only three hundred men at arms, for the force under Col. Harvey, all good men and true, had been relied upon as codefenders.

Still there was no doubt on the part of the free state men that they could hold their fortifications against the foe in spite of the disproportion in numbers. "Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just," and men fighting for their wives and children, and all the tender memories of home, could not doubt that they were on the right side. The old commander, brave John Brown, had the firmness of adamant, and his energy and calm courage gave to every man additional resources in the perfect control of all his powers. Three hundred men, each holding a rifle which had been tried again and again in the face of danger, and which never failed to bring down its man, when held by thews and muscles such as now controlled their weapons, could not be scared by ten times their number of howling savages. John Brown became more emphatic in his scriptural quotations as the danger thickened, and there was a wondrous emphasis in his words, as he said: "Why do the heathen rage, and the wicked imagine a vain thing?"

But for the sorrow by distant firesides, it would have been well that the heroes defending Lawrence should have been allowed a fair field and no favor, to end at once and for ever the ravings of their enemies; but Gov. Geary was right, and the light of battle that already gleamed upon those faces found opportunities elsewhere, before many years had passed, to offer up the sacrifice of patriotism on wider battle fields which determined the self same issue as that for which they were then in arms. The governor found ready access to the city; men soon discover the impress of true manhood, and he had found his way to their hearts already. He came to tell them that the troops were ready to defend them from the enemy, and would discharge that duty to the last man. They were ready to disarm and disband at once if he so ordered, but that was not his will; he desired them to keep their weapons ready in the last resort to defend their homes and their lives, as their city might yet require them all. The next morning was the time named for the assault, and the governor started early and alone for the invaders' camp. He was three miles from the city, and about one mile from the encampment, when he met the advance of three hundred preparing for the affray. Having learned who they were, and what was their purpose, with a few superflu-

ous adjectives thrown in by his informant, to give point to the statement, that "Lawrence was to be wiped out, and every abolitionist:" he commanded his territorial militia to "right about face," and convey him to the center of the Wakarusa force. The commander in chief required no voucher as to his capacity to rule, and he was obeyed.

The officers who could say no and swear to it when Mr. Woodson was the orator, found that they had other mettle now to compel attention. Some men such as Jones, not the sheriff, and a few others, urged the attack against U. S. troops, and even the Union itself, for already many of them saw to what maelstrom they were drifting, but the more dangerous because the more rational concluded that they must obey the proclamation and disband. The more ruffianly were compelled to acquiesce apparently in a course which they hated, but on their way out of the territory they inflicted all the injury of which they were capable upon the settlers, whom they grudged to leave with even life itself. The John Brown war had ended; and although it had cost him dearly in his very heart's blood, there yet remained two sons and himself, with other men now around him, to raise the question of abolition elsewhere, to be answered with their lives at first, and thereafter with the blood of hundreds of thousands, until the terrific problem should be solved. Missouri falls back now from our pages as a fighting force, and Kansas enters upon a better era of her history; but some time must yet elapse before the relics of the old quarrel will altogether cease to be found, as well in the plowed fields of the territory as in the more curious fields of social and political memories. Missouri was fighting for a bad cause, in which she could not fail to be vanquished in the end, and her leaders descended to the use of weapons, which every honorable man should avoid, but, beyond doubt, the escutcheon of the cause was sullied by the deeds of her allies.

The country was approaching the days indicated by Isaiah, when "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid," but there was much work yet to be done. When Gov. Geary visited the Wakarusa camp he found Judge Cato, one of the territorial staff, whose name has frequently appeared in these pages, doing duty as a soldier, in spite of the

proclamation ordering that all forces should be disbanded. That fact will stand as a general indication of the disloyalty with which it was necessary to do battle in order to bring the administration of the territory up to a presentable point. Partisanship had abused all the functions of justice and law for the advantage of a faction. Murder by a proslavery man was hardly reprehensible, but for a free state man to strike in self defense deserved the severest penalties known to the judiciary. They were always wrong men in the wrong place, from Chief Justice Lecompte downward to the sheriff and his deputies, slaves of party using all the powers with which they were invested to prejudice the cause of the people, and to hand over Kansas, bound hand and foot for the foul designs of slavery. The duties of the judges had been nominal almost ever since their arrival in the territory, as ever since the enactments were passed at Shawnee, every free settler avoided the courts as he would the plague; but in their idleness, the several judges were laborious finding excuses for activity that common sense would have impelled them to shun, and on the wrong side their zeal was prodigious. The partiality of the judges was never questioned by their best friends, nor was that considered a fault, provided that they never gave judgment against their friends.

On the way back from Wakarusa the governor was accompanied by Judge Cato, and they were all but witnesses to a brutal and cowardly murder, committed by one of a troop of Kickapoo Rangers, within a few miles of Lecompton. A cripple named Buffum was at work in a field, and six of the troop set upon him to steal his horse. Lame and weak at the best, and not quarrelsome at any time, the poor creature was easily robbed; but after that end had been secured, one of the troop in sheer wantonness shot him in the abdomen, so that he died in great agony. While Buffum was dying the governor and Judge Cato came to the stop, and the governor received the dying statement of the murdered man. The murderer was arrested after two months ceaseless demand on the part of Col. Geary, although a reward of $500 had been offered for the discovery of the criminal, but after Hays, the murderer, had been committed to take his trial for murder in the first degree, Judge Lecompte allowed him to go at large on straw

bail. The course so pursued was manifestly defeating the aims of justice, and if the prisoner had been a free state man accused of only expressing his dislike for slavery, there would have been no bail and no consideration on the part of the chief justice. The governor ordered a re-arrest, and being absent from the capital for a few days, he found upon his return that Mr. Lecompte had liberated the prisoner a second time upon a writ of *habeas corpus*. Thus an executive quarrel arose which in the end so far exasperated the governor that he resigned his position; but we must not look too far ahead, and it is a good plan to avoid jumping before we come to the stile.

The holding of regular courts at stated intervals, and the encouragement by the judiciary of all attempts to bring wrong doers to justice, engaged the attention of the governor, and he did his best to impress upon the judiciary his view in the matter, but his success was very moderate indeed. The state prisoners consisting of Col. Harvey and his men were then waiting for an examination, but instead of bringing them to trial at once as might have been done, the chief justice went off on his pleasure, leaving word that the one hundred and one prisoners could be conveyed to Leavenworth in three weeks from that date. The governor was absent when that order was made, but upon his return Judge Cato was requested to make the examination, with the results already described. The misfeasance of officials had long been a source of complaint in the territory, and not without adequate cause. From every quarter came charges which could not be rebutted, and the governor brought down the whole staff upon him by an earnest and manly effort to arouse them to a sense of duty. The U. S. marshal, he of the proclamation, used his opportunity to procure troops under escorts, of which he sent his deputies to arrest free state men, but no other duty could be thought of, until the chief executive refused to supply dragoons to bolster up misapplied authority, and the people were protected thenceforth from displays of insolence which had been all but unbearable. There were thus daily accruing evidences that Col. Geary meant to hold the scales of justice fairly, and from all quarters there came testimony to the essential manliness of his character.

The industrial army, which was spoken of long since as Lane's

army of the north, was not an invading force, but a band or rather many bands of settlers who came on to make their homes in the territory, but who, knowing how their brethren had been treated by the Missourians, came armed for purposes of defense on the route as well as after settlement. They were coming when Mr. Shannon resigned, and indeed during the very earliest days of August, three weeks before his resignation, there were five hundred immigrants and sixty wagons encamped near Nebraska City, about ninety-six miles from Omaha by the Missouri, ready to enter the territory of Kansas. This number had gradually accumulated, some had attempted the Missouri passage and had been driven back with the loss of nearly all their possessions, and none could say what obstacles would be presented to their entrance in this direction, hence the first comers waited for additions, and now they had indeed become an army in dimensions, nor were they altogether unprepared, should a fight become inevitable. The south had thoroughly roused the spirit of the north at last; but notwithstanding all that, these men wanted peaceful homesteads in Kansas and would only give battle when other means failed to secure them their rights. Some brought with them stock and agricultural implements, having determined upon farming and stock raising as their pursuit, but they were not without more warlike weapons to use when requisite. The little assemblage contained almost as many various projects as there were men in the company, but actual conquest by force of arms was not one of them. Peaceful possession and armed defense, if necessary, would much more truthfully express their intentions. The force came on with abundant proof of their *bona fides*, founding villages such as Plymouth, Lexington and Holton, the first now a postal village and railroad station on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad in Lyon county, the second grown into a township on the Kansas River traversed by the St. Louis, Lawrence and Western Railroad, with a population of over thirteen hundred, and the last a city, the capital of Jackson county on the Kansas Central Railroad, having two newspapers and a population of five hundred persons.

Enough has been said to show that these men with their families meant settlement, and not war, and that they were well adapt-

ed to select sites for their future habitations. The men who made these settlements also left the streams temporarily bridged, so that their successors could come on with less delay. The balance of the party came on to Topeka, where many made their homes. There was in this rush of emigrants nothing to alarm any man, unless he saw in the increasing power of the free settlers a death blow for his hope that Kansas could be made a slave state; but the territorial authorities were men of that type, and for the same reason that they would welcome a rush of a like kind over the Missouri border, they hated to see the new arrivals *via* Nebraska. Mr. Woodson, during his term of authority, telegraphed to President Pierce that one thousand armed men had arrived on the borders of the territory; twenty thousand such would have been a gain, and not a source of alarm; there are now 600,000 people in Kansas, any one of whom might be proud to entertain the humblest in that army.

The idea of an invasion from the north, with such designs as had just been defeated from the south, was presented to the mind of Gov. Geary in the latter part of September, and inasmuch as he wished to avoid the chance of Kansas being made merely the battle ground of a faction, he despatched a force to inspect the new arrivals, said to be one thousand strong, and just ready to swoop down upon the territory. The company was found one hundred and thirty only, and they were all arrested and conveyed to the capitol, where the governor saw them, and being satisfied that they were peaceful and desirable immigrants, although armed, gave them a kindly welcome and permission to settle where they would, unmolested. Continual alarms of this description occurred. Three hundred dragoons were sent to arrest a force of seven hundred men with cannon and small arms, and instead of any such perilous force there were only three hundred immigrants, just as well armed as their predecessors, and as peaceable. A delegation from this body, on the first of October, had an interview with Col. Geary to disabuse his mind of an erroneous impression; but of course the necessity for such precautions could not be otherwise than annoying to the persons molested, whatever the motive of the authority by which the obstruction comes. Subsequently there were two stories as to the delegation and their friends, and

it is not easy to assume that either side was entirely wrong. Two men disputed about a shield, one saying that it was gold, the other that it was silver, but before settling the question in the orthodox way by fighting, one of the two was wise enough to change positions, and he found that the shield was gold on the one side, and silver on the other. Gov. Geary reported what he saw, and what was reported to him, in his own way according to his belief, while the immigrants and their friends gave their experience from a different standpoint. American citizens happily are not accustomed to be inspected by dragoons, and they don't take to it kindly; that is of course very proper. The deputy United States marshal said that the immigrants came as an organized band in martial array, with superfluous arms, and presenting an appearance so equivocal that he insisted upon examining their wagons. There is no law that expressly provides what arms shall be carried by citizens, and perhaps the constitution would allow every man to be his own judge in that respect, but the exceptional condition of Kansas may well account for preparations on one side, and suspicions on the other. The force which came prepared for war found peace prevailing, established by the wise rule of the man whose action they were finding so inconvenient in their cases; but there might have been some satisfaction in knowing that the same rule which was irksome in their own instance was a means of security for their families and themselves, when it applied to the unlawful bands of marauders that were now permanently relegated to the further side of the Missouri river. This world abounds in compensations, and their lot was not without them. The duty devolving upon the governor was perplexing, but if he allowed a body of men to come with arms and munitions of war unchecked over one boundary, how could he insist upon a cessation in another. If his predecessor had cleared the obstructions from the Missouri, no such armament would have been dreamed of. The whole party was arrested in the instance mentioned, and the governor met them at Topeka, where from his own observation he concluded that they came within the line which his proclamation had marked out as contrary to the law, and therefore in order to preserve the peace, he called upon them to disperse. The governor addressed the crowd

at some length, explaining his policy and questioning them as to their being aware of the terms of his proclamation before they came across the border, but he showed less than his ordinary sagacity when he concluded that their excuses were unsatisfactory, inasmuch as the requisite information did reach them in Nebraska territory. Their arms of all kinds were valuable properties. Were they to leave them in Nebraska City where they would be all but valueless, or to bring them along where their value might, in a purely business point of view, be expected to be enhanced by the dangers incidental to Kansas colonization? Could they have known before leaving home that he had tamed and dispersed the ruffians, much of the expenditure might have been saved; but even then they might reasonably doubt the continuance of his rule, seeing how often the power behind the throne had removed Kansas governors.

The governor supported his officers in the course they had pursued, and the colonists, who had only associated for safety in their travel, dispersed upon the first invitation, giving therein the best evidence of their good faith. The pacification of the territory was naturally enough good news, and the governor noted that the officer of dragoons, Maj. Sibley, who had escorted the corps of emigrants under arrest, was honored with three cheers in apparent recognition of his gentlemanly demeanor on the march. The warlike societies of the eastern states came in for a vote of censure at the hands of Col. Geary, who appeared to be incapable of seeing, that the line of conduct which he condemned arose out of the territorial condition which he had bent all his energies to reform; but that, had Secretary Woodson remained master of the situation, all these precautions, and more besides, would have been necessary to save the free state men from absolute extermination. The conductors of the emigrant train averred, that their party consisted of less than three hundred persons, whose families were following only a few days travel behind, that they were desirous to become residents in Kansas, that the Missouri blockade rendered overland travel a necessity, and that they were armed because they had reason to expect that northern Kansas would be found infested with marauders. They complained of unnecessary harshness and destruction of goods in the

search for arms among their packages, and they declared their mission to be peaceful without any other organization than that necessary to preserve order and property. Both sides were right, but it is very probable that some of the subordinates put on the importance of office in the most pompous way they knew, and assuredly American citizens are in peaceful times entitled to carry arms, unquestioned by dragoons. The governor was trying to be rigorously impartial, and as a consequence, he caused annoyance to both sides, but in the main, however much some few of the extremists on the popular side were offended, the mass of the community could see that Col. Geary aimed at doing the right thing in the way that seemed to him best for all concerned. The names of the men that acted as conductors for the party of immigrants would, of themselves, stand sponsor for the truthfulness of their statements, so far as they spoke from their own knowledge.

It was a subject for much congratulation, that by the end of September peace had been established all over Kansas, except in Leavenworth, and Gov. Geary by his energy and promptitude had contributed mainly to that end. Men were able to send their produce from their farms into cities, and to procure in return the goods necessary for their convenience without military escort or any fear of an assault. The bands of guerrillas that had menaced life and property so long were effectually driven out or quelled; houses were safe from assault, as well from scoundrels clothed in the forms of law, as from others who only called themselves a militia; the disturbances existing were petty and trivial, such as only served to illustrate the general peace. Where necessary, in the neighbood of Leavenworth for instance, troops were ready and willing to protect and convoy loaded wagons or other property, but the condition of that city itself was still an eyesore; and the governor applied his will to the reduction of its disorder. The complaints of the people had never ceased since the day that they had first learned that the office of governor was filled by a man to whom honesty might look for succor; but where so many and such various demands were made, something must be done first. A letter bearing date, October 1, 1856, addressed to the mayor of Leavenworth, that "the regulators must be dis-

banded," and so well was it known, that when Col. Geary spoke, he meant business, that the acquiescent mayor was immediately capable of issuing his proclamation, and the regulators subsided under regulations. "Law and order," but happily, not in the old Leavenworth sense, once more reigned in the city, and business was speedily seen assuming its proper proportions in the streets where riot had prevailed so long. The government was felt to be strong in the will of one man alone, but that will was a guaranty to the whole of the people. A real militia force was mustered in for defensive purposes in the early part of October, two being stationed at the capital and one in the city of Lawrence; but two months' service was pronounced enough to serve all proper purposes; the people were secure in the good faith of the governor, and he was confident that in whatever emergency might arise he would be supported by the whole force of the resident population from whom he once feared so much trouble.

There had been many requests from different parts of the territory for authority to form independent military companies, but in every case the proposition was declined, as the chief executive of the territory was fully capable of the position, and he proposed to be the actual commander-in-chief while he remained in Kansas. The choice of a delegate to congress was thought of so little moment, as it was hoped that the constitution of Kansas as a state would soon pass into law, that when an election was called for, very few of the free state party cared to vote, and Whitfield was elected by a posse of voters that came over from Westport in his company, and literally made him for once ashamed of his associates; or else he said so for the purpose of covering appearances. Things having been now reduced to something like order, the governor set out on a tour through Kansas, seeing beauties which might well wean the most obstreperous to the enjoyments of peaceful life, yet amidst which but little more than a month since the din of robbery and rapine had daily resounded; and upon his return, a day of "Thanksgiving and Praise" was appointed for the 20th of November. Scattered marauders were still heard of in some parts of the territory, but officers and troops were rendering a very good account of all such ruffians, when the troops were recalled to winter quarters. Five thieves

had been arrested, much booty recovered, and it was something to find the official force of the territory which had been so long engaged in worrying the people now occupied in repressing disorder and preventing outrage. The moral tone thus given to government in Kansas was a luxury.

The legislature of Vermont had liberally voted $20,000 to assist the people of Kansas in consideration of the fact that the outrages daily perpetrated had prevented the customary harvest labors from being executed, but when the governor of the state of Vermont communicated that fact to the governor of Kansas territory, Col. Geary expressed a doubt whether any such help was needed, reserving however the right to call upon the Vermont people, should any cases of sufficient urgency come under his notice. During the month of November the town of Hyattville was founded on the south branch of the Pottawatomie, in order to find employment for a number of young men who were otherwise likely to drift out of soundings, but the township has long since ceased to be mentioned even by the most painstaking gazetteer. The men most likely to succeed in a colony are just the men that have surplus energy and can make success anywhere.

The first impressions of Gov. Geary were being very slowly succeeded by better, because wider views of the men over whom he was called to rule, and they were able to read him much sooner than he could decipher their worth. The first work necessary toward comprehending any person or thing is to get quit of first impressions, to unlearn what is wrong and to prepare the way for a careful appreciation of the actual condition of things. Col. Geary was sure that both parties were in the wrong in Kansas, but he was expecting to find the free state party most to blame for the condition of affairs which had apidly supervened; he was now slowly learning the worth of the men whom he had almost contemned in the judgment formed without inquiry into the facts where alone the truth could be ascertained. He found that they had been patient under oppression, until patience stood on the verge of crime or even cowardice, and that they had only taken up arms in self defense when their dear ones at home could in no other way be protected. He found them ready to resume their daily avocations as soon as the necessity for armed defense

had passed away, and it was singular th· ·xcept in the instance of the Rev. Martin White, who boasted of his horrible exploit in the double murder of William Garrison and Frederick Brown, there was no evidence of an approach to a *vendetta*. A community capable of so much courage and of so much self denial deserved a more favorable verdict from the governor and in course of time that result was fully achieved. His first duty was to govern firmly and with wise impartiality, and he carried through his *role* so well that no man could say he swerved toward either side; but inasmuch as fair play was all that the free state men had ever asked, his inflexible justice was a passport to their regard, however reserved might be his manner. That day, at Lawrence, when he refused to accept a surrender of the arms of John Brown and his company, was a good inlet to the character of the man, and it won him more than golden opinions from men all over Kansas, when the story was told.

He was governor of Kansas in the best sense, at a time when the people were dependent upon one man power, and it was well that Mr. Pierce was able to find a man so capable. But every quality that endeared him to the settlers was an additional reason why the other side should be his inexorable enemies, should even come in bitter earnest to discuss the best means for putting him aside by a method more expeditious and more deterrent of future aspirants from the east, than appealing to the power behind the throne. There was a proposition to combine the great mass of the residents in Kansas, early in the month of December, upon a basis mutually acceptable, which could be propounded as a common declaration of principles, but the necessity to recognize the Shawnee legislature in any degree rendered the attempt abortive. Still, the people were now earnestly wooing peace, and when the time drew near for the reassembly of the state legislature, many thought that no good purpose could be served just at that time by continuing the struggle. The traveler, that could not be robbed of his cloak by the strong winds that tried strenuously to carry it away, allowed the garment to drop unheeded from his shoulders in the genial sunshine. Gov. Robinson, who never failed in times of trouble, was inclined to think that he could more profitably serve the territory, if he resigned the office to which he had

been elected at Topeka, and then betook himself to Washington to work in the cause of the people; but owing to some misunderstanding, his letter of resignation was not presented when the legislature convened on the 5th of January, 1857, and it was made to appear that the doctor had failed to show proper courtesy to his friends. The lieutenant governor, who held the doctor's letter, was also absent; but all the discontent disappeared, on a brief explanation. The assembling of the legislature gave no heartburning to Gov. Geary, although as usual, his reporters were present to see how things were moving; but another power was visibly present, in the person of sheriff Jones. Another quarrel was a potent necessity in his life, and he arrived in Topeka, armed with writs sued out from Judge Cato, to arrest every member of the state legislature. Of course there would be resistance, and he saw a never ending vista of war rising out of his well concocted scheme; but when the writs were exhibited to the several legislators, they took the arrests as the merest matters of course, were conveyed to Tecumseh without a murmur, came up before Judge Cato on the following day, were liberated upon their own bail in every case, and were not called upon at any time after to stand a trial for the nominal offense. Catiline, the conspirator, was a second time overthrown by Cato, and the sheriff was the unhappiest man in Kansas.

CHAPTER XVII.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY
(continued.)

GOVERNOR GEARY CONCLUDES — EVENTS OF 1857.

Lecompton Legislature — Governor's Message — Unpalatable Truths — Faction Fury — Abominable Legislation — Lecompte's Defenders — Condoning Murder — Vetoing Veto — Fomenting Strife — Sheriff Sherrard — Insolent Official — Bold Threats — Patient Waiting — Legislative Resolution — Sufficient Reasons — Uncontrolled Rage — Malicious Motive — Buncombe — Illegal Law — Personal Violence — Supreme Contempt —

Assembly Privilege — Lawlessness — Maintaining Dignity — Ca[illegible] Indifference — Unexpected Difficulties — Popular Indignation — Mass Meeting — Repression Demanded — Malcontent Majority — Geary Denounced — Pistol Encounter — Bystanders Shot — Murder — Riot Continued — Sherrard's Death — Lynch Law — Tumult Repressed — Jones Escapes — Proslavery Convention — Absolutely Exclusive — Major General Richardson — Slave Laws — Granting Charters — Encouraging Railroads — Revenue Status — Deadly Foes — Single Issue — Jeff. Davis — Governor Powerless — Presidential Desertion — Murderer Hays — Vindictive Triumph — Geary Resigns — Prudential Retreat — Capt. Walker — Governor Scrutinized — Kansas Converts — Woodson's Promotion — Buchanan's Appointee — Governor Walker — Experienced Statesman — Preliminary Conditions — Avoiding War — Difficult Problem — Constitutional Convention — Secretary Stanton — Proslavery Man — Territorial Policy — Governor Inaugurates — Popular Apathy — Cooked Census — Fraudulent Returns — Disfranchised — Stanton Deceived — Governor's Address — Adjusting Quarrel — Honest Advice — Certainly Vote — Ratification Doubtful — Prohibiting Violence — Ratification Essential — Another Victim — Doubters' Castle — Decline Participation — Free Soil Power — Journalistic Disease — Topeka Organization — Walker Misunderstood — Trusting Ratification — Press Censures — Endangering Kansas — Distrust Universal — Southern Fury — Topeka Convention — State Legislature — Biding Events.

When the whilom Shawnee legislature assembled at Lecompton the 12th of January, there was rage in almost every heart against the governor, who had defeated their abominable designs, and that feeling was intensified by the nature of his message. Col. Geary had now been nearly four months in the territory, and from the day of his arrival he had thwarted them by forcible remonstrances and by the quiet exercise of his powers. The tone and tenor of his message showed that the whole situation had been calmly considered, and that the writer did not hesitate to utter unpalatable truths, when necessary, even though he should thereby bring down upon him the fury of a merciless and vindictive faction. The legislature was angry beyond measure to find that the so called Kansas militia was classed in the same category with the forces that had been fighting under Gen. Lane, and of course the governor was wrong in that instance, as the men directed by the General before mentioned were using their natural right in defending their homes, in the absence of legal authority to protect them, while the "militia," a fraud just on a par with

the "legislature," was assailing all that was most dear to their neighbors in a manner which no law could uphold. But that was not the point taken by the legislature. With that body the movements of the militia were praiseworthy in the highest degree; and high treason was a term too mild to express their horror at the conduct of Lane. The governor's sins did not end there; he recommended that the slavery laws should be repealed, and that certain other enactments should be amended to bring them into accordance with the will of the community; besides all these several sins, the governor concluded with an announcement of his impartiality. When the prisoner, weeping in the presence of the judge was promised justice, he candidly replied, "That is what I am afraid of;" so with the legislature, they hated the idea of an impartial governor. Before the session commenced, a caucus was held, and in that secret assembly it was resolved that every measure vetoed by the governor should be passed in spite of him by a two-thirds vote in both houses. Having arrived at that resolution, measures were introduced from which he must dissent, in order that he might experience their animus against him. One bill gave power to any judge to bail any prisoner held for any offense, during vacation. This act, although worthless as *ex parte facto* law for the purpose intended, was meant as an indorsement of Chief Justice Lecompte in allowing the murderer Hays to escape after the death of Buffum. The objections of the governor were ridiculed by his mentors, and his veto was vetoed with but one dissentient vote. Availing themselves of the condonation of murder thus extended to political accomplices, several malefactors for whose convenience warrants had long been waiting, came up and were discharged from custody by their subservient friend, Judge Cato. Every other measure, with only one exception, that was passed by the house of representatives during that session, became law by two-thirds votes of both houses. There was a determination which nothing could unsettle that the man who had saved Lawrence from destruction should be driven from the territory by any and every means. Sheriff Jones had resigned his office, and the appointment of his successor was made the occasion for a malignant display on the part of his friends, the county commissioners. A person named Sherrard

was recommended for the office because he boasted that he would involve the whole neighborhood in war within a week after his duties commenced. The commissioners gave him the nomination, but his official authority must come from the governor. There was some difficulty as to the issuing the commission when Sherrard first called at the executive office, and the appointee was very insolent in his remarks; threatening on the second occasion the worst possible consequences to the governor personally, unless the document was forthcoming. Such manifestations continued, but of course, the governor would not be intimidated; and while the business was thus half way, the Douglas county commissioners became aware that they had made a very wrong selection, and they called upon Col. Geary to request that he would assist them by withholding the commission until they could hold a regular meeting and annul the appointment. The evil repute of Sherrard was common property, and memorials against his authorization came in on every hand, so the governor waited; of course more willingly because of the brutal threats which had been fulminated against his own life.

The house of representatives took up the quarrel on the side of the brawling appointee, and a resolution was passed calling upon the chief executive to give reasons for his conduct, and the application called forth a sufficient, but of course an unsatisfactory reply. The rage of the legislature was boundless, because every reason that showed the fellow unworthy of the office, and repugnant to the best men in the territory, made him more fit to be their instrument; and it is possible that they would have taken up his quarrel even if he had been a good man, in order to improve their attack upon Col. Geary. They were brimful of malice, and they needed no other motive to persevere in their conduct. Every variety of declamation was exhausted in the task of defaming His Excellency, and profanity was freely used as a spice for their remarks. Passing beyond verbiage, the house passed a bill legalizing Sherrard's appointment without a commission, but the council refused to concur in that measure, although that body blamed the governor strongly. The sheriff elect became more demonstrative than ever now, and two members of the governor's household in succession were assaulted by him.

Following up that lead, on the 9th of February, he accosted the governor himself as he left the house of representatives, and tried to provoke an altercation, but the Colonel treated him with contempt, and passed on, followed by the ruffian with his pistol in his hand and spitting with fury. Maj. Gen. Richardson introduced a resolution in the house defending its privileges and denouncing Sherrard, but the motion was put aside, and only a half approving remonstrance substituted to uphold the dignity of the legislature. Judge Cato had been more complaisant than the other officials until now, but it became evident at this time that he was in league with ex-sheriff Jones and Sherrard, against the chief, so that although a warrant had been procured against the assailant, no service could be effected, and redress was at last abandoned. The governor was learning what "law and order" meant in the esteem of the territorial authorities. Popular indignation was manifested everywhere, in mass meetings in many places, and one such assembly was convened in the capital; the proslavery men demanded that the governor should forbid the meeting, but he declined to take that course very properly. The audience was largely made up of the Missourian faction, and it soon became apparent that a fight would be more in order than a debate. Sherrard, who was present, used some expressions which were tantamount to a challenge to any one that supported the governor, and when a Mr. Shepherd defended Col. Geary's conduct, the sheriff elect drew his six shooter and fired every barrel at him. The gentlemen thus assailed, was thrice wounded before he could remove his gloves and use his pistol, nor was his weapon then available, as the caps were wet, and seeing that his assailant was about to use another pistol, he rushed upon him, using his own as a bludgeon. The fight contiuued in that way for some time before the crowd could separate the combatants, when Mr. Shepherd was removed, wounded in a manner supposed to be mortal. Another person in the meeting had been shot in the assault. Mr. Jones, a member of the governor's household, who was present, was next assailed by Sherrard, but that gentleman seeing the revolver raised to shoot, drew his own weapon and the firing became general. Sherrard fell mortally wounded, and his companions wanted to hang Mr.

Jones, but the opposite side was too strong to allow such an act of revenge, and the riot was quelled at this point. Jones made his escape through Nebraska, or he would have been lynched, as a reward of $500 was offered for his execution. Before leaving, he was examined by Judge Cato, who held him to bail in the sum of $5,000. The governor's eyes were opened now to the tactics of the proslavery party, but too late for his convictions to be of value to the territory. Several preliminary meetings in different places had begun in January, 1857, when the Lecompton legislature met to organize a proslavery convention without disguise, and that no man should have a seat therein who was not sound on the single issue, was the expressed determination of the party, but at the last moment and in deference to northern democratic feeling, the name was changed to "National Democratic Party." The convention meetings, as long as they lasted, were concurrent with those of the legislature. Maj. Gen. Richardson, one of the very few men in the house of representatives, who was not lost to all sense of honor, died while the house was in session, and his loss was formally mourned.

The slave laws were vindicated with much asperity against the governor's message; charters were granted to many towns, some of which never came into existence in fact, and legislation to encourage the building of railroads was advanced; but of course every movement of the kind indicated some personal end to be served. The treasurer had in hand two dollars and some cents, the total revenue for the year being less than $2,000, and the indebtedness of the territory exceeded two years' income at that rate.

From Col. Geary's standpoint, it now became apparent that he was surrounded by deadly enemies; but he supposed that the democracy all over the union, and the president, would sustain him against his foes; but he speedily found that the power wielded by the secretary of war was still in the hands of Jefferson Davis, who would sacrifice his old comrade in arms without a scruple, to satisfy the slave power. Gen. Smith, at Fort Leavenworth, would send no troops for his protection, and his plea was, "orders from the secretary of war" designating the troops for other services. The moneys due to him from Washington were

refused, his dispatches were left unnoticed, and even in the case of the murderer Hays, Secretary Marcy took sides against the best official ever sent to the territory. The men who had been quieted at Leavenworth and elsewhere had carried their wrongs to headquarters, and they enjoyed their vindictive triumph. Unable to bear up against such injustice, Col. Geary resigned his appointment of the 4th of March, but although that act was not to take effect until the 20th, he was compelled, for prudential reasons, to save his life by a precipitate retreat before the morning of the 5th, being aided therein by Capt. Walker, the well known free state guerrilla leader. The first impressions brought by the governor to Kansas militated largely against his success in the office, but, in spite of that drawback, he had succeeded remarkably, as we have seen, so long as U. S. troops were allowed to support him in the honest and manly course marked out; but when he was left alone and unsupported by the general government, under President Buchanan, there were but two courses open before him: one to remain and be assassinated, and the other to try the chances of a precipitate retreat. It is claimed by the friends of Chief Justice Lecompte, that his intervention alone prevented the murder of Col. Geary. The dangers run by Mr. Shannon and by Mr. Reeder were already well known in the free state cities, and in each of these instances a man was converted to free soil views by the horrible lawlessness of the law makers in Kansas. Once more Secretary Woodson was *ex officio* governor of the territory, pending the arrival of the successor of Col. Geary; but when President Buchanan nominated Gov. Walker, another Pennsylvanian, to that office, he promoted Mr. Woodson to be receiver in the Delaware land district, so that the territory was no longer cursed by his assiduous zeal for slavery.

The new governor came into office under special promises of protection from the president, and he was also the friend of the great Stephen A. Douglas. He was essentially a statesman and a man of considerable powers of mind, as his previous career had made manifest. He was a lawyer in good repute, son of Judge Walker, of the United States supreme court, and had been secretary of the treasury in President Polk's cabinet; consequently he was a man of mark. He had scrupled to accept the nomination,

but that it was urged upon him that unless peculiar talent was employed in adjusting the affairs of Kansas, the whole union would be involved in civil war. The problem of avoidance was not to be easily solved by any one, but Mr. Walker was assumed to be the man best calculated to attempt the task. Years later he was a tried and trusted friend of the great President Lincoln, an evidence that he was no mere time server, but a truly patriotic man. He discussed his policy with his friends Buchanan and Douglas, and he carried out as well as he was able the course which they had mapped; but even they could not divine the purposes of the proslavery party. There was a probability that the Topeka government would vindicate and uphold its authority by force of arms, aided by the free states, which dared not allow the free settlers to be crushed, while, of course, the south and Missouri would send their hordes to sustain the pseudo legislature and territorial authority, and the consequences could not be imagined without a shudder. Four years later the end was only at hand, when Abraham Lincoln's administration ended the dispute by procuring the admission of Kansas to the union as a free state, after Mr. Buchanan had been deflected from the straight course of honesty into devious channels, which made the whole of his after life an attempt at vindication; after Stephen A. Douglas, worn out and cast aside, had only life enough remaining to send his dying message to his sons, urging them to be true to the union, which he had tried to serve at his last moment by advice and aid to his great rival, President Lincoln. But the struggle must be evolved and ended in its own way; there was no other possible. The policy determined upon in Washington was, to uphold the territorial enactments by all the power of the United States, and at the same time to convene an assembly of the people to vote on the question of a state constitution, under all the guaranties that proper force could offer, for fair voting only by *bona fide* residents in the territory. The new secretary, Mr. Stanton, was a man of different stamp from his predecessor, but he came full of proslavery prejudices, and he was necessarily liable to be misled by proslavery advisers in matters of detail, very important in their influence, with which he must deal. The new secretary preceded the governor, arriving in Lecompton April 15, 1857,

and he at once assumed the direction of affairs. In a very outspoken way, he denounced free state men and their policy of opposing territorial enactments. He was the first to promulgate the policy already resolved upon, and the steps necessary to prepare for the constitutional convention were at once begun. The governor followed one month and twelve days later, and his inaugural address followed immediately; but until the Missourian faction and their southern allies began to denounce the appointee of President Buchanan, there was a singular apathy throughout Kansas. It was not possible to induce free state men to consent to take an interest in a constitutional convention assembled under the auspices of the usurpers, calling themselves the territorial legislature, and just at that point the difficulty was insuperable.

The census necessary to be taken, before an election of delegates to the convention could be held, was authorized by an act of the Lecompton legislature in February, but the sheriffs of counties were to collect the required information and make the returns, so that there was no guaranty for fair play from the outset, and, in reality, less than half the counties were represented when the census was said to be complete: fifteen counties only were dealt with out of thirty-four, and the returns were grossly untrue in every respect in which falsity could help the proslavery faction. No person could vote unless his name appeared on the list, and the delegates were allotted for the whole territory to the fifteen counties wrongfully returned, while nineteen counties were left without representation; while hundreds of nonresidents were enumerated where the sheriffs thought they would do the most good. This act of disfranchisement was the first work of the new secretary, but Mr. Stanton had, beyond doubt, been deceived. The border counties, almost alone, where Missouri could vote with ease, were included in the wrongful apportionment. When the error became apparent to the secretary, it was too late to amend; and, unfortunately, penitence will seldom undo a wrong deed.

The governor's inaugural address was mainly addressed to the free state party, and he used all his lawyer-like persuasiveness to induce them to vote in the June election, when the constitutional convention was to be elected. His good will appeared in every

line; he was, moreover, a man possessed of an intellect, and, in that fact, his proslavery allies soon discovered that he was a very inconvenient person to be governor of Kansas.

Among other reasons why every man whose name appeared on the census should vote, Mr. Walker called attention to the fact that the enactment providing for the convention contained no proviso for the submission of the constitution when framed to a ratification vote by the whole people, and although he stated, toward the end of his address, that such an omission ought to afford a reason why congress should reject the constitution, he still urged every resident to cast a ballot in June for delegates to the convention. The address was lengthy and well compacted, and it contained the statement that he was sustained in his views by Mr. Buchanan and his cabinet; but beyond the points named, and an implied engagement that violence would not be allowed to prevent a full ballot on polling day, there was nothing else noteworthy. The fact that Mr. Walker demanded ratification became almost immediately a bone of contention among proslavery men, who saw in that movement the defeat of all their schemes; and in spite of the president and Mr. Douglas, the governor was already set down as another necessary victim to their policy. The free state men who had lived in doubters' castle until that paragraph was penned, saw therein an indication of a means to nullify the whole procedure. They would not send delegates to the convention, but when the measure was submitted to a popular vote, they would use their right as they saw fit. Should there be no attempt at a ratification, then they were sure that the constitution would never pass through congress; their friends in the lower house were strong enough to place that question beyond doubt. Supposing that the census had been compiled fairly, the free state party could have carried a convention of their own friends without difficulty, as their numbers had largely increased; but there was no such chance under the false and fraudulent system adopted, so that there was no inducement to recognize the Shawnee–Lecompton sham. False voting was now the only resource of the faction. Their numbers had so materially decreased in Kansas that the Atchison thunderer, long active and pernicious as the "Squatter Sovereign," ceased to be

published about the middle of 1857, and no such paper has at any time since disgraced the territory or the state. Perhaps if Col. Geary had propounded such a scheme in January as Mr. Walker advocated in May, after the people had come to know and appreciate him, there might have been a different result; but Mr. Walker was not known, and in that fact added to his southern associations, there was ground for reasonable doubt; so the free state men concluded that they would adhere to the Topeka constitution and organization until some material improvement should be offered. They would trust to the ratification or non-ratification of the Lecompton constitution, and express an opinion then, if at all. The southern and the Missouri press denounced that clause with all the interperative skill that belonged to their *repertoire*, and Gov. Walker was told in fifty different ways, that he was endangering Kansas for the slave power by such words. Thus the means that were to have ended the difficulty seemed to be only a new beginning of trouble, and distrust, which had been sectional only, became general. Southern fury was unmistakable, and Gov. Walker's law was rudely questioned.

The free state men held a convention in their capital, in which it was formally resolved that the Lecompton fraud should not be countenanced, and the state legislature was duly convened on the 9th of June, six days before the time named for the election. The chief of the territorial executive was in the city when the state legislature met, but that gentleman sought peace, and their session was not disturbed. The state legislature ordered a census which would serve to show how falsely the enumeration had been taken by the make-believe sheriffs and their assistants. The election of state officers in August, 1857, having been provided for, and Topeka having been expressly designated as the capital of the state, the legislature concluded to rest from its labors until the outcome of the new line of policy should appear. There were many who were already shrewd enough to assert that before the year had ended, Mr. Walker would be numbered among the men convinced of the rectitude of the free settlers' demands in Kansas, by actual contact with themselves and their opponents.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY.
(continued.)

DENVER VICE WALKER — EVENTS OF 1857-8.

State Officers — Lane Organizing — Grasshopper Falls — August Elections — Menacing Lawrence — About October — Walker's Promises — Shadow and Substance — Recognizing Difficulties — Designed Unfairness — Unequally Yoked — Another Effort — Territorial Taxes — Reluctant Assent — Mass Convention — Delegates Convened — Ballot Conquest — Fair Test — Wise Concession — Lane Leading — Endless Debates — Sound Conclusion — Delegate Nominations — Supporting Judges — Despondent Appeal — Success Unexpected — Congressional Delegate — Certificates Refused — Cato's Mandamus — Magnanimity — Cato Vanquished — Constitutional Convention — Popular Disgust — Settlers Convention — Lecompton Fraud — Constitution Unratified — Washington Manufacture — War Secretary — Slave Code — Flagitious Procedure — Fraud Invited — Malignant Influences — Soliciting Invasion — Wrong Basis — Refuse Voting — Looking Back — Daring Stroke — Secret Machinations — Two Wrongs — Calhoun's Maneuver — Masked Batteries — Proslavery Spies — Walker's Scruples — Buchanan Wavers — Dreadful Music — Governor Resigns — Manly Statement — Kansas Unconquerable — Changed Instructions — Acting Governor — Another Convert — Extra Session — Stanton's Message — Difficulty Unsolved — Organization — Honest Voting — Investigation — Frauds Punished — Congressional Work — Test Election — Stanton Removed — Gen. Denver — Sec. Gov. Calhoun's Report — Two Pictures — Leavenworth Democrats — Buchanan Stoops — Political Conscience — Senate Action — Brave Douglas — Congressional Battles — A. H. Stephens — Bill Admitting — Crittenden's Amendment — Conditional Admission — Popular Verdict — Trying Bribes — Congressional Lobbyists — Dirty Hands — Withering Denunciation — Territorial Ticket — *Brutum Fulmen* — Further Doubts — Lawrence Convention — Won't Vote — Try Again — Bolters Convene — Decisive Victory — State Organization — Views Differ — Territorial Work — Denver's Message — State Constitution — Minneola Capital — Log Rolling — Impotent Conclusion.

The delegate convention, which we have seen in session at Topeka, nominated officers for the August elections, and reiterated the scorn for Lecompton and its legislature which had been ex-

pressed by the Topeka legislature, and in consideration of rumors of Missourian aggression to be consummated in August, Gen. Lane was requested to organize the people in every precinct to protect the ballot. The course to be taken as to the October elections was relegated to a mass, to be convened at Grasshopper Falls toward the end of August; when a delegate convention would also assemble, charged to carry out the views of the people. The voting in August showed 7,267 as the highest vote recorded, and the ticket nominated by the convention was of course carried. There were only 34 votes against the Topeka constitution, and 7,267 affirmed its fitness. Lawrence having refused to organize under the charter passed by the Lecompton legislature, Gov. Walker unwisely tried to compel submission, and the city was surrounded by about six hundred dragoons, but the men of Lawrence persisted in contemning the charter and in preparing an organization of their own, and the troops were at length called off after a few weeks of useless exercise. The October elections were still the topic everywhere, and the governor's promises had in them the ring of sincerity, so that many were disposed to participate in electing a legislature not under territorial enactments, but under the organic act. It seems wonderful now that any men hesitated when an honest vote of over 7,000 could be polled under some show of fairness, but many argued in favor of abandoning the substance *de facto* government in the territory, for the shadowy glory of a nominal state organization; and not a few went for both together, certainly the best course then available. There were many difficulties in the way, among the rest the unfair census and an unjust apportionment of representatives by the leaders of the proslavery party availing themselves of the governor's local newness, but the obstacles were not insuperable. The objects aimed at were indubitable, and the prospect of success for the Missourian faction lulled that party into a false security, so that even their frauds helped to defeat them. Precincts were unequally yoked together so that a populous city like Topeka could be outvoted at Fort Scott, and counties where Missouri could readily muster undisturbed were allowed to return more members than other two counties where resident voters were more numerous. The principle being thus stated, it is useless to

burden the reader with the tiresome details of the purposed invasion, under which a remote precinct with only a score of inhabitants far from the probabilities of observation could return a vote of hundreds, or if necessary of thousands, to counteract honest polling elsewhere. The Missourians were now sure of their conquest; another effort and they could carry Kansas for slavery.

Judge Cato had just decided that no man could vote who had not paid his territorial taxes, but Governor Walker took an opposite view, and was ready to act thereupon. This was an object, not for the amount but for the principle involved. Many were thus won to a reluctant assent to participation before the mass convention, August 25th, at Grasshopper Falls. The debates were very spirited on that occasion, and the delegates who were on hand at the same time were versed in every phase of the issue; hence, after much discussion, it was resolved that a fair test should be put upon the governor's promises of justice and protection by an attempt to conquer their own liberties as citizens at the ballot-box. State Governor Robinson, whose resignation had never been handed in, was one of the advocates for square and solid voting. The preamble and resolutions of the convention showed a fine perception of all the circumstances, and suggested the reasonableness of trying what could be done in the premises. Efforts were to be made to remedy the apportionment of representatives, and, under the adroit leadership of Gen. Lane, that gentleman was empowered to offer to Governor Walker the support of the force organized by him to protect the ballot during the August elections. Those who opposed participation made their position strong by able argument, but the event proved the wisdom of effort, and Kansas has cause to be proud that a conclusion so fortunate was arrived at on that occasion, and in subsequent assemblies. The convention nominated Mr. M. J. Parrott as delegate to congress, and the nomination was sustained by the vote. There were precautions adopted to minimize fraud and facilitate detection, and a committee appointed to secure proper support for the judges of election. The address to the electors contained the energy of despair, and the times warranted that tone, but to the surprise of almost everybody the election of October 5th gave to the free state party a preponderance of more

than two to one in the council, and nearly two to one in the house of representatives. The delegate to congress was chosen by a majority of over four thousand. The machinery of fraud had been tried, but so closely had the work been followed, that the defeat was really crushing. In one village, where less than 100 legal voters resided, there were nearly 1,700 polled, the balance coming from Missouri, and other such frauds, smaller in degree, were common. The governor, true to his promises as to fair play, refused certificates where the evidence would warrant such action on his part, so that persons claiming to be elected could not take their seats. Judge Cato, the willing instrument of his party, gave the fraudulently elected men *mandamuses* to compel the issue of certificates, but the governor refused to take any notice of the command further than to restate his objections, and to offer the judge whatever assistance he required to enforce the *mandamus* or his arrest for nonobservance if he saw fit. The judge saw that the battle had been carried far enough, and he subsided. The judges in Kansas were men bound up by their devotion to party, and it is difficult to imagine what might have been the consequence had the governors been as bad as they. Of course there were good men nominated as judges, but only such as would be subservient found favor with the Missouri faction. We have seen that the vote on the Topeka constitution was carried by 7,267 against 34. The constitutional convention was elected by only 2,200 votes, with all the help that the border counties of Missouri could give to the pro-slavery party. The convention organized, September 7th, in Lecompton, and, after sitting four days, adjourned until October 19th. to allow the members to prepare for the territorial elections. When the result of that movement was seen, the disgust of all classes found free vent against the convention, which did not represent the people and yet was about to assume the duty of framing their constitution. Some would have suppressed their sittings by force, but their appointment had the form of law and the substance of protection by United States troops, so they sat in peace under the presidency Mr. John Calhoun. The settlers held a convention in the same town at the same time, protesting in a very forcible way against the fraud which their own votes at the proper time might have ren-

dered impossible, but for the fact that the people and the governor did not know each other at the time that the inaugural address was given to the territory. Conventions of the same description were held in all parts of Kansas, and, so strong was public opinion, that for many days a quorum could not be obtained to shape a constitution. The Lecompton outrage was two weeks undergoing the process of incubation, and then the document was signed by only forty-three of the sixty members elected; but that was, of course, enough. It seems probable that the original intention was to submit the constitution to the people to be voted upon. Calhoun, the president, certainly announced that purpose when he was a candidate for election, but eventually that idea was abandoned when the constitution, sent from Washington ready-made by the pro-slavery leaders, was found too dangerous to be published. Mr. Buchanan was only half-way admitted to the perilous secrets in which his war secretary was more deeply involved; hence it happened afterwards that one headed his party in the greatest rebellion ever known, and the other drifted into petty compliances that embittered his life without securing him even the gratitude of the pro-slavery men. It is easy for Mr. Davis now to talk philanthropy and science at agricultural meetings, but no man can doubt that he was for years planning the revolt, upon which he eventually made the great failure, by which he is distinguished; and that he did not scruple to abuse the trust reposed in him by the whole Union, while he was secretary of war, and afterwards while chairman of the committee for the like purpose, to leave the Union helpless in the hour when treason should strike her.

Kansas was to have been made the occasion of a civil war, unless slavery could be fastened there; but Mr. Douglas was not a power that could be warped by such a man as Davis, beyond the point where the "Little Giant" said "stop." The conditions as to slavery in the constitution would have made that peculiar institution imperative, from the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains, until after 1864, and would have refused permission to free negroes to reside in the state under any circumstances. State officers were to be elected in January, 1858. It was necessary to go through the form of submission to a popular vote, but every step

was an insult to the ballot box; the result would be known to Calhoun only, and he could misrepresent the returns, unchallenged, in any way that he thought fit. The machinery for testing public opinion suggested fraud at every step, and various tests, afterwards applied, prove that the whole movement was a concerted crime in the interests of slavery. The most malignant influences that ever oppressed a people operated then in Kansas to falsify the will of the community; the whole appeal was placed upon a wrong basis, as the convention was a fraud from its inception to its ending, and invasion of the ballot box was invited at every stage, in the choice of the delegates first, and in the pretended ratification afterwards. No wonder then that the people were furiously indignant in every quarter when the ghastly farce was being played, which it was hoped would rob them of their birthright. The other provisions of the constitution were oppressive, but the slavery proviso was that upon which both parties were most bent, and the remainder need not be recited. The vote upon the constitution was so entirely inoperative that the free state party in Kansas refused to take part in the election, but many were heard to regret that they had carried their nonintervention so far when the constitutional convention was being elected, but for which it now seemed that they might have been very near the end of all their territorial difficulties. Still there was little use in looking back; had they carried the convention the other party would have rushed to the polling places and carried the territorial elections, the military would have been called off from protecting the convention, and in some other form their troubles would have been continued until the liberal party procured the control in congress. Still the danger was considerable that they might now fall victims to the daring scheme attempted at Lecompton under the pretext of "law and order." There were organizations at this time on the free state side which were prepared to end the whole struggle in one gigantic tragedy rather than submit to the audacious crime, but happily their proposals remained inchoate, as two wrongs never yet made one right; but the schemes of the Lecompton faction were carried on with the deadly precision of men who used masked batteries, and had undermined the most cherished possessions of a free and intellectual people. Spies em-

ployed by the leaders of the free state movement brought from the innermost recesses of the secret associations a full revelation of the means that were to be resorted to after the constitution had been accepted in congress. So well had they prepared the way there that success was almost a dead certainty, and perhaps but for Gov. Walker, they were justified in their anticipations. The state officers chosen under their constitution could be manipulated by admitting or rejecting returns to secure their own party, the names published at the last moment would allow of the dominant party assuming power immediately, the hordes which had so often overrun the land could have come then with greater certainty than ever, and the battle of liberty would have been ended for many years. Calhoun held all the returns, and he steadfastly forebore to make announcements pending the action of congress. The doings of the convention had for some time disquieted the governor, and toward the end of November, 1857, he was in Washington, leaving Mr. Stanton governor *pro tem.*, recounting to President Buchanan the story of fraud which was culminating in the constitution and the election of state officers, against the well known desires of four-fifths of the resident population in the territory. Just such an avowal as Mr. Reeder made to President Pierce was now submitted to President Buchanan by Mr. Walker; the details differed, the principle was the same, and unhappily there was the same abnegation of high principle on the part of the chief executive. The president "knew the right and yet the wrong pursued," because he feared somewhat and hoped more from the faction that had lifted him into power, and the dreadful music that told him of the woes of an oppressed people driven to the verge of armed resistance agonized him without possessing the power to rouse him to his duty. The very condition of things which his instructions to his friend the governor in July, 1857, had anticipated, had come to pass, and he was incapable of verifying his engagements. The action of Mr. Buchanan in favoring the convention left Mr. Walker no option as an honest man but to resign his office, and in doing so he submitted to his official superior a statement of his motives which must have caused the cheeks of the president to tingle with shame, unless the possession of a purely political conscience is a guaranty against the better

feelings of humanity. Mr. Walker could not carry out the changed instructions which must follow the president's message without violating his engagements towards a people whom he now believed to be unconquerable, without a civil war which might commence at any moment.

The acting governor, Secretary Stanton, whom we have seen addressing the most defiant words to the free state men, threatening them "with war to the knife" unless they submitted to territorial enactments, was now speedily becoming a convert to the honesty of their views and the rectitude of their demands. On the first day of December he convened an extra session of the newly elected legislature to consider the situation, especially with reference to the Lecompton constitution and the acts of the convention. When that body met on the 7th of the month, his message pithily described his views on the question of the day, and left with them the duty to devise, if such were possible, some means of extrication for the imperiled and alarmed constituency represented by them. The legislature, having organized, concluded to act upon the message by affording the electors a *bona fide* opportunity to show whether the constitution and its promoters had their approval. The difficulty would not be solved by such an operation, but it would be something to have ascertained beyond question, what was the popular will. Committees were also nominated to inquire into certain alleged frauds in election precincts, and the men who had procured admission therefrom were unseated; their places being filled by the men duly entitled. Before the end of the session, Mr. Stanton was removed for the course which he had pursued; but when the legislature rose on the 17th of December, the Lecompton convention had been disowned, and the act, under which it was made possible, repealed. Congress had been memorialized disclaiming the constitution, arrangements had been made for taking a popular vote on the great issue, and such provisions had been made against election frauds as could not fail to deter many from such practices as had too long been common. The proslavery party secured another victim in Mr. Stanton, but Kansas had made another convert to its demands in the fifth governing man sacrificed, because he could not help seeing the justice of its cause.

Gen. Denver was nominated to succeed Mr. Stanton as secretary and acting governor. Already it was known at headquarters that the governship would be vacant, but it was necessary to supersede Mr. Stanton immediately, before worse might happen to the proslavery men. The general was found to be a man of good address and engaging manners, the son of a farmer, a civil engineer and a lawyer; he had won his promotion in Mexico under Gen. Scott, and was in every way deserving of the confidence of the community over whom he was called to rule. He had filled many important offices prior to this time, and in every position, had won honor and respect. He was not to remain long in Kansas, as events proved, but he would do nothing there that should sully his laurels, and under the banner sustained by Abraham Lincoln, he would yet revisit Kansas, as well as distinguish himself on many glorious fields, fighting always for the union. The general had been engaged in Indian affairs, when he was called upon to assume the functions of acting governor, so that he was then upon the spot. For that reason, mainly, it is probable that he was chosen, as there was in him no fitness for the work of a faction. He won his way to the esteem of the free state party with more readiness than any other Washington appointee. Immediately after Mr. Stanton had been relieved, Mr. Calhoun took the vote on the constitution clause referring to slavery, and as he stated the result, there were 6,226 votes cast for the constitution with slavery, and only 569 against slavery. Commissioners afterwards appointed ascertained how the fraud had been committed, but there was a much speedier way to find that the return was a falsehood, as on the 4th of January, 1858, a fair and open vote was taken on the main issues under the provisions of the legislature convened by Mr. Stanton, and the results were, for the Lecompton constitution without slavery, 24; for that constitution with slavery, 138; and against the constitution, root and branch, 10,226. That fact, without one word of comment, is the justification for Mr. Stanton's procedure as the acting governor of Kansas, and the figures have never been controverted in the smallest particular. The democrats of Leavenworth denounced the fraud attempted by a section of their own party, and memorialized congress to throw out the

constitution, but the president stooped from his high estate to become the servitor of the faction that had obliged him to supersede the much nobler man, the secretary. Public opinion strongly sustained Stanton and Gov. Walker, but Mr. Buchanan wished the state of Kansas to be admitted with the Lecompton constitution. The document just named, and the president's message were handed over to the proper committee, and in due course the report came back to the senate recommending the admission, as before stated, under the constitution named, but Stephen A. Douglas brought up from the same committee a minority report, denouncing the constiution and the convention as alike unworthy of support, as the will of the people of Kansas was not represented in either one or the other.

That act was a catastrophe for the proslavery party, and it was remembered when Breckinridge was nominated for president by the proslavery democrats against Mr. Douglas, but it was a deed of heroism for which that senator deserved gratitude from his life long opponents. Congressional battles were once more active, and it seems curious that the leader of the democratic party in the senate and in the union should, on this issue, have been only the mouth piece of a minority, but it must be remembered that he had long been the intimate friend of Gov. Walker, and had been one of the chief agents in sending him to Kansas. He would not leave the side of his friend in such an emergency, whatever might be the action of the president, and it was impossible for him to suppose that the people whom he had served so well were prepared to abandon even himself, rather than abate their pretensions on the slave project. Hon. Alex. H. Stephens readily assumed the side popular with his own party, and as chairman of the committee appointed by the house, brought up a report to admit Kansas on the Lecompton basis. Then also a minority report revealed a wide diversity of thought, denounced the constitution and the party by whom it was wrought, calling attention to existing evidences of fraud. The bill in the senate, to admit Kansas, was met by a substitute in the hands of Mr. Crittenden, who demanded as a condition precedent, that the constitution should be ratified by a popular vote, and that if rejected, the people might frame a constitution for themselves; and even

in the proslavery senate there were 24 to support the amendment to 34 in favor of the constitution. The house took up and carried the Crittenden amendment; the senate refused concurrence, but requested a conference, and in a joint committee a compromise measure was agreed upon, which passed both houses, offering liberal land grants and special bonuses to Kansas, provided the Lecompton constitution should be ratified by a popular vote, as the basis of admission to the union, but otherwise postponing admission until the population had reached, by enumeration, 93,500 souls, the rate of representation. The schemes of coercion had failed and concessions were now to be offered on any other point, as a setoff to the proslavery clauses. Washington lobbyists worked with such *vim* on that occasion, as was never seen equaled, unless the Credit Mobilier, or the Pacific Mail corruptionists borrowed a new zeal from that experience; and in 1860, the means of operation were revealed by a committee under Judge Covode, who prepared and carried a stinging denunciation of the system which descended to money bribes, where such unworthy artifices would suffice, and where proscriptions had failed to suborn men and organizations to the vile designs of the proslavery section of democracy. There have been terrible revelations since that time, but never one in which terrorism was used in such an unblushing way to supply the machinery of corruption, in order to force through congress measures against which the honor and the common sense of the whole people revolted. Happily, the days of the faction were near the end, and we may hope that no such era of violence and fraud can ever recur.

Returning now to the territory, we note that the officers under the Lecompton constitution have been elected, and by way of emphasis to the assertion that the constitution makers did not represent the people, it is worthy of special remark that they were unable, with all the corruption then possible, to carry their own staff of officials. They did their very utmost to secure that end, and failed. The removal of Mr. Woodson from the helm of affairs was no small gain to the free settlers, for the proslavery men never succeeded as an organization, unless they could import brain power that had germinated elsewhere. The faction

assembled at Lecompton, Dec. 7, 1857, and nominated a ticket, doing little else besides affirming the desirability of their pet constitution and denouncing the governor and Sec'y Stanton, but their words had no power within the territory. The ticket was worthless, and the names may rest where they fell. There were now renewed doubts among the settlers, whether they should run a ticket for the same list, or rest upon the Topeka constitution and organization. This happened to be the topic of a convention in Lawrence, Dec. 2, 1857, but seeing that the territorial legislature had been convened, it was thought advisable to await their action on that question, should any course be found possible. When that body had given up that part of the problem, the Lawrence convention resumed, Dec. 23d. During two days the debate was prolonged, and a majority of delegates favored voting, but a majority of the full representation, if every district had been adequately represented, favored nonvoting; so the nonvoting party, among whom Gen. Lane was conspicuous, succeeded by a stratagem, in procuring the vote by districts, which negatived the more reasonable course of voting for a ticket. The actual majority present determined to try again, and the "bolters," as they were called, having convened, nominated a ticket which united all classes opposed to the Lecompton faction.

Almost the whole of the settlers resolved to help the persistent majority, and the consequence was, that had the constitution become law, it would have been administered in favor of the people by the free state officers. Every office was carried, and in the senate they secured thirteen members against six; in the house, twenty-nine against fifteen. Fraudulent votes brought up the number polled by the proslavery governor to 8,545. Still he was beaten by 330, although thousands were deterred from voting by the distracted policy of the day. Their prospective officers now were, Governor, G. W. Smith; Lieut. Gov., W. Y. Roberts; Secretary of State, P. C. Schuyler, Treasurer, A. J. Mead; Auditor, J. K. Goodin; and Congressional Representative, M. J. Parrott. Their duty would have been, of course, to have helped the people to make or amend the law in such a manner as to render it concurrent with popular sentiment. There were now three governments in Kansas: That just elected under the Lawrence conven-

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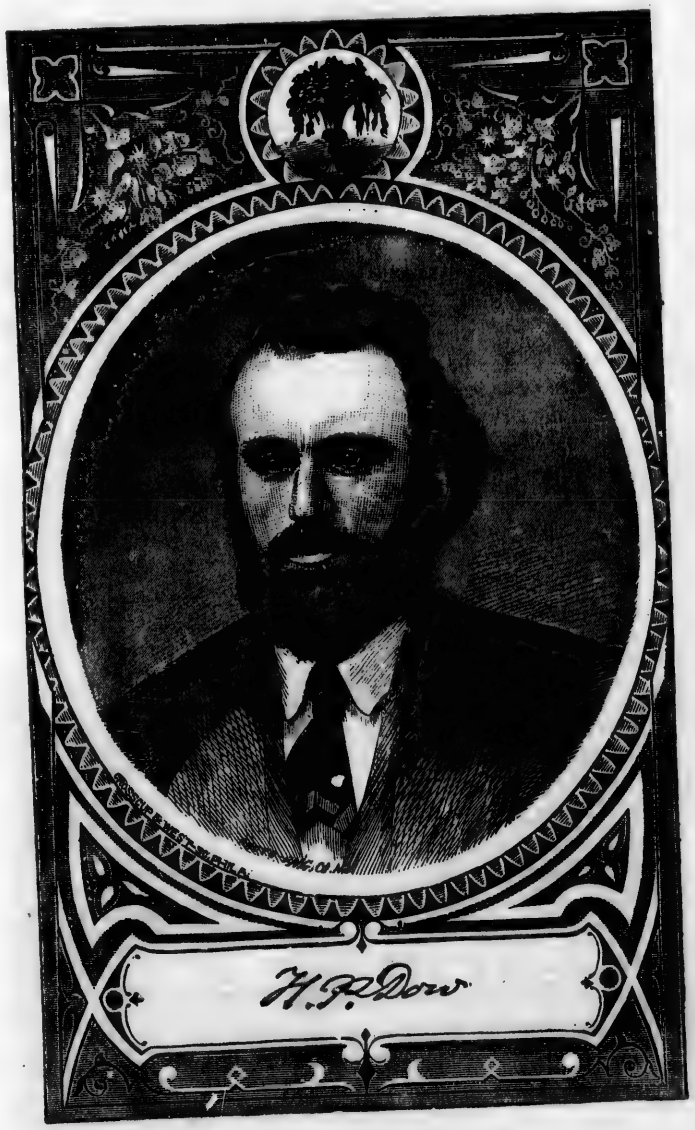

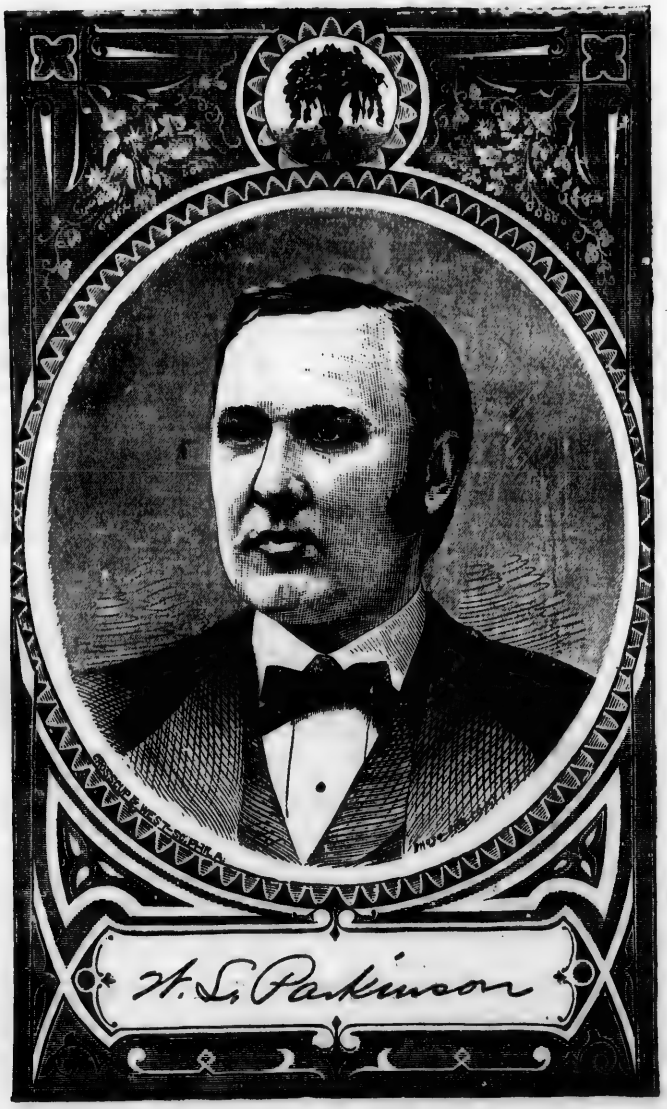
H. L. Parkinson

tion; the Topeka organization, with Dr. Robinson for governor, and the territorial, represented by Gen. Denver. The first named body, limited their action to an appeal to congress, to disallow the constitution. The second, remained intact, striving to prepare the way for efficient state government, should an emergency arise. The message of Dr. Robinson to the Topeka legislature resulted in a session adjourned to Lawrence, where an address was presented to the territorial legislature, urging such action as would help forward the larger design. The adjustment proposed by the Dr. and his friends was not acceptable to the legislators in possession, but, of course, on such an issue, there was room for very widely divergent views; still, the proposition was not negatived, it was only deferred until circumstances might favor another course. Thus, the territorial authorities were masters of the field, and it is matter for regret that they were not equal to other and better work than that which they transacted for the people. The legislature assembled at Lecompton, January 4, 1858, and organized as in the extra session, without dissent. The message of Secretary Denver was brief and to the purpose, and there was a prospect of valuable work being accomplished; but the men were mostly unused to such labor of course, and the time was frittered away. The legislature adjourned to Lawrence, January 5th, and remained in session until February 12th. The appointment of commissioners, to investigate the late election frauds, took many of the best men available, and that work was, on the whole, effectively carried through. Their report was made available for congressional action afterwards. The legislature provided for the election of delegates in the following month, March, to frame a constitution, to be submitted to the people for ratification prior to being adopted as the basis for the admission to the union; but on the whole, perhaps, it may have been inevitable under the circumstances, that the first territorial legislature elected by the settlers must be pronounced a failure. Log rolling became, to a large extent, the occupation of members, and many small jobs were hurried through for local and personal ends. The Missouri code, which should have been amended in all its odious provisions, remained practically untouched. The unjust apportionment of members, which had been blamed in their predecessors, was not

amended as it might have been, and the poor body came to a "most lame and impotent conclusion." Upon one point there was decided action, but it decided nothing, because it did not express the will of the people, which, more than the letter of law, is essential to give vitality to enactments. The territorial capital was located at Minneota, a kind of no place, within a few miles of Prairie City, and grants of land, and a charter of incorporation, helped to build up that impossible metropolis, but it came to nothing. The bill was sent back by Gen. Denver with his objections, and the two houses used their two-thirds power to pass it again over his veto; but at that point the folly came to an end, and no body ever cared anything further for this measure. There was no reason why the towns, which had fought the battle of the people so long, should be discounted now in favor of a center to be created for the purpose, merely because some few manipulators could exert an influence over men unused to the stress of legislation. The people of Kansas had now, after much stormy navigation, reached port; or, if not exactly in port, they were beyond Hurlgate, with a fair prospect of the wished for haven.

CHAPTER XIX.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY
(continued.)

DENVER SUCCEEDING GEARY—STRIFE IN THE SOUTHEAST.

Further Troubles—Southeast Counties—Capt. Montgomery—Representative Man—Probable War—Sound Advice—Missouri Advantages—Quick March—Mound City—Covert Convention—Wily Schemes—Cool Courage—Colonel Fox—Postponed Meeting—Sophistry Fails—Osawatomie Raid—Further Alarms—Enforced Flight—Systematized Plunder—Geary's Mistake—Visiting Lawrence—Guerrilla War—Consternation—Speedy Justice—Reprisals—Governor's Movements—Texan Rangers—Making Points—Surrounding Enemies—Spoiling Egyptians—Thrilling Situation—Perilous Escape—Under Clouds—New Departure—Operating in Stock—Church Difficulty—Collision—Great Odds—Awkward Responsibility—Legalized Oppression—Cash

Bail — Opinions Change. Shameless Tyranny — Unwelcome Neighbors — "John Brown" — Solomon's Judgment — Compelling Right — Marshal Little — Hasty Retreat — General Lane — Secret Organization — After Offenders — Timid Counselors — Fort Scott — Broken Promises — War Policy — Enemies Corralled — Plunderers — Demoralized Force — Quartering on Enemy — Self Defense — Faithful Spies — Murderous Proscription — Jayhawker's Revenge — Hamilton's Tactics — Washington Lobbyists — Montgomery Moves — Little Thermopylæ — An Armistice — U. S. Prestige — Following Hamilton — Putnam's Leap — Choosing Blood — Murder *en Masse* — Flying Miscreants — West Point — Massacre Averted — Denver's Messenger — Marshal Walker — Murderers Arrested — Agent Clark — Time Bargain — Surrender — Montgomery Taken — Governor's Visit — Manly Platform — Peace Convention — Resuming Hostilities — Continuous Outrage — Summary Process — Free Immigration — Brown's Party — Traitorous Conference — Discreet Retirement — Brown's Resolutions — Fellowship — Releasing Rico — Causualties — Brown in Missouri — Canada Expedition — Singular Punishment — Enemy Flanked — Law Triumphs — Amnesty — Wrong Hamilton — Closing Accounts.

Although the difficulties in Kansas generally were being subdued when Gov. Denver was first nominated secretary of the territory, there was still much trouble in the southeast which must be briefly reviewed, as the two parties were pitted against each other there, and blood was shed freely. The career of one leader, Capt. Montgomery, the ablest and most noted, may be followed with advantage, as his movements had a representative character which will render it needless to follow the other partisan commanders. Montgomery, originally from Ohio, had spent some time in Kentucky, whence he had removed to Missouri, intending to settle in Kansas, but had changed his purpose upon being informed that Missouri was resolved at any cost to make a slave state in the territory. Bending to what seemed good advice, he concluded to remove to Missouri, until his mind reinforced by what he saw in the older slave state, he resolved to assist in repelling slavery from the new. Once determined on that point, there was no delay, and he speedily arrived in Mound City, in the vicinity of which there was no difficulty in buying a claim for little money from a Missouri family dissatisfied with the location. Moving his family to the purchased claim, he remained in Missouri to earn money for its improvement, and to be invested in stock. The character of Montgomery was intrepid,

and yet considerate; a felicitous combination of sound judgment and mercy.

In April, 1855, Montgomery, whose sojourn in Missouri had given the proslavery party a claim upon him, as they supposed, attended a convention in Mound City, five miles from his home, where candidates were being nominated to the legislature, which afterwards assembled in Pawnee. The directors of the convention were from Missouri, the settlers were not well informed as to the real issues, and it was hoped that slavery would not be named during the canvass, although that was the main purpose to be served by the election. The free settlers were told that the time had not come for dealing with that question. The meeting was going well for the proslavery design, when Montgomery, who had been nominated secretary, addressed the people, giving his reasons why Kansas should be made a free state, and enforcing the necessity for vigilance. Col. Fox, the convener and prospective candidate in the Missouri interest, was compelled to pledge himself against slavery, to secure a chance of nomination, and then the convention was postponed to secure a larger attendance of actual settlers. There was a much larger gathering on both sides when the convention resumed, and much sophistry was used to carry the populace toward the policy favored by the neighboring state, but the audience was almost entirely on the other side, and Montgomery might have had the nomination, but after exerting his eloquence to convince waverers as to the proper policy, he thought it best to choose Fox, binding him by his promises, as well as such gentry can be secured. The Missouri party ran the election on polling day, as we have seen, and the legislature was so completely an outrage that the free state men convened at Mound City as well as elsewhere, and repudiated its enactments.

Circumstances favored the southeast so that there was no show of armed force in that section, except the raids on polling days, until the autumn of 1856, when Fort Scott sent a proslavery contingent to assist in the attack on Ossawatomie. The conduct of that party has been described elsewhere. Mound City was soon alarmed by an appearance of armed men encamped at Paris, and it became known that free state men were to be driven from their

homes in Kansas. The city was deserted almost entirely, and the Missourians plundered the homes of the fugitives, whom they were at the same time harassing in their flight. After about three weeks the major part of the settlers had returned, when they were once more threatened by their antagonists, and Montgomery was delegated to submit a statement of their case to the new governor, Geary. That gentleman's distrust of the free settlers induced him to turn almost a deaf ear to Capt. Montgomery, and the delegate went to Lawrence, whence the army of border ruffians had just been removed by the resolute action of Geary, as elsewhere described. The citizens of Lawrence could not leave their own city to defend another, but they sent arms and good advice by Montgomery, and there was some hope that the policy pursued by the governor, so large an improvement upon that of his immediate predecessor, would protect the settlers from outrage in the future. The hopelessness of the territory was aptly illustrated on his return to his home, where he found that his neighbors had been driven away, his own family insulted during his absence, and that his life was especially sought by his adversaries. It was considered an evidence of peculiar turpitude on his part, that he, having been a resident in Missouri, was yet identified with free state views. He availed himself at once of his knowledge of the country to attack the marauders wherever he could find an advantage, and at that work he was "a host in himself," so that he soon spread consternation among the gangs that had been so long despoiling the whole neighborhood. Every design succeeded, and the invaders were soon in deadly terror of a clump of brush, an angle in the rocks, or any cover that might conceal their foe. One man against many, he seemed to be a match for them all. Organization having failed, he had been forced back upon his natural rights and they seemed ample for attack and defense. The enemy never imagined that one man, untiring in his movements, was the author of so many discomfitures. His courage and successes brought additional force to his standard. His army consisted now of seven men, including himself, and after a council of war it was resolved to attack the house of one of the chiefs of the Missouri raiders. This man Davis was one of the party that had been called out and armed by the

acting governor, under the pretense that they constituted a Kansas militia force, while really they were carrying out the designs of Missouri. Davis being a captain, his house was an armory, and for twofold reasons it was desirable that the weapons should be in better hands. The attacking party found that their main object had failed, as Davis, with his gang, had gone away to avoid a collision with Gov. Geary, who, with three hundred men, was disarming all such bands. The little armament captured a quantity of ammunition and some arms, but a prisoner that had been secured, made his escape, giving the alarm to others who would otherwise have been visited. Twenty miles south of Davis's place, the Texan rangers were startled on the same day, toward evening, by Montgomery's party, and upon their arrival in Fort Scott the dimensions of the guerrilla band had become magnified into an army. The proslavery settlement at Fort Scott was almost a desert within an hour after the report was circulated.

An excursion into Missouri was the next exploit, to attack the points where proslavery men customarily assembled before raiding Kansas, and to which they returned with their plunder. The little band of seven made themselves masters of the points assailed, captured and destroyed a quantity of arms, procured fresh horses and returned to the scene of their former operations none the poorer for their expedition. Soon afterwards the guerrilla chief attacked a camp of invaders at Bull Creek, but the party fled without fighting, and he proceeded with a little squadron of ten determined fellows to liberate negroes in Missouri, as it was considered good policy to carry the war into the enemy's country. Returning home alone, resolved on abandoning warlike enterprises, he had just got beyond the old Wakarusa encampment, from Lawrence, when his bridle rein was seized by a couple of militia men of the opposite side in politics. He was commanded to surrender, and with the speed of lightning he dismounted on the side farthest from his captors, using the device common among Indians, of making his horse his rampart of defense, and his revolver pointed at the soldier whose musket was half way to his shoulder, caused a very considerable alteration in the views of the militiamen. Some minutes were spent in the rencontre, but as soon as the position was realized, the would-be custodians of

Montgomery resolved to be quit of his company. Not another word was said, but enough had been conveyed in that noiseless harangue with the revolver to end the controversy. The captors rode on without their prisoner, and the almost captured man went on his way rejoicing. A regiment of such men as Montgomery could have held Kansas against all the ruffians of the border.

After the free settlers left their claims under the terror of invasion in the winter of 1856-7, their antagonists took possession of their property in the southeast, as well as elsewhere, maintaining a kind of military rule, under which the chances were largely against repossession by the rightful owners; but new arrivals, in 1857, in the so called "Northern Army" so far reinforced the despoiled men that it was possible to commence operations to recover the stolen property and the fraudulently held claims. The first step was to gather up the wrongfully appropriated stock, and that step was not carried through without some fighting, still, in the main, the end was accomplished. The repossession of claims was next attempted, and the first difficulty occurred with a pro-slavery preacher named Southwood, who, knowingly or not, was in a house built by a man that had been driven from the ground. Two hundred men assembled to assist Southwood, by expelling Stone, the free settler claimant; but eight resolute men held the cabin against them, and, after many days spent in threats and expostulations, Southwood vacated the claim. The like scenes were occurring more or less frequently all over the territory. When the United States court opened at Fort Scott, numbers of the free settlers were indicted for offenses more or less imaginary, the object being to procure the absence of popular leaders, and just now the judicial staff was at war with Gov. Geary, so that his rule was drawing to a close at the moment that he began to understand the wants of Kansas. Some of the men indicted were held prisoners in Fort Scott, bail being refused. Montgomery now came upon the scene once more, and a body of men under him approached Fort Scott to procure the release of their friends. Peaceful apprehensions for their liberation on bail resulted in an insolent proposition that $800 cash should be deposited as security for each prisoner to be released, and no other bail would be accepted. Judge Williams, on the bench, was as haughty as

satan. Montgomery believed that he could influence the opinion of the court, and largely control its action. Having arrested a proslavery man and held him in custody long enough to impress his mind with the idea that he had been in great peril, he incidentally mentioned in the prisoner's hearing his intention to sack Fort Scott and release the prisoners unlawfully held. The proslavery man was soon afterwards liberated, and immediately after his story reached the judge, the prisoners were discharged upon their own recognizances, with many remarks intended to be complimentary and soothing. The charm had produced its effect, and Montgomery was looked upon as a competent legal authority.

Several citizens were arrested for trying to resume possession of their homes, but any charge would suffice in the then condition of the courts in Kansas, and judgments went invariably against free settlers. Sometimes their properties were seized without form of process, or trial, and sold by proslavery sheriffs to the highest bidder, the governor in vain trying to rescue the victims of oppression from the wrongs which he had at first believed to be merely illusory. Fort Scott was now the stronghold of the proslavery magnates, who had been driven out of the northern and middle sections of the territory by Gov. Geary's strong peace policy; and they made the surrounding country very warm for free settlers. Finding that there was no redress for them in Fort Scott, the popular party initiated a court of their own, calling their chief justice "John Brown," and while the proceedings of this assembly burlesqued, in the freest possible spirit, the action of the official staff in Fort Scott, there was still so complete an arrangement for carrying out the judgments arrived at that, proslavery men dreaded citation before the new tribunal.

Capt. Abbott, the well known guerrilla leader at Wakarusa, was the sheriff, and if the decisions of the judge gave token of a Solomon on the bench, the vigor of administration was fully on a par with the other features of the movement. The proceedings of the court attracted so much attention, that an order was made at Fort Scott for the suspension of the squatter court, and all its members were to be arrested. Marshal Little was instructed to carry out the mandate, and he came, with seventy armed men, to within about one quarter of a mile of the court house; but at that

point he paused to hold a parley, at the end of which he retired with his force, apparently satisfied that the court should be upheld. Some few days after, he appeared with a force considerably augmented, and with a tone correspondingly changed. The court was allowed thirty minutes within which to surrender or be fired upon. There was to be a fight, as the court would not surrender, but the dispositions made by Capt. Abbott with the few men at his disposal were so complete that the attacking force was taken in the rear just as the assault began. One man and one horse sustained injuries, and Marshal Little, with his two hundred men, made very quick time back to Fort Scott. While a renewal of the attack was daily looked for, there was a change being worked in the aspect of Kansas by the election of a legislature and the appointment of officers under the auspices of the free state party, so that the reign of injustice, not quite over, was drawing towards a close. Gen. Lane came up from Lawrence to ascertain the actual position of affairs, and prepare the way for the new regime which, if possible, was to be inaugurated peacefully. But for the presence of United States troops at Fort Scott, the place would have been captured; but, under the circumstances, peace was thought better than conquest, and nothing was accomplished beyond the establishment of a secret society, whose object was to defeat the Lecompton constitution.

The Fort Scott difficulty was perennial, and in February a force was organized to arrest some offenders in that town, Montgomery being nominated to carry the writs into effect. Some of the more timid of the free state party tried to arrange matters peaceably beforehand, and in consequence the expedition was a failure, there being none of the offenders in the town when the vindicators of justice arrived, and Montgomery and his men had to content themselves with fair promises and an excellent breakfast. The promises were not worth much, having been made only to serve a temporary purpose until United States troops arrived.

Capt. Anderson, with a detachment of troops, came to Fort Scott, and the free state men were challenged to "come on." Montgomery procured a howitzer from Lawrence, and his intention was to force all the proslavery men into Fort Scott, so that he might reduce them by starvation during an extended siege.

Pursuant to that plan many of the worst characters were visited, and such of them as could be found were chastised. A man named Zuaskault was shot but not killed. He had the repute of having committed many murders. The proslavery men at Little Osage and elsewhere asked for aid from Fort Scott, but Capt. Anderson told them that they must come in if they wanted protection, as his force must not be scattered in outlying places. The result was that the country outside of Fort Scott was tolerably clear of marauders, and, leaving the command temporarily in other hands, Montgomery retired to his farm.

The officers left in command of the troops unfortunately abused their position by allowing recourse to plundering, and in consequence the men who were most worthy of confidence left the ranks, the rest becoming utterly demoralized. It became necessary for Capt. Montgomery to resume his position to prevent his men becoming a pest to the territory, but by his means the mischief was soon remedied. Some few, who were constitutionally thievish, went off under a congenial leader, and in due time obtained their deserts, but the great majority became loyal soldiers again under good hands. Montgomery was not so entirely scrupulous as to refuse his men a chance to quarter on the enemy when military necessity rendered such a course advisable, but he preserved the morale of his company with great success. There was quite work enough on hand to occupy the time and energy of the force, as the Missouri men who had been driven out came back with reinforcements, and numerous lives were lost on both sides. The men of the north were warned to be ready if needed, but Montgomery believed that his own strength would suffice, provided he could uphold the spirits of a few that were ready to stampede the whole party. Some few successes on the free state side produced the desired effect, and all was safe, for the time, at any rate.

Montgomery's bands were known as "Jayhawkers," because of the suddenness and certainty with which they swooped down upon the enemy at times most fatal to their purposes. This was in consequence of the leader having under his orders a faithful spy in each of the secret lodges in Fort Scott, and at the most dangerous spots in Missouri, from whom all necessary details could be

procured, so that whenever there was a scheme afoot that threatened evil consequences to his party, the mine was countermined, and at the fateful moment, "the engineers were hoist with their own petard." The men thus defeated came to believe that Montgomery had unearthly aids, and their superstitious fears were in large part his allies on many occasions. There was one man named Hamilton who distinguished himself as a leader among the border ruffians, and it was ascertained beyond question that this man was to attack in succession about seventy free state men, capturing them in tens and putting them instantly to death. The list of men to be murdered thus was supplied to Montgomery, and the order in which the successive executions would occur, at the rate of about ten every week. Hamilton appears to have been rather an amiable man, and one in whom reliance could be placed, until after the proslavery party lost ground in Kansas, when he became desperate, associated himself with secret societies for the suppression of free settlement, and became identified with guerrilla operations; a career which almost invariably unsettles character. The lobbyists in Washington had become certain that they could push the Lecompton constitution through congress, and their confidence communicated to the party in Missouri, induced redoubled effort to secure the results of victory upon the law coming into operation.

Threats of the complete demolition of the free state party were commonly heard everywhere on the borders, and Hamilton's threats would have passed with little note but for the lists already procured; but when his fulminations were combined with the detailed information referred to, Montgomery concluded that it was time to bring him to an account. The troops were to be withdrawn from Fort Scott, and Hamilton was on hand, so that it seemed probable that he would seize the opportunity now to carry out his design; consequently Montgomery made an attack on some of the proslavery party near the Marmiton, hoping that Hamilton with his force would come to the rescue and permit of the quarrel being fought out there. Hamilton took refuge in Fort Scott and induced Capt. Anderson with the regular troops to take up the quarrel without a requisition from the governor. The appearance of United States troops caused Montgomery to retreat at

full speed toward Yellow Point Creek, hotly pursued. A narrow defile just at the point named afforded him an opportunity for defense, and his men were speedily so placed as that they could have repelled twice the number of assailants. Anderson was wounded, his horse killed, his troops routed and one man killed; only one of the free state men being wounded in the affray. An armistice to remove Anderson from under his fallen horse was followed by a timely retreat, and two hundred and fifty troops afterwards refused to attempt the arrest of Montgomery. Anderson resigned to avoid a court martial, and the prestige of United States troops was considerably damaged by his conduct.

Montgomery followed Hamilton persistently and tracked him to his house, but it was too strong to be attacked with small arms only, and before his howitzer could be brought up, the United States troops came to the rescue of their ally. Montgomery's men were told to scatter for the time and rendezvous about eight miles off the next morning. Two of the party were not wise enough to obey instructions, and in consequence they were pursued, narrowly escaping capture by leaping a declivity which their pursuers would not descend, remembering probably the escape that was made during the revolutionary war by Putnam. Hamilton escaped into Missouri, "nursing his rage to keep it warm," and Montgomery submitted to the sheriff a statement of the designs entertained by that dangerous citizen.

The scheme long deferred was not abandoned, but the originator of the murderous design could not readily find instruments for his purpose; many brave men refused to be mixed up with a deed so horrible. At a meeting held on the 19th of May, just across the border in Missouri, there was an appeal for volunteers, and twenty-five men mustered for the first expedition. The time was opportune, as the delay had lulled suspicion, and Hamilton had no difficulty in gathering in the prisoners that were wanted near Chouteau's Trading Post. Nineteen were arrested, eleven were shot and five fell mortally wounded, the rest feigning death, and all save one wounded remained alive to tell of the horrible barbarities in which the miscreants indulged after the murders were as they thought consummated in each case. Montgomery was immediately in request to lead the pursuit, about two hun-

dred men mustering under his orders, but it was too late. West Point was supposed to be the resting place of the murderers, but the place was visited in vain; the citizens expressed their horror at the outrage, but they either could or would give no information that would lead to their arrest. Nothing therefore remained but to return from Missouri and guard the borders to prevent the consummation of the remainder of the scheme. Regular troops under Capt. Weaver soon assumed that duty.

Hamilton never found an opportunity to complete his purpose, but while waiting and watching for him and his gang, an opportunity occurred for Montgomery to communicate with Gov. Denver, offering to surrender for trial himself and all his men, if the governor would allow the settlers to elect their own sheriff, and withdraw the troops from Fort Scott. The communication also suggested the desirability of a personal investigation on the part of the new executive. Capt. Walker came down to arrest Montgomery on two charges, but he found the guerrilla commander in high repute among the settlers, and therefore as deputy marshal, being himself a free state man, he never saw Montgomery for many days. The marshal consented to arrest some murderers at Fort Scott, and Montgomery in disguise accompanied the party. Clark, the Indian agent, was one of the men named for arrest, and he made a great show of defense, but five minutes having been afforded him to think the matter over, he surrendered to save his life. Montgomery's presence in the posse was pointed out to Capt. Walker, and there was a likelihood of trouble, but Montgomery, who had no doubt of a fair trial, now surrendered, being however set at liberty by the sheriff again as soon as it had been discovered that the authorities in Fort Scott had released Clark and the other prisoners just arrested.

Gov. Denver acted upon Montgomery's suggestion, and visited Fort Scott to make himself conversant with the affairs of southeastern Kansas. His visit was extended through a wide range of the territory, and in every place that was stopped at, he made a host of friends. His arrangements contributed largely to the pacification of Kansas, as he prevented Missourian invasions, repressed the action of troops where the action of law should suffice, and assisted the people to a fair field for self government.

The arrangement of old troubles was proposed by him on the basis of an amnesty for political offenses, and that suggestion was subsequently carried out, as it met with cordial approval from nearly all the actual settlers. There was a convention held at Fort Scott in consequence of this visit, and all parties agreed to start fair, abandoning the quarrels of the past, but even while the convention was still sitting, there came near being a renewal of hostilities among the members.

It is not easy for men who have been for years accustomed to issue their own writs in the form of a rifle ball to settle down into the observance of peaceful regulations, and thus it happened that in southeastern Kansas for some time, continuous outrages on one side or the other, perpetrated of course by the least worthy members on both sides, prevented pacification and led to a resumption of hostilities. Horses stolen in Kansas were followed by their free state owners to Missouri, where the men were shot, one dying at once, the other being able to reach home and tell of the outrage. Little Osage settlement was plundered soon after by Missourians. Then an attack was made on Montgomery in his own house, but the leader was not injured. Then arrests were made on old writs in breach of an implied covenant made when the treaty was signed, but the prisoner was liberated on Montgomery's application. The influx of free settlers continually increased the majority against slavery, but it did not tend to make the proslavery party more amiable.

A free settler named Rice was arrested in violation of the compact, and his release was demanded. A convention called to arrange matters almost ended in fighting, and it was evident that peace was near an end. Returning from the convention, Montgomery learned that Old John Brown and his party were to be attacked in a log house not far from his own; of course he went to the rescue, having only fifty men, but he held the place against four hundred, and the assailant, McDaniel, dared not risk an attack. Next day, McDaniel proposed to Montgomery that he should attend a convention of free state democrats, aiming at pacification, and he did so, the basis of affiliation being drawn by Brown. Fellowship was thus extended to the successful leader, but he would not abandon Rice, who was still a prisoner

in Fort Scott. The night of the 15th of Dec., 1858, was named for the adventure of setting him at liberty, to do which, it was necessary to capture the town, and the work was accomplished by sixty-nine men, including Montgomery. Marshal Little fired on the party, and was himself shot, the prisoner was released, and the town saved from destruction by the prudent leader.

John Brown accompanied the party until near the town, but he did not enter Fort Scott; and soon afterwards he was heard of in Missouri, where he released a number of slaves from their masters, enraged the proslavery men almost to desperation, provoked the offering of two rewards for his arrest, watched the borders to prevent incursions in pursuit, and in due time set out for Canada with the party that his enterprise had rescued from servitude, five years before Lincoln's proclamation. He did not escape without adventure. He was attacked by 42 proslavery men at Holton, but his assailants were routed, and he revenged himself on four prisoners, by refusing them permission to swear during five days, and making them say their prayers. Slavery was being attacked on its own territory, the enemy was flanked, the legislature was in the hands of the people, and at the special request of Gov. Denver, such action was initiated as in the end enabled the settlers to right their own wrongs. The districts in which violence had been most marked were in some degree relieved by the nomination of Lawrence as the place where offenders should be tried, until better times should come. Montgomery went to Lawrence for trial, but an act of amnesty relieved him and some hundreds beside, from the ordeal. During the time that the amnesty was first operating, Capt. Hamilton arrived in Lawrence with some prisoners, and the name leading many to suppose that it was the murderer before mentioned, caused a great riot, but no loss of life, as it became known that the wrong Hamilton was being pursued. The prisoners newly brought in were set at liberty, the reign of peace and contentment, not yet perfect, was about to commence, and would go on with varying fortunes, until the parties between whom the troubles had come should find their advantage in the grand developments which God's providence will always accomplish.

CHAPTER XX.

TERRITORIAL HISTORY.
(concluded.)

DENVER, MEDARY AND STANTON—END OF CIVIL STRIFE.

Settling Down—Changed Aspects—Buchanan Advised—Changing Front—Slavery Schemes—Washington Orders—Abortive Effort—Dying Organizations—Why Changing—Topeka Government—Natural Decay—Beneficent Mortality—Convention of 1859—State Ticket—Negro Suffrage—General Indifference—Early Grave—Lecompton Bubble—Stupid Legislation—New Parties—Republicans Organize—Democratic Platform—Noncommittal—Speedier Growth—Old Organization—Horace Greeley—New Legislature—Useful Labor—Denver Resigns—Governor Medary—Counting Cost—Audit Commissioners—Actual Allowance—Congressional Neglect—Territorial Sacrifices—Great Embarrassment—Interesting Relics—Convention 1859—Woman's Rights—Negro Question—Topeka Capital—Popular Ratification—State Officials—The Legislature—Defective Census—National Features—America's Growth—Living Principles—Early Notice—Marquette—La Salle—Nation's Heart—Social Basis—Development—White Settlers—Santa Fe—Natural Beauty—Washington Irving—Missouri Compromise—Congressional Legacy—Early Trials—Enduring Courage—Barbarous Laws—Flourishing Cities—Levying War—Governing Marshals—Posse Comitatus—State Suspended—Lincoln Wins—War Record—Troubles Past—Governor Stanton—Legislative Differences—Kansas Famine—Climatic Causes—Forest Influences—Fearful Story—General Failure—Water Poisonous—Fodder Gone—Going Back—Starving Remainder—Eastern Benevolence—General Response—New York—Wisconsin—Illinois—Indiana—Ohio—Meteorological Features—Desert Theory—Grasshopper Famine—Looking Ahead.

WHEN Douglas and Buchanan joined in urging the successor of Geary to assume the task of governing Kansas, there was a foregone conclusion in the mind of the democratic leader, that the slavery struggle was doomed to defeat at the hands of squatter sovereigns in the territory, and his hope pointed toward some favorable compromise that would recuperate the party as a whole, and the slave owning section in particular, for the reverse imme-

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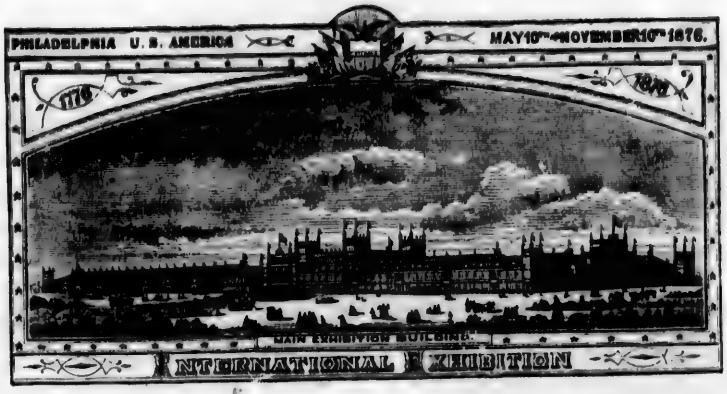
PHILADELPHIA U. S. AMERICA
MAY 10TH NOVEMBER 10TH 1876.
1776
1876
MAIN EXHIBITION BUILDING
INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION

PHILADELPHIA U. S. AMERICA
MAY 10TH NOVEMBER 10TH 1876.
1776
1876
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INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION

diately impending. Personally, he did not care, as he said in his debates with Lincoln, whether slavery was voted up or voted down; but in the interests of the party that he led, it was desirable to maintain ascendancy at almost any cost. Walker, himself a statesman, saw the danger of a division in the ranks of democracy, commencing in the Kansas struggle, and with all his might he endeavored to hold the disintegrating atoms together. Possibly he might have succeeded if allowed to manage affairs in his own way, but that was not part of the designs of providence. There were signs of settling down in Kansas. Democrats, opposed to slavery, had been joined with republicans on that issue until it began to appear that the question could only be settled in one way, unfavorable to the purposes of the south, and then with changed aspects in regard to that issue, parties began to rally under their several standards as of yore. Walker's policy would have assisted in that direction, pacifying the territory, solidifying democracy and looking elsewhere to find room for the expansion of slavery. His advice tendered to Buchanan was sound as a matter of policy, and his first utterance in the territory evidenced a change of front; but the proslavery men were reluctant to give up their aims, and when orders from Washington enforced the necessity for the Lecompton constitution, that wing of the organization, powerless to win a substantial victory, had sufficient vitality to prosecute an abortive effort in the forlorn hope of the Atchison clique. Walker was placed under a ban, as other governors had been, and when Buchanan was at length induced to espouse the Lecompton faction, Walker resigned. The action of Douglas, whether it was due to policy, principle or personal regard for Walker, helped to kill the organization in Kansas, which had united democrats and republicans. Free state men did not abandon their resolve, but they sought its fulfilment in different directions, each under old affiliations. The Topeka constitution and state government resulting from a compromise necessary at the time was now unsatisfactory to both sections, and the out of date party fell into decay, such as the circumstances of the time demanded. Compromises are, at best, only temporary makeshifts, and they find their end in a mortality blessed by every looker on. Some men clung eagerly to the old names and forms from which

life had departed, but when on the 4th of March, 1858, there should have been an assembly of the legislature, no quorum could be procured. The leading minds were busy in reconstructing their altered force under better auspices, so that there remained nothing for the dying goverment but to abandon powers that had never been truly and efficiently exercised.

The constitutional convention, which assembled at Mineola on the 23d of March, had in it more *vim* and liberality than remained in the Topeka party, but the people had no faith in its legal authorization, hence no popular enthusiasm waited upon its decisions. There was a constitution framed better than that of Topeka, because it did not continue the negro disability as to residence, and it opened schools to the children regardless of color. There were other features equally good, but the minds of the community were not interested. The nomination of a convention to prepare a state ticket was duly ordered, and there was vigor in the convention thus assembled; but neither the ticket offered nor the resolution to oppose the Lecompton constitution by force of arms, if necessary, roused the people to action. The nominees of the convention only obtained 3,000 votes, 1,000 voting on the other side, but generally men would not cast a ballot; and in January, 1859, there was no grief when the measure died of neglect in congress.

The vote on the Lecompton constitution, on the 2d of August, 1858, occasioned a much larger manifestation of zeal, no less than 13,088 votes being cast on that issue, with a majority of 9,512 against its adoption, although there had been such inducements offered by the pro-slavery party under the English bill. The new territorial legislature was chosen under many disadvantages, in consequence of the stupidity that marked the action of its predecessor; but, in spite of the old and unjust apportionment, which had not been changed by the men just relieved of legislative labor, there was a much better set of men elected to assume that important duty. The pro-slavery section of the Democratic party was now all but lifeless in Kansas, and it was time to raise the standards of the national organization on each side. The convention held at Lawrence, November 11, 1857, was so clearly Republican in its tone that Democratic allies were repelled, and

the old party deprecated an abandonment of its war cry before Kansas had been admitted as a free state; but, for all practical purposes the original quarrel had come to an end. Thereupon the Democrats tried to fashion a platform on the 24th of the same month, at Leavenworth, that would enable free state men to unite with the pro-slavery party for national and territorial purposes. It was somewhat difficult to make terms between the opposing sections, but at length a noncommittal policy was agreed upon, with vigorous mental reservations, that served for a time. The convention at Big Springs, to renew the life of the old free state party, May 12, 1859, was a respectable failure; the purposes of that organization were now safe in other hands, and the convention was almost a funeral. One week later, the Republicans completed their party organization at Ossawatomie, when Horace Greeley was the lion of the hour on the ground made classic by the heroism of Old John Brown a few months later. The Democrats completed their organization the day before the Big Springs convention.

The actual government of Kansas was now vested in the new territorial legislature, which assembled on the 3d of January, 1859, and the work devolving upon that body was well done. After meeting at Lecompton, the legislature at once adjourned to the more congenial atmosphere of Lawrence, and the statutes which had too long disgraced the community were repealed or amended as public opinion seemed to demand. The end of Governor Denver's administration had, before this. arrived, and his departure was regretted by the people, but his masterly conduct in the matter of the treaty at Fort Scott in the spring led to such representations at Washington on the part of the Democrats that ruled Buchanan, that his name was added to the list of sacrifices by his resignation in October, 1858. Governors henceforth were of so little moment in Kansas affairs, comparing them and their action with the eventful times and the men that governed, from 1854 to the end of 1858, that it will suffice to say here, that Governor Medary was in due time succeeded by Governor Stanton, whose rule ended upon the inauguration of the state government in 1861.

The cost of all this turmoil had now to be estimated in the

hope that congress would bear its proper share in the outlay, but it was difficult even to procure an audit commission. Ex-Governor Shannon would not serve, but the Hon. J. H. Strickler accepted the position, and, as the rusult of his labors, it appeared that $301,225 had been claimed, and $254,279 allowed by him on three hundred and fifty applications. The operation of the audit had, however, been abridged by numerous circumstances, and another commission, with larger powers, came into existence to examine into all claims for damages sustained in the territorial troubles from 1855 to 1856, an attorney being appointed to examine more effectively into the *bona fides* of applicants. There was a much larger total now presented, no less than $454,000 being allowed by the commission, and it was estimated that other valid claims could be made out raising the aggregate to half a million of dollars. Congress, ruled to a large extent by the Democratic party, would not make an appropriation to cover the loss, and in consequence there was a very heavy embarrassment thrown upon the legislature which had, in part, taken upon itself the liability recognized by the commission. The time of private sacrifices for the public good had come to an end, and the losses now incurred could only be carried to the same list with the outlay incurred in sustaining the first Topeka government, and the efficient executive committee that organized the territory to fight the battle commenced in 1855.

The English bill provided that in the event of the Lecompton constitution being negatived by the people, there should be an election held to determine whether a state government was desired by the territory, and if desired, a convention to frame a constitution should be chosen. Pursuant to that diriction, the convention was elected in June, 1859, and 14,000 votes were cast in the election; the largest ever at that time honestly polled in Kansas. The assembly took place on the 5th of July, at Wyandotte, and, under the baton of President Winchell, one of the most important bodies ever convened during the days of our territorial existence, carried into form the will of the people. The constitution framed at Wyandotte became the basis of our admission as a state, and the men engaged in framing its provisions, had, in their ranks, some of the brightest and most powerful intellects in Kan-

sas. Woman's rights procured an interesting debate, but the constitution fell short of conferring the suffrage. Attempts to exclude negroes from the territory were lost, and the color line, which would have shut out negro children from common schools, was also defeated; but negroes were not allowed to vote. The fugitive slave law was not indorsed, and slavery was forbidden in the state, all but unanimously. Topeka secured a nomination as the temporary capital of the state, but provision was made for submitting the appointment to popular ratification, before a permanent location could have force. When the work was completed, on the 28th of July, the democrats opposed the constitution as a whole, but the republican majority was sufficient to carry the measure. The people ratified the constitution by 10,421 against 5,530.

The election of state officers under the constitution, ready for the possible passage of the bill through congress, resulted, on the 6th of December, 1859, in the choice of Dr. Robinson as governor; Joseph P. Root, lieut. governor; J. W. Robinson, secretary of state; Wm. Tholan, treasurer; G. S. Hillyer, auditor; W. R. Griffith, superintendent of public instruction; Thos. Ewing, Jr., chief justice; S. A. Kingman and L. D. Bailey, associate justices; B. F. Simpson, adjutant general, and M. F. Conway, member of congress. The highest vote cast was for the chief justice, 8,010; and the highest vote on the democratic ticket was 5,567, for the congressional representative. The senate was republican by twenty-two to three, and the house by fourteen to eleven. The census was taken at this time in a very incomplete and unsatisfactory way, as, while the population was nearly 100,000, the returns only showed a little more than 70,000; and this faulty enumeration was made a pretext for further delay in the desired admission.

Thus had another state arrived at the threshold of the Union, thirty-fourth in the list of actual admissions, thirty-second in order of application; as Minnesota and Oregon were both admitted after Kansas had formed a state organization. The order and regularity with which this nation grows is a new feature in the art of government. The Indian population gradually retiring before the more civilized races, leaves a tract of country but par-

tially occupied, and settlers establish colonies in all parts of the territory at their discretion, exerting the powers of local government from the first. The number within the territory having become sufficient for the purpose, organization is permitted in due time, the state succeeds the territorial *regime*, and the nation is greater by one individual in its federative unity. The conditions under which Kansas fought her way to the front have no parallel in the Union, because of the crisis in the peculiar institution of the south, which was being reached just as the settlement of the territory was commencing; but there are many instances in which states have embodied a great principle in their foundation and growth, and the success which has been attained by peoples so established may be accepted as arguing for Kansas a special greatness in the future. The name of John Carver is not more intimately associated with the government that originated in the Mayflower, nor Roger Williams with Rhode Island, nor Lord Baltimore with Maryland, nor William Penn with Pennsylvania, than is the soul of brave John Brown with the territory in which two of his sons were sufferers, and to which he devoted the last years of his eventful career on earth. The struggle that was made to plant slavery in Kansas was largely repelled by the abolitionist principle for which he died, and which triumphed over secession when Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox.

It will always be a source of pride for Kansas, that such men as Lincoln, Greeley and Seward aided in the struggles by which she became one of the constituent states in the greatest nation that the world has ever seen, and that the war for liberty for the white slave owner, as well as for the African in bondage, commenced upon this soil. The earlier records of our visitations have been given on other pages, and we can claim a remote antiquity for a territory on this continent, in the fact, that before Marquette and La Salle had in succession found the Mississippi, this region of Kansas had been opened up by De Soto, under a commission from Pizarro, and had been traversed north and south by his comrade, Coronoda, before the year 1540. The heart of North America, its very center, lies within our state, and its central position cannot fail at some period in its career largely and beneficially to affect its destiny.

The social basis upon which Kansas was founded gave little promise of the great position since attained. A few traders, Indian agents and missionaries, and a few Frenchmen, who, by long consorting with the tribes, were almost as Indian as themselves in tastes and manners, constituted for many years the whole white population; and amongst these the custom of holding negro slaves had become so much a custom, that the Indians adopted the practice and retained it for a considerable time. The purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon, the cession of Florida by Spain, the Seminole war, and all the incidents of warlike adventure therewith connected, are twice told tales; but there are few citizens that have ascertained by their own reading and observation, that all those events contributed to establish the basis for our social edifice. Mexico contributed at a later date toward our extent of territory, that portion east of the 23d meredian, and north of the Arkansas river, having been acquired from that power in the war of 1846–7. When congress, after much debate, extending over two years, consented to admit Missouri to the Union as a slave state, the questions then raised contained Kansas and its difficulties, as the acorn contains the oak, and the compromise then made, to be so often broken and violated before it was at last repealed, enunciated the first syllables of the completed sentence which was fulminated by Kansas against slavery, in the long struggle beginning in 1854 and concluding in 1865.

The commerce of the plains began with a wagon track that passed through Kansas, from just across the Missouri border, in 1823, and the traffic from Independence to Santa Fe may be almost said to have revolutionized South America, as well as to have led to the redemption of California from the miserable condition in which the half Indian-Spaniard lived under the curse of Spanish institutions, surrounded in pride and laziness, with a squalor that especially belongs to that nation. For many years this region was preserved as the home of the Indian tribes moving west before the tide of settlement that was slowly covering the eastern sections of the territory purchased from Napoleon;" but before that policy was yet matured, one of the most charming writers of this century, Washington Irving, in his "Tour on the Prairies," had published to the world a pen picture of our

scenery, such as might have seemed a charming panorama imagined by the novelist; but which we know to be true in its every feature to our beautiful country. Our grassy plains, interspersed with forests and groves, dotted here and there with park-like lawns and clumps of trees, formed under his pencil an ever-changing loveliness, as it is, in the bounty of nature around us, whenever and wherever the rivers and streams are refreshed by the wise handiwork of man, and the soil opened to the generous raindrops. Irving wrote after having visited the region watered by the Arkansas, the Grand Canadian, the Red River and their tributaries in 1832, just at the time when the several missions at Wiandotte and Shawnee were being established; five years after the first fort was built at Leavenworth, and when the trade over the Santa Fe trail had already become a large item along the borders of Missouri. "The fertile and verdant waste," of which he wrote, were popularly supposed to be deserts, and were described as part of "The Great American Desert" by map makers and geographers years after his visit, although every writer and traveler spoke of the elk, buffalo and wild horse as abounding here in good condition, such as few animals would be likely to maintain in an arid and desert land; but when a misapprehension has once become master of the public, it is a long and tiresome task to root out the misleading thought or fiction. The Arkansas was specially described by Irving, and he fairly revelled in its beauty, which need have no higher praise than to have been thought worthy of his pen.

Two years after Irving's visit there was a printing press at work in Kansas, at the Ottawa Baptist mission, and the speedy increase of missions which followed the transportation of Indian tribes to this country must have had an effect in counteracting the prevalent mistake as to the condition of the soil. Col. Fremont passed through this country on his way to Oregon over the Rocky Mountains in 1842, repassing on several occasions, after the exploration of the South Pass, to examine the Great Salt lake, and the grand features of Alta California, as well as eventually to aid in the punishment of the Spanish authorities, whose churlishness to our countrymen cost them very properly the country which they were not worthy to retain. The selection of the site

of Fort Scott as a military post, was not long afterwards followed by the Mormon exodus across the plains, the Mexican war, the gold discoveries in California, and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, under which the territory was organized in 1854–5.

It was an act of cowardice on the part of congress that remitted to the people, who were then about to settle in Kansas, the question, "shall this state go for slavery or for freedom?" but in the hands of the Great Ruler, even cowardice is not without its uses. The people were equal to the emergency to which they were called, and the answer of squatter sovereignty, given by less than one hundred thousand people, has since been indorsed by forty millions. What was indeed meant as a trap into which Kansas was to fall, as of her own free will, became the means for the emancipation of four million slaves. Still the combat of so few against so many of disunited settlers scattered over the country engaged in building up their homes against an organized government, moved from headquarters to concentrate every energy upon the establishment of slavery, and assisted by troops, as well as by ruffian hordes, was a cruel attempt to enslave a liberty loving community, and the conduct of Presidents Pierce and Buchanan cannot be too highly reprehended. Briefly we may be permitted to review the story of that momentous struggle.

Every governor was appointed in the hope that he would serve the mistaken purpose of his party, and from Reeder to Denver, every man was plotted against if not removed as soon as he failed to carry out or to help their designs. Every judge and territorial appointee was made right for slavery at the outset, or was removed until proslavery men were secured. The laws as well as the legislature were foisted upon the people by organized and insolent fraud, which hardly designed to be hypocritical, so certain were the manipulators that they could ride rough shod over the free settlers, or compel them to abandon their claims. With law and by it, or against law and in spite of its provisions, slavery must needs be made a part of the institutions of Kansas, and the Dracoian will of Missouri was to be written in blood. At that point commenced the contest between north and south, which should possess the land, and the densely peopled north could

send hundreds of her teeming population more easily than the south could send its tens. The first advantages were won by Missouri, because she was ready to begin immediately; the act was passed, whereas the free state men were obliged to travel immense distances, only to reach the debatable land, but in the end, right triumphed, although the battle had cost hundreds of human lives and at the very least $2,000,000 before Abraham Lincoln's election ended that contest to commence another on the same issue extended and largely improved.

Leavenworth was a fort before the days of settlement, and around that point the Missouri men established one of their earliest towns, with a mixture of the free state element in small proportions. Atchison was a proslavery settlement almost entirely, and at one time it was dangerous for a free state settler, or traveler, to express his views concerning slavery within the limits of the village, but it has entirely outgrown that unhappy condition, and is now largely indebted to the once objectionable element for the condition of prosperity to which it has attained, as one of the chief commercial towns in the state. Lawrence and Topeka owed their existence from the beginning to free state enterprise, the first being the great center of the struggling settlers when the mobs came over from Missouri and the armed bands from the far south to overawe the opposition which could not be argued down. Topeka was the seat of the first attempt at a state government, and it is now the capital of the state which its courage greatly helped to form. When the first legislature, after its removal to Shawnee, made infamous laws against the liberty of the press, against free speech, and against common sense, restricting even trial by jury, until it became a tyranny instead of a defense, those towns and a few outlying settlements fought the good fight against organized anarchy, and won the battle, although it was insisted upon that to refuse obedience to the enactments of the Shawnee legislature was treason against the United States and equivalent to a levying of war. The laws made by an alien legislature were administered by alien officials without regard to honor or justice. Murder was not an offense if a free settler was the victim, but a whispered word would suffice to arm the sheriff with a hundred writs against men suspected of abolition senti-

ment, and, as we have seen, a sheriff's posse might consist of two thousand seven hundred men. A combination of the sheriff and the marshal outnumbered the law and the prophets, and the judges were men who thought it no disgrace to read the statutes in the angry eyes of their partizan leaders and their followers. The record of Kansas during the internecine strife by which it was torn and sundered, and the still grander showing that she made during the civil war that saved the Union, are matters that have been in part dealt with already, and for the rest will be presented in proper form elsewhere; suffice it only to say that during her troubles in the past there is no page of which Kansas, as a whole, has cause to be ashamed.

The adjournment of the territorial legislature from Lecompton to Lawrence on the 6th of January, 1860, only four days after the assembly, gave needless offense to the governor, and some bickering ensued, but after some little time had been uselessly spent in quarrels the legislation demanded in the interests of the people was undertaken. An event of much greater importance than any code that was ever framed by mortal was just descending, as with the impetus of desolation, upon the territory. Kansas was decimated by famine. For seven months hardly any rain fell in the territory, certainly not enough to enable the earth to give forth its abundance, and at the first glance this will seem to have been an event against which human foresight and effort could avail nothing; but, as has been proved elsewhere, not to a demonstration certainly, but in a manner that leaves but little margin for doubt, much has been done in many countries to make rain more plentiful, and in the same ratio to affect the fertility of the soil, consequently more yet may be accomplished in the same direction. Countries that were arid and scarcely habitable, while treeless, have been changed into fertile and delightful homes, for a people blessed with plenty, by tree planting, in such sites as were best adapted to increase the rainfall in the localities to be affected. The deposition of moisture speedily nourished the grasses that were struggling and sapless, and the earth could once more feed its springs, so there comes in many and various ways an answer to the prayer for rain that is presented by every leaf that lifts its face towards Heaven.

Kansas had been cursed by internecine strife for so long a period that settlers could not carry out improvements upon their farms; or, if they had time to attempt such works, there was an ever present doubt as to the ownership and title to their claims, so that a makeshift policy prevailed all over the country. Men did not sink wells in many cases, where no other resource could possibly supply their families with wholesome water during the year, and much sickness resulted from the use of surface water, more or less stagnant, and impregnated with the saline properties that abound in Kansas soil. During the winter of 1859–60, there were only two falls of snow in the territory, and those were so light that the ground was not entirely covered, and the rains that came at long intervals hardly moistened the parched surface of the land. The winter is very brief, seldom commencing before December or lasting beyond January, and when the heats of summer commenced, the ground cracked and yawned in great fissures. The grass had long ceased to be green, and was now converted into hay just at the season when it should be full of sap; still, it served as food for the cattle, but the difficulty was to supply them with water. In many parts of the country there was hardly enough for human consumption, and the winds, blowing like hot blasts from a vast furnace, increased the thirst of every living thing. Under such circumstances it was inevitable that the crops should fail, and the people, impoverished by long continued war and strategy, were not prepared to endure this new affliction. Famines were once very commonplace events; now we may thank God that they are more rare.

The snow, lying and melting upon the ground, served to moisten the soil, so that the fall and winter wheat appeared in due season, and there was hope in every green blade; but unfortunately no rain came to raise the crop beyond its earliest promise, and over a large area of country there was not half a bushel per acre raised on land that had been noted for its fertility. It was a rare event to find a county that averaged one bushel to the acre, and in many parts there was not more than an eighth of a bushel. The other crops failed for the same reason. In Shawnee county there were only ten bushels of potatoes raised from two hundred and seventy-nine acres. Corn averaged about one-

third of a crop on the bottom lands, and elsewhere, nothing. Over a large area of thousands of acres, corn only averaged one bushel and one-third to the acre. Timothy and clover failed entirely. The native grasses held out better, and when withered on the stalk were still good feed. Wells gave out, that had been an unfailing source of supply until now; springs and creeks had long before dried up. Those who had been unable to dig wells were destitute much earlier, and in the greater part of the country suffering was intense.

There were parts of Kansas where the drouth was no so bad, as for instance in the Kaw or Kansas Valley and along the Missouri in the low lying lands about two-thirds of a crop of corn was obtained, but there was no surplus anywhere to relieve the want that afflicted the larger part of the territory. The settlers were generally in very needy circumstances in consequence of the losses and idleness enforced upon them during '55–6–7, and many had gone into debt for the means that prepared for the crop now ruined. Those who could raise the wherewithal abandoned the territory, and fully thirty thousand left for the northern states; but many were at death's door for lack of food, and had no means to procure a supply. They had come into Kansas in the hope that labor would be in demand, and that with their earnings they would speedily be enabled to take up claims; instead of which they found the wealthier settlers barely able to preserve their households from starvation, the more needy not free from the ravages of hunger. There was nothing possible for such poor families but to succumb to want, unless benevolence came to the rescue; but to the honor of humanity it may be said that as soon as the tidings reached the eastern and northern cities of the union, there was a response ample to cover the demands of the most necessitous, and for all that sought such aid, seed wheat was sent in abundance. Committees were formed to spread the contributions of the north over the area of suffering in the manner most likely to give relief, and thousands who were strangers to a full meal for months, had so much manly pride that they described the sufferings of their neighbors who were fit subjects for relief, but there came from them no murmur as to their own wants.

New York, the largest and wealthies city in the union, was one of the first to respond to the cry for aid, as Mr. Thadyus Hyatt of that city had himself visited the territory and could certify from personal observation the fearful need under which the population was borne down. Soon every church named its day for receiving contributions, merchants established organizations for the same purpose; those who were unable to spare money sent provisions or clothes, and committees assumed the duty of forwarding to the proper quarters all such help as could be procured. The legislature at Albany interpreted the desire of New York State by voting $50,000 towards supplying Kansas with seed wheat, and Wisconsin was similarly liberal through the legislature at Madison, while her citizens individually were as generous in their donations as their means would permit. Illinois, never slow to answer a claim on her benevolence, was not outdone by the liberality of other states, and Indiana, Ohio and other sections of the union made a handsome series of remittances.

The worst result for Kansas, from the time of suffering now described, consisted in the fact that hundreds of thousands were influenced by this disaster into believing that all the old stories about the Great American Desert were true, and in consequence the population that was increasing rapidly up to this time in spite of war and its privations suffered a severe arrest and continuous diminution, which for several years injured the state. Thirty thousand persons who left Kansas in the year 1860, some of them after a very brief stay, readily concurred in such views, and then came the war with its excitements day after day to prevent a reconsideration of the facts, until the error became solidified and commonly accepted as a truth. The relief funds of the northern states continued to arrive until far on in March, 1861, when the territory had become a state, and the great president had been inaugurated, and the south had drawn off to make ready for its terrible strife, before which all the wrongs of Kansas seemed as nothing, and the worst suffering here but as a tale of yesterday.

Before dealing with the history of the state it may be well at this point to say that with increasing cultivation all over the country there has been an improving average of rain, and violent storms have become more uncommon. The mean annual temper-

ature at Lawrence, calculated for seven years, has been 53° 14′, ranging from 108° at the topmost of its summer heat to 3° below zero in winter. Burlingame, in Osage county, ranges from 100° above to 6° below. Leavenworth from 99° above to 20° below, and Manhattan from 93° above to 12° below, giving 52° 81′ as its mean for twenty years. The rainfall in Kansas is registered in three belts, the eastern belt including Fort Leavenworth, Olathe, Manhattan, Lawrence, and Baxter Springs, with altitudes ranging from 850 to 1100 feet above the sea, and in this belt the main rainfall of the year as shown by the records of nine and ten years amounts to 37.07 inches, being divided into 4.92 in winter, 7.90 in autumn, 14.26 in summer, and 9.99 in spring. In the second or middle belt, including Fort Riley, Fort Harker, and Fort Larned, the mean rainfall for the year is 23.61, the proportions showing a less disparity between summer and spring; and in the western belt, including Fort Dodge, Fort Atkinson, Fort Wallace and Fort Lyon, the mean for the year is 19.48, being calculated from four years in one station, three in another, and in the remainder one year only. It will be seen that there is no cause for fear in a country well supplied with rivers where such rainfall is averaged and where wells seldom fail. The warmth of the climate is not oppressive, because the cool breeze every night gives relief. The cold of the winter is not excessive, and the season of cold weather is very brief. The desert theory fails entirely; the grasshopper famine does not give the slightest support thereto, and the prospects for Kansas, with its population rapidly approaching one million, are quite as encouraging as can be found in any state in the Union of the same age.

CHAPTER XXI.

STATE HISTORY — FIGHTING FOR THE UNION — 1861-65.

War Record — Governor Robinson — Buchanan's Legacy — Constitutional Rule — First Shot — Summoning Volunteers — Kansas Responds — First Regiment — Deitzler's Brigade — Wilsons Creek — Lyon's Death — Hard Fighting — With Grant — Before Vicksburg — Yazoo River — Second Kansas — Dug Springs — Heavy Losses — Reorganization — Lexington — Battery Captured — Boonsboro — Prairie Grove — Fort Smith — Dardanelle — Slight Mistake — Barkers Springs — General Steele — Kirby Smith — Jenkins Ferry — Roseville — Little Rock — Fifth Kansas — Colonel Johnson — Clayton's Command — Carthage Guerillas — Salem Fight — Black River — Major Walker — Marmaduke — Arkansas Post — Mount Elba — Warren Cross Roads — Sixth Cavalry — Drywood — Quantrell — Jackman — Pursuing Cooper — Coon Creek — Newtonia — Old Fort Wayne — Boston Mountains — Van Buren — Carney's Fears — Prairie de Anne — Seventh Cavalry — Shiloh — Buzzard Roost Station — Tallahatchie — Florence — Veteran Volunteers — Tupelo — Eighth Kansas — Nashville — Perrysville — Lancaster — Quantrell — Murfreesboro.

FROM this point the history of Kansas becomes larger in its character; it ceased to be a territory, struggling for recognition, and challenged respect as a component of the Union, doing its devoir to maintain, on a broader scale, the principles for which it had so long borne an unequal struggle. No other state in the Union sent so large a proportion of its population to the front as did Kansas, during the war of the rebellion, and in consequence we may be excused if, from the commencement of hostilities, we turn the major part of our attention away from local politics and politicians, to notice the larger issues of the time. Before President Buchanan retired into private life, hostilities had actually commenced against the United States under the orders and machinations of Jefferson Davis, but the predecessor of Abraham Lincoln lacked the inclination to protect the general government from outrage. Edwin Stanton, his attorney general, urged Mr. Buchanan to send supplies and reinforcements to Fort Sumter, but without success, at the time that Kansas was being admitted,

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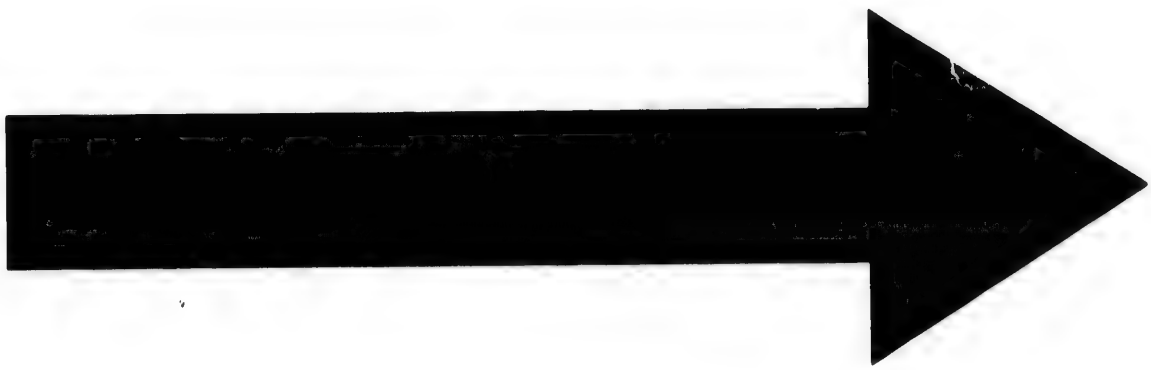

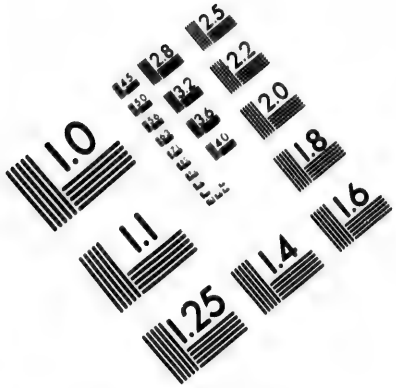

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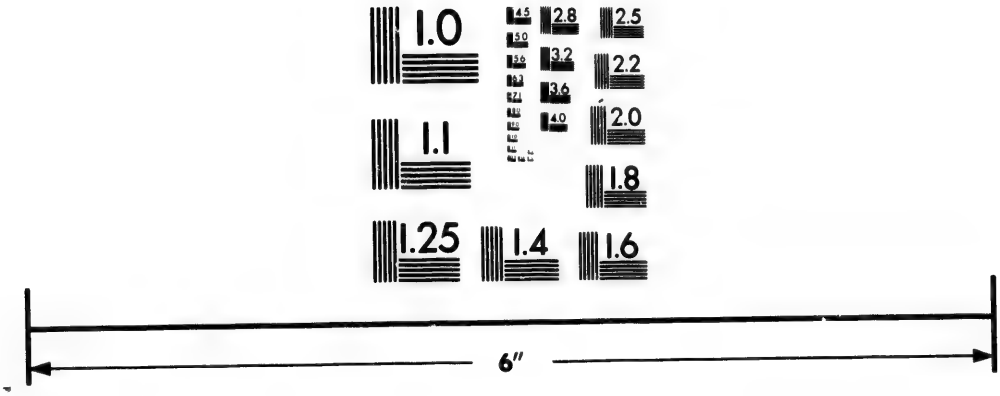

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after the proslavery party had practically abandoned the struggle in the senate at Washington, and stood committed to deadlier efforts.

Gov. Robinson's term in office was very brief, and the war record mainly arose during the rule of his successor, Gov. Thomas Carney. The struggle for election after the state had been admitted, would furnish an inviting theme for the historian, under other circumstances; but already the alarm had been sounded, and, while the people were mustering their forces for war, the civil and legal contest would prove comparatively tame. Robinson failed to win again the honorable eminence to which he could present valid claims; but there was nothing in the conflict and the triumph to remind one of the darker days through which Kansas had passed. The people were being governed under their own laws, and a constitution framed by themselves, so that the successes and reverses of party combinations were in no sense exceptional. The governor chosen in 1861 served until the rebels had been finally beaten at Richmond, and had surrendered their last valid hope with Lee at Appomattox.

The first shot was fired by the secessionists against Fort Sumter on the 12th of April, 1861, and the month of May was signalized by the call for 400,000 volunteers to defend the Union, to recover the properties and possessions seized by the rebels, peaceably if possible; but to recover them at all hazards. Between the 20th day of May and the 3d of June, Kansas raised her first regiment, and the commissions were issued by Gov. Charles Robinson. Circumstances so narrowed the time for recruiting that it may be said that nearly the whole work of enlistment and organization was effected within one week. The men who rendezvoused at Camp Lincoln, near Fort Leavenworth, were solicitous to move at once to the front, and it was not long before their qualities were tested under fire. Col. Deitzler, of Lawrence, was a man in whom the regiment reposed full trust, and he proved himself worthy of their confidence. He was ably seconded by officers and men. The regiment, although newly formed, contained many who had served their apprenticeship to war, since their first advent on the soil of Kansas, and the necessity for rigorous drill was understood from the beginning.

In the village of Iatan, across the border in Missouri, about eight miles above Fort Leavenworth, a rebel ensign had been displayed, and a force of six men under Sergeant Drenning proceeded without orders, to haul down the insolent flag. Three of the six men were wounded, on the 5th of June, but they brought away the flag as a trophy. That was the only sign of insubordination that challenged notice during the brief era of camp life. Moving shortly after to Wyandotte, and thence to Kansas City, the troops were soon placed where blows fell thickly, but they were capable of playing their parts like men. Soon after Gen. Lyon had broken up the rebel camp at Booneville, in June, the first regiment, joined by Maj. Sturgis with a battalion of U. S. infantry and two companies of U. S. cavalry, moved towards Grand River, where a junction was effected with Gen. Lyon's force, on the 7th of July. Many skirmishes occurred almost every day for some time, and it became evident that the enemy, under Gens. Price and McCulloch, were concentrating their forces on Wilson's Creek, in the hope that the army under Lyon, unsupported and cut off, would be compelled to surrender, or at least to fight under every disadvantage except want of courage. The battle at Wilson's Creek, on the 10th of August, was the best proof of the spirit that animated our men, when 4,500 troops, mainly volunteers, attacked a strong camp held by 25,000 men, four-fifths of whom were effectives, and compelled the foe to retire. Gen. Lyon fell in the conflict, much lamented, but the boys of Kansas won high praise. Maj. Sturgis, who took part in many a well fought battle during the war, said at a much later date: "For downright hard, persistent fighting, Wilson's Creek beat them all."

The army evacuated Springfield the next morning, and marched without impediment to Rolla, ten days journey, from which place the wounded were sent to St. Louis, and soon afterwards the troops themselves followed. The march to Rolla, from Springfield, Mo., was through a line of country well adapted for harassing operations, if the enemy had not been thoroughly disheartened; but no movement of the kind was attempted. The forces under Lyon fought for a safe retreat, and they achieved their purpose, in the face of an army largely outnumbering

themselves, carrying away their baggage undisturbed, and $250,000 besides, which would have proved invaluable to Price or McCulloch.

The movements of the first Kansas regiment were multifarious from this time. They were ordered to Pittsburg Landing in May, 1862, where Grant had won the battle of Shiloh on the 7th of April, with an army that had been surprised and all but defeated on the 6th, in his absence, but the retreat of Beauregard from Corinth, previous to their arrival, rendered reinforcements at that place unnecessary to Gen. Halleck, and they were dispatched to Columbus, Ky. The regiment led the pursuit of the rebels, as part of Gen. McPherson's brigade, after the battles of the 3d and 4th of Oct., 1862, at Corinth, when the enemy under Van Dorn and Price were compelled to retire precipitately to Ripley, Miss., by the determined valor of the troops under Rosecrans. The retreat of fifty miles was marked by many vigorous encounters with the rebel forces. The confederates fought well. When Grant concluded on making his first advance upon Vicksburg, and moved towards that destination, the first Kansas regiment, forming part of Gen. Deitzler's brigade, was generally in advance, and marched through Holly Springs, Abbeyville and Oxford, compelling the enemy to retreat at every step.

The surrender of Gen. Grant's base of supplies, at Holly Springs, by Col. Murphy, rendered it necessary for the campaign against Vicksburg to be abandoned, and the first Kansas regiment, now fifty miles in advance of the surrendered post, was ordered to march on Holly Springs to prevent the escape of Gen. Van Dorn. The Kansas boys were just arriving in camp when the order arrived, but they, with the seventh regiment from their own state, were the first to reach the position, and although the brigade and forces under Deitzler were unable to capture the gallant leader of cavalry, they succeeded in taking a portion of his rear guard, the rest being saved by a precipitate retreat. The movements against Vicksburg, under Gen. Grant, which continued from Jan., 1863, to the 4th of July, when that fortress was compelled to surrender, were participated in largely by the Kansas First.

After the beginning of Feb., 1863, Gen. Grant employed this

regiment as mounted infantry for eighteen months. The decisive and brilliant actions in which Grant defeated in succession, the two hostile armies under Pemberton and Johnston, at Port Gibson, at Jackson, at Champion Hills and at Black River Bridge, when Pemberton was forced to take refuge in Vicksburg, on the 18th of May, afforded the Kansas First excellent opportunities to win distinction, and their record was never dimmed by one mark of indecision. After the fall of Vicksburg and the surrender of Pemberton on the 4th of July, the regiment was ordered to Natchez, Miss., to hold the post.

Many skirmishes and heavier engagements followed the occupation of Natchez, and in October the regiment returned to Vicksburg, being stationed as an outpost on Black River Bridge, with picket posts on both sides of the river. When Gen. McArthur moved up the Yazoo River, the Kansas first formed part of the expedition, and there was some good fighting on both sides. The time of service having expired on the 1st of June, 1864, the remainder of the regiment, except two companies of veterans, was embarked on transports for Fort Leavenworth to be mustered out, and the vessels were cannonaded on the following day by an eight gun battery near Columbia, Arkansas, with some loss to the first Kansas, and very considerable damage to the transport Arthur. The battery was planted at the point named by Gen. Magruder. The veterans already named continued to serve in Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas until the rebellion was put down, and they were mustered out at Little Rock, Arkansas, on the 30th of August, 1865.

The second Kansas regiment was raised in May, 1861, and having rendezvoused at Lawrence, was mustered into the service of the union on the 20th of June following. The second regiment was part of the force commanded by Maj. Sturgis at Clinton, Mo., and formed one brigade with the first regiment under Col. Deitzler. The second came under fire at Forsythe, 40 miles southeast of Springfield, Mo., for the first time, on the 22d of July, 1861, and the men behaved gallantly. The skirmish at Dug Springs proved a more serious engagement than was intended, but the enemy was compelled to retreat. The movements of the rebels after Dug Springs showed a determination to cut off the

retreat of the force of Gen. Lyon, and made it necessary for the little army of 4,500 to engage 25,000 men, but the result of the battle at Wilson's Creek, although only intended to secure a retreat from an untenable position, had all the effects of a decisive victory, the movement to Rolla being as unimpeded and orderly as could be desired. The brunt of the battle fell upon men but recently called from peaceful pursuits, yet they behaved like veteran troops. The second regiment was making its admirable advance on the crest of the hill on the front center, when Gen. Lyon marching at its head, fell mortally wounded, Col. Mitchell commanding the regiment being disabled at the same time; but the hill was carried, and the success of that maneuver compelled the enemy to retire in confusion. The hill was held by the first and second Kansas regiments against several attempts to recapture the position, and the troops well deserved the high commendation bestowed upon them after the splendidly won victory. The rebel generals claimed to have won the fight at Wilson's Creek, but if they really deserved that credit, they were entitled to still higher praise for their politeness in allowing the small force under the command of Maj. Sturgis, all the honors and immunities usually attendant upon success, in the privilege of continuing their line of march unimpeded with their baggage and their wounded undisturbed, through difficult country to the railroad at Rolla.

One-third of the second Kansas regiment was lost in the Wilson's Creek engagement, but the men never flinched from their position. After Wilson's Creek, the second regiment accompanied the troops marching to Rolla and to St. Louis, but from that point returned to Kansas for muster out and reorganization as a cavalry regiment, having in the meantime been engaged in four sharp fights, at Paris, Mo., on the 2d of September; at Shelbina on the 4th, when 600 men held in check 3,500 with a strong battery under the command of Gen. Green; at St. Joseph, where the rebels were surprised by night and defeated with great loss: and at Iatan, where a large force was dispersed. Price had captured Lexington for the south, with a confederate force 25,000 strong, on the 20th of September, and as he was threatening Kansas, the second regiment was ordered to Wyandotte to resist his onset, but on the 16th of October Maj. White recaptured the town, taking

some of the confederates prisoners, the duty devolving upon the second came to a bloodless end. The regiment was mustered out on the 31st of October, 1861.

Pursuant to the understanding already arrived at, the second was immediately reorganized, with necessary changes as a cavalry regiment, known as the twelfth Kansas volunteers, on the 8th of November, 1861, the rendezvous being established at Fort Leavenworth. Companies were organized in succession during the remainder of November, December and January, and in December the governor added four companies of Nugent's regiment of Missouri home guards. The conduct of this body of men won honorable mention on many sanguinary fields. The name of the regiment was afterwards (March 27th) changed to the second Kansas cavalry. The duties and exploits of the troops were so various that it is found impossible even to review them in detail, consequently only some few leading events can be noticed in this record. The regiment did much hard service and good fighting, and was noted for being always in position obedient to the call of duty. It is worthy of special mention that the second Kansas cavalry is the only regiment of horse in the west that captured a battery during the war. Hollister's battery, a force of 150 noncommissioned officers and privates, was formed from this regiment, and their six ten-pounder Parrott guns did excellent service on many occasions.

Rebel raiding parties were frequently pursued and chastised by this mounted force; a service of this kind was very effectively performed on the 25th of August, 1862, the rebels being under the command of Col. Shelby. On the fourth of October the regiment was dispatched to Newtonia, to reinforce Brig.-Gen. Salomon, who was menaced by a superior force, and their presence caused the enemy to decamp. The regiment did good service at Pea Ridge on the 20th of October, 1862, and continuing on duty in Arkansas there was to have been a night attack on the enemy in Marysville, but owing to a failure to connect on the part of some of the troops which should have cooperated, the rebels escaped. There was no blame attached to the Kansas second, as in the engagement that followed, that regiment, unsupported, carried the confederate position and carried off the battery of four guns. The conduct of the second was superb, the attacking

force being only 497 men and the rebels, strongly posted, were 4,000 strong. When reinforcements came up on the Union side the rebels were completely routed and driven in great disorder. The battery captured by the second was organized and manned, being thereafter known as Hopkins' battery, but continued to act with the regiment.

The engagement near Rhea's Mills resulted in another rout of the rebels on the 7th of November, when a flag was captured and the enemy driven ten miles towards Van Buren. Many prisoners were taken. Gen. Marmaduke, with a force estimated at 6,000, was encountered near Boonsboro on the 28th of November, and so unfortunately were the troops placed, if the general had made a bold movement he might have captured or killed every man, and secured a battery; but temporary indecision lost the opportunity, and the attack made by the Union force about noon proved irresistible. The second led the pursuit of the flying enemy, which continued until the evening, with continuous skirmishing and much execution, after which the force encamped at Boonsboro.

An outpost was driven in by a strong rebel force on Cove Creek, where the roads from Fayetteville and Cane Hill join, on the 6th of December, 1862, and by successive attacks, the picket not having been reinforced as quickly as could be desired, the enemy gained some advantages, but the battle being continued during that day and on the 7th, the ground was eventually regained, the enemy retreating before the army of the frontier with great celerity and some loss. The conduct of the second in this series of battles won much praise, as during part of the 7th they dismounted and served as infantry when their services as horsemen would have been of less value, and immediately that line of duty had been accomplished, they mounted once more and rendered great assistance in retrieving the fortunes of the day.

The Second Kansas bore a prominent part in the expedition, which, on the 23d of August, 1863, crossed the Arkansas river to Honey Springs in the Creek Indian territory, traversed the country, destroying the enemy's supplies at Perryville, capturing money, mules and stores of great value, drove Gen. Cooper with a large force of Confederates, captured Fort Smith and cleared

the country of rebel forces. Moving from Fort Smith on the first of September, the regiment was in advance when, at Backbone mountain, a force under Gen. Cabbell was overtaken and routed after some hours' sharp fighting. The enemy was encountered with similar fortune at Dardanelle, Arkansas, later in September, about eighty miles above Little Rock. It was considered advisable, in November, to station a company of the Second Kansas at Dardanelle to prevent the possibility of a rally in that region.

An impetuous charge of fifty men under Capt. Gardner of the Second Kansas, on the 15th of November, broke the lines of the enemy at Booneville, 600 strong, under the command of Col. Brooks, but unfortunately, some of the brave fellows, who discovered too late the strength of the force attacked, found it impossible to charge through the lines again, and were killed or captured. The major part of the attacking force escaped with little injury. The same officer was surprised in camp on the 27th of December, near Dallas, where his company was engaged in outpost duty, and it was with some difficulty that the sleeping soldiery could be rallied in the bitter cold of that season, yet the assault was repulsed and the rebel commander killed. The pickets, well posted to avoid surprise, had in some way been evaded, and no fault was imputed to the commander of the outpost. The winter quarters of the enemy at Barker's Springs, eighty miles from Waldron, being assailed by a strong scouting party of the Second, on the night of the 20th of January, 1864, many prisoners were taken and the encampment destroyed, the rashness of the exploit being, perhaps, the main cause of its complete success. The Second Kansas Cavalry brought their prisoners into camp.

Gen. Marmaduke was menaced by the Seventh Army Corps, frontier division, under Gen. Steele, at Prairie de Anne, on the 12th of April. The Second Kansas was with Gen. Steele, and the movement was intended to cooperate in a grand assault upon Shreveport under Gen. Banks, who was to lead an expedition up Red river. Banks was too late in every attempt that he made, and his part of the stratagem terminated most unsuccessfully. Marmaduke was to delay Steele's advance until Banks could be

defeated by Kirby Smith, and then the two forces were to combine with Gen. Price to crush the Union force under Steele. The dilatoriness of Banks' own movements defeated him, as certainly as did the army under Kirby Smith, on the 7th of April and the two following days, so that the remainder of the scheme of the enemy could now be brought into operation. There was a great race now for the fortified town of Camden, which was held by the rebels, and Steele, having outgeneraled his adversaries, took the lead. Marmaduke attacked the frontier division on the 13th, three miles east of Prairie de Anne, and the Second Cavalry won laurels by their conduct on that occasion, as Marmaduke was forced to retire, and Gen. Steele still maintained his advantage in being ahead of Price.

The *ruse* by which Marmaduke was deceived and frustrated by Maj. Fisk and the Kansas Second was entirely successful, and, on the 16th of April, Steele with all his force had taken possession of the fortifications prepared by the rebels at Camden. Steele remained at Camden until April 27th, when he moved towards Little Rock, 110 miles to the northeast. Kirby Smith, with a large body of rebels, attacked his rear at the Saline river, on the 29th, and a severe engagement at Jenkins' Ferry followed on the 30th, but the Union force made good its passage of the river, in spite of superior numbers and the best ground being in the hands of the assailants. There was no recourse but retreat, as there were only two days' provisions in the commissariat when Steele evacuated Camden for his supplies at Little Rock.

Fort Smith was several times assailed by rebel forces, but Capt. Gardner and the Kansas Second could not be driven out, and their assailants suffered severely. The war was drawing towards a close, and while the Union forces were, as a rule, well fed and well armed, the rebels were becoming more and more dilapidated, hence the movements on the side of the union could, as a rule, be carried out with much greater spirit and success than those of the enemy, although the confederates were certainly courageous and fought admirably. Many companies were now being mustered out, their time of service having expired, but recruits were still coming in, and the veterans still remained on duty, determined to see the war to an end before they would relinquish their exertions.

Early in January, 1865, Lt. Col. Bassett, with a considerable force, left Fort Smith for Little Rock, on the steamboat Annie Jacobs. Three other boats were proceeding at the same time; and at Roseville, where the Jacobs stopped to take in wood, one of the other boats passed ahead. Shortly after, when Lt. Col. Bassett resumed his voyage, he found the boat that had preceded him lying by the river bank and on fire. The speed of the Annie Jacobs being increased, it was found, when only half a mile from the burning vessel, that there was a strong rebel force with a battery in position, and the guns opened fire upon the little squadron. The boats were run aground on the sandbanks where the men could land just before the steamers were disabled. The troops and refugees on board the several steamers escaped capture, and but few lives were lost. After a delay of two days, Bassett and his command proceeded to Little Rock, and were in due course mustered out, the time of service having expired. One of the troopers in the Kansas Second deserves special mention for courage, where all behaved well, and the name of Vincent Osborne will long be remembered by his comrades for his conduct near Roseville.

Captain Stover, of the Kansas Second, with a four gun battery, distinguished himself and his corps by the defeat of Col. Brooks, with a rebel force of 800 men at Dardanelle, on the 15th of January, 1865. The force routed by Stover took their revenge upon the defenseless boats loaded mainly with noncombatants afterwards cannonaded near Roseville. The war was now practically ended; the Kansas Second was mustered out at Lawrence on the the 17th of August, 1865, and the honorable record won by the troops in service has, in the main, being followed up by lives as creditable in the peaceful business of home industries and enterprise.

The Fifth Kansas Cavalry corps commenced active service on the 17th of July, 1861, when two companies took their departure from Fort Leavenworth for Kansas City. The first engagement was at Harrisonville, Missouri, where the rebels were attacked and driven fro' the town. The rebels were only forty-five miles from the borders of Kansas, but the loyal party was strong enough in Missouri to prevent the governor and the disaffected from carrying out their designs, so that Kansas was largely spared

from hostile visitations. The battle of Drywood was fought on the 2d of September, and some of the men were wounded; and on the 17th a rebel regiment was attacked at Morristown, where Col. Johnson fell mortally wounded. The enemy was routed with great loss of men and camp equipage; and the Fifth Kansas next distinguished itself by its impetuous onset on the rear of Gen. Price's retreating army near Osceola. When Price, reinforced strongly, had captured Col. Mulligan's command at Lexington, Missouri, the regiment was stationed at Kansas City, but the attack expected at that time was averted by other operations. When Gen. Fremont raised an army in Missouri the fifth was included, but the operations of the gallant commander were cut short by the orders of Gen. Hunter, and the fifth had no further adventures of moment before retiring to winter quarters at Camp Denver.

After the fall of Col. Johnson, at Morristown, the fifth suffered from incompetent commanders until February, 1862, when Lt. Col. Clayton became colonel, and under his direction the regiment achieved a great repute. On the 19th of March, the fifth made valuable captures at Carthage, Mo., where a guerrilla company, in course of formation, was taken by a brilliant charge under Capt. Crietz. Other advantages of a strategic nature and vast gains to the commissariat were reaped by the proceedings of the fifth, under Col. Clayton. There was full employment every hour in perfecting the drill of the troops, when they were not under fire or engaged on commissariat or other duty. The guerrilla band commanded by Coleman was driven out of the country near Houston by the regiment, and had afterwards, during June and July, opportunities for gaining distinction at Salem, Arkansas, and at the Black River, near Jacksonport, routing in the first action an Arkansas regiment of cavalry, and in the latter, routing a strong force of Texan rangers, who tried to capture the baggage train. The detachment that won the two victories named was under the command of Capt. Crietz. The capture of guerrilla troops, of greater and less extent, was a matter of almost daily occurrence, and in spite of pursuers, more numerous than his own force thrice told, in many directions, Crietz carried his little force to the main body without loss. Maj. Walker, long since favora-

bly known in Kansas, was in his element as the scourge of guerrillas. The expedition against St. Charles and Little Rock gave the fifth good openings for pluck and daring, although the enemy had evacuated the position at St. Charles. The pursuit of Col. Dobbins, and the fight with Gen. Marmaduke's force, won great praise for Col. Jenkins and his command, during an expedition from Helena. Col. Clayton developed brilliant qualities in the field, and his troops sustained him with the bravery of veterans. The battle of Helena was a great victory for our arms, opposed to vastly superior numbers, under Marmaduke. The fifth accompanied Gen. Steele in his advance toward Shreveport, which failed only because of the slowness or incompetency of Banks, and bore their share in the masterly strategy that prevented a crushing defeat of the union forces in that quarter. The capture of Little Rock was an admirable movement, at once smart and effective. The rout of Marmaduke's forces at Tupelo, and the capture of the camp equipage complete, as well as the position, was a feat entirely due to the Kansas Fifth and their colonel, moving from Pine Bluff on the night of October 1, 1863.

The fifth had their next great encounter on the 25th of the same month, when Marmaduke with 3,000 men and twelve pieces of artillery attacked Clayton's position, where there were only 600 men well placed to repel the assault. There was hard fighting for about six hours from nine A. M., and thirty-seven of our gallant fellows were slain, but the loss on the other side was four times as great, and the Union arms were victorious. Marmaduke was very confident that he must carry the works, and the repulse was on that account more severe and bloody. The defeat of Shelby's forces at Branchville followed in their record on the 19th of January, 1864, and the fifth under Col. Clayton were on the Camden road on the 21st. The fortunes of the expedition toward Shreveport have already been generally described in naming the exploits of the second cavalry. The fifth were at Monticello giving battle to Gen. Dockery when Steele was near Camden. Clayton's force of all arms was about 1,000 strong, but he manœuvered in such a way as to deceive Dockery into the belief that he was all but surrounded by an overpowering combination, his aim being to drive the rebels out of the country from Bayou Barthol-

omew to the Saline. Night marches and picket fires were the means employed. On the next day Shelby fell back toward Princeton, and on the 30th there was smart fighting near Mount Elbaford, the chief command on our side being assumed by Col. Jenkins. Dockery's force, far outnumbering our own, were the assailants, but they were met with a terrific fire at less than seventy-five yards, the howitzers pouring canister and shrapnel into their ranks, and the rifles of our men being handled splendidly. The confederates held their advance well, but bravery availed nothing against a fire so fearfully intense and well directed; they were broken and forced to run at last, pursued by the fifth Kansas for a considerable distance. Ten miles from Mount Elbaford the fifth met Col. Clayton commanding the first Indiana and seventh Missouri, and Clayton led a charge of his old regiment. Once more the discomfiture of the rebels was complete, although they fought admirably. They were driven five miles further, when the chase was abandoned. Dockery's wagon train was captured and many prisoners taken, and his troops driven from the country until Banks' disastrous campaign reopened the territory to their operations. The fifth was with Steele at Marks Mills when the enemy captured the baggage train, and some few of ours were made prisoners. On the 17th of September, at Warren Cross Roads, there was a hard fight and part of the Union force scattered, but the fifth Kansas with the first Indiana and seventh Missouri repelled the enemy and saved the artillery which was at one time in great danger. Lieut. Jenkins, of the fifth, with a small command, was cut off from the main force in that engagement, but a dashing charge brought him through the lines of the foe back to his comrades. The remainder of the services of the fifth were matters of routine until the end of the war.

The sixth regiment consisted of cavalry, and was organized in the month of July, immediately before the battle at Wilson's Creek. They were enrolled mainly for the defense of the southeastern portion of Kansas. Three companies of infantry, known as the Home Guards, developed under the advancing necessities of the time to much larger proportions and a complete change of service. Garrison duty was the first work devolving upon the sixth, with occasional scouting expeditions. The battle of Dry-

wood was commenced by a company of this regiment; but in the spring of 1862 it was found necessary to reorganize with better system and effect. Soon after the reorganization, when the Home Guard was mustered out of the service, and its members reënlisted for general duty, the regiment was engaged in breaking up small companies of guerrillas under the notorious Quantrell, Si. Gordon and Up. Hayes, in Missouri, and a successful raid having similar purposes was made as far as the Sni. Hills, during which no less than eight camps of bushwhackers were broken up, and over seventy killed and wounded. Those operations gave peace and protection to a wide range of country for three months, until the rebel Gen. Jackman marched into this section of Missouri with a large force, and all the powers of evil were once more let loose upon society.

In June, 1862, the sixth under Col. Doubleday, took part in the battle of Coroskin Prairie, and won distinction, which was more than sustained on the 4th of July in the Cherokee country, when Col. Clarkson and a considerable force of rebels were captured, the remainder of his command being pursued by the Kansas regiment. There was a brillant attack on the same day, upon a rebel encampment at Stan. Waite's Mills, when the enemy was routed by two companies of the sixth, and vast plunder procured for the commissariat. Scouting service now mainly fell upon the sixth, extending beyond the Arkansas river with occasional skirmishes of some moment. Operations against the Cherokee Chief, John Ross, were conducted with success, by Capt. Greno of the sixth, and a detachment of sixty men, in July, 1862, resulting in the capture of Ross and other officers of the rebel army, a movement that largely determined the subsequent action of the Cherokee nation. The danger of a surprise being attempted on Fort Scott caused a retrograde movement, during which a rebel party at Maysville was captured, and information obtained which altered the plans of the union commanders materially. In all those movements the sixth bore a conspicuous part. In August, the whole force proceeded towards the Missouri river, in pursuit of Gen. Cooper and five thousand rebels, which were overtaken and defeated at Osage river, the routed force being pursued until nightfall. The enemy got off during the night with only a wreck

of his command. The action at Coon Creek, where Lieut. Col. Bassett was repulsed by an outnumbering force of the confederates under Shelby, was in every way honorable to the sixth, as the attack was sustained by them with great courage, and the retreat to Lamar was conducted in perfect order.

The concentration of union forces at Coxie's Creek gave the sixth constant exercise, as there was no other body of cavalry in the brigade which kept open the communications with Gen. Totten near Springfield and Mount Vernon. Many brilliant engagements of skirmishing parties relieved the tedium of outpost duty. The attack on Newtonia was a much more considerable operation, and the 30th of September, 1862, will be remembered for life by many a gallant fellow, as the hard fought field was prolific in wounds and death. The enemy were routed in the field, but taking refuge in the town, where there were strong reinforcements and heavy guns, they could not be dislodged, and the sixth had assigned to it the honorable duty of covering the retirement of the assailants.

On the 4th of the following month, the attack upon Newtonia was renewed, and this time with complete success, the rebels being driven with much slaughter until the pursuers desisted in consequence of fatigue. On the 22d of October, our men attacked Gen. Cooper at old Fort Wayne, and were as succesful as could be desired, dislodging and driving a force of 3,000 rebels with a loss of the battery — captured by the Kansas second — battle flag, artillery, horses and the baggage train taken in pursuit by the sixth. The union force encamped at old Fort Wayne after this victory, but scouting parties were in the sadde incessantly. Gen. Marmaduke was dislodged from Cane Hill by the army of the frontier on the 28th of October, and pursued to a spur of the Boston mountains, where a desperate effort was made by the rebels to hold a position, but in spite of some very gallant fighting the union force prevailed, driving the rebels across the mountains with great precipitation. Several times when a strong position afforded an opportunity, picked corps of the enemy made a stand, attempting to cover the retreat of their comrades, if not to repel the advance, but no substantial success attended their efforts until night gave them a respite, and they returned under shelter of the

darkness. There was much loss on our side, but on the other it must have been terribly severe.

Prairie Grove, on the 7th of December, was a great fight, brought on by the courage and enterprise of our men. The fight continued all through the day, and until darkness rendered further operations impossible, when arrangements were made to resume at daylight, but the enemy escaped during the night, having muffled their artillery wheels to secure silence, and in the morning Gen. Hindman procured a personal interview with Gen. Blount to secure a longer start for his demoralized forces. This battle opened under many disadvantages for the union men, but the victory was complete. There was an interval of comparative rest for a few days, but on the 27th of December, Blount's command, including the Sixth and Second Kansas, were near Van Buren, in Arkansas, routing Texas troops, capturing their camp equipage and train, and driving the enemy in confusion. Van Buren was entered immediately afterwards, and commissariat stores of great value, with four steamboats, were secured. Fort Gibson and Fort Davis were taken by a detachment of the Sixth during the same campaign, and the force returned to Missouri to winter quarters.

Recruiting operations were prosecuted during the winter, but Gov. Carney feared that the drain upon the resources of Kansas would be too great if the farming community should be further depleted. Certainly, the state had done wonders in the prosecution of the war, but the people were not tired nor willing to allow anything to stand in the way of complete success. The Sixth was under fire at Honey Springs on the 17th of July, 1863, and the union men there engaged drove back the enemy with great loss, and after a hard fought battle added another to their long list of victories. Scouting operations with varied but general successes occupied the time after the engagement at Honey Springs until the Sixth joined the army of the Frontier, First Division, en route toward Shreveport, to cooperate with Gens. Steele and Banks, taking part in memorable Camden expedition.

The regiment was in the skirmish at Prairie de Anne on the 10th of April and two following days, and repulsed an attack on

the 13th. Throughout the whole of the Camden movements, rendered necessary by Banks' failure, the Sixth did its duty with great effect, except in repelling the attack on the ford at Sabine river, when the regiment was detailed in other directions. The march to Little Rock, the affair at Dardanelle on the 9th of May, and the occupation of Fort Smith, have been described elsewhere. Muzzard Prairie, on the 26th of June, was the scene of a conflict with bushwhackers, and on the following day a battalion, under Maj. Mefford, was surprised and attacked by 2,000 rebels, the force, 114 men, being forced to surrender after a gallant resistance.

The Sixth had no further striking opportunity for the display of its excellent qualities before the war came to an end. The affair at Cabin creek on the 19th of September, 1864, was the latest heavy fighting, but numerous small engagements followed in rapid succession, until hostilities having ceased the battalion was honorably discharged at Leavenworth, Kansas, on the 21st of August, 1865. The losses of the Sixth, in the period of service, amounted to nearly 80 per 1,000 of the whole number, the average loss of the state being only about 61 per 1,000, and that largely in excess of the average loss of the army.

The Seventh Cavalry was organized on the 28th of October, 1861, at Fort Leavenworth, and was sent into the field at once, being engaged on the 11th November with rebels under Up. Hayes. The rebels outnumbered our men largely, but they were driven from their position and the camp destroyed. All the horses were captured. There were expectations of a march to New Mexico, but orders were countermanded, and later, in 1862, the regiment was sent to Pittsburg Landing, but the rebels, under Beauregard, having retired from Corinth, after Grant's battle of Shiloh, Gen. Halleck caused the Seventh, with other troops, to be disembarked at Columbus, Kentucky. Cavalry skirmishes were continuous in the movements of the regiment to Corinth, Jacinto and Rienzi, where the Seventh was incorporated in Sheridan's command, and remained until September, 1862.

The battle of Iuka was participated in by part of the seventh, on the 18th of September, and on the 4th of October at Corinth, as well as in the pursuit of the enemy to Ripley after the defeat,

the regiment was conspicuous for bravery and efficiency. Returning to Corinth after the pursuit, the seventh was dispatched into Alabama, with a large command, which drove the rebels from Buzzard Roost station, and took many prisoners. Thence the regiment proceeded to Grand Junction, Tennessee, and joined Gen. Grant's army, which was intended to capture Vicksburg. Pemberton was encamped at Holly Springs with a rebel army, which was afterward beaten and captured by Grant at Vicksburg. Gen. Jackson, well known all over the union as an impetuous and successful chief of cavalry, met the seventh near Lamar, on the 8th of November, with a column 6,000 strong, and the proceedings of that day caused the force under Pemberton to retire from Holly Springs, from which the rebel garrison was routed on the 28th of the month by Col. Lea, the Kansas seventh being in the advance.

The advance to Tallahatchie from Holly Springs was a succession of skirmishes, in which the seventh was specially distinguished. When Van Dorn swooped down upon the supplies at Holly Springs, the seventh was ordered out in pursuit, but could not reach the point of attack before Col. Murphy surrendered, and was cashiered in consequence. The further pursuit of Van Dorn was continued through Tennessee and to Pontotoc, Miss.

The next action in which the seventh took part was at Tuscumbia, Ala., where the rebel brigade under Gen. Roddy was driven from the town on the 24th of April, 1863, and the great cavalry battle of Leighton followed, a few miles beyond Tuscumbia. Roddy had been largely reinforced, but our men, under the command of Col. Cornyn, of the Tenth Missouri Cavalry, drove him from the field with great slaughter. Three days later, at Town Creek, there was another great battle, when the enemy was driven from a strong position with much loss. The cavalry moved south from Burnsville after this action, as a feint to distract the attention of the confederates while Col. Grierson made his celebrated raid through Mississippi, and won honors which have never been dimmed. There was substantial work effected by the seventh during this march, and skirmishes were always active. At Tupelo, on the 5th of May, the rebels were driven from the town and the place occupied, and when attempts were

made to recapture Tupelo by a large rebel army under Gen. Gholson, the Seventh Kansas, cooperating with the Tenth Missouri, repulsed and demoralized the enemy, driving him from the field and capturing many prisoners. The fighting on this occasion was brilliant and long continued.

Ten miles from Florence, Ala., a rebel force was encountered by the Seventh Kansas and other troops, on the 26th of May, and the enemy driven to the outskirts of the town, where a strong position was occupied by a much larger body of troops, assisted by a battery, posted on a hill which commanded the advance. Against all those advantages the cavalry force pursued the purpose upon which it had been dispatched, driving the enemy through Florence, capturing the town and procuring a vast quantity of stores and ammunition. Moving toward Hamburg, on the Tennessee, there were many severe skirmishes, usually with severe loss to the rebels, and an attack on the rear of our command, while crossing the river at Hamburg, was repulsed with great slaughter. The regiment marched night and day for six days in succession, on this raid, and returned to Corinth on the 31st of May, 1863.

Skirmishing was now the order of the day. There was a smart cavalry engagement at Iuka on the 9th of July, when Cornyn's brigade defeated Gen. Roddy with very great loss. Swallows Bluff on the Tennessee, on the 30th of September, was signalized by a battle between two companies of the Seventh, which attacked the rear guard of a rebel force and succeeded in capturing a great number of the enemy. Byhalia and Wyatt, Miss., on the 12th of October, was the scene of a heavy fight, when Gen. N. B. Forrest, with a large rebel army, was attached and defeatad by the cavalry division under Col. Hatch. Forrest was driven across the Tallahatchie in great confusion, with much loss. The losses on our own side were also considerable. There was another battle with the troops under Forrest at Ripley, on the 1st of December, when that officer was moving towards the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and the main purpose sought by the attack, the retardation of the rebel advance, was gained. The Seventh was much praised for its conduct on this occasion. A detachment of the army under Forrest was

again encountered and defeated by a battalion of the Seventh, near Jack's Creek, Tennessee, on the 24th of December. The troops on both sides fought well, but the victory was won by the Seventh.

The first regiment to reenlist as veterans, in the district of West Tennessee, was the Seventh Kansas Cavalry, on the 1st of January, 1864, while bivouacked at La Grange, Tenn., with hardly any shelter from the severe wintry weather, and many of the men suffering severely from frozen feet; but they were not going home until the war should end in victory for the north. There was a brief furlough of thirty days after reenlistment, and the regiment was equipped, after which we find the Seventh protecting working parties engaged in the repair of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad in June. Early in July, it moved in advance of Gen. A. J. Smith's infantry column to attack Gen. Forrest. The movement continued in this order, other cavalry being on the flanks, to Cherry creek, where Forrest was strongly entrenched, six miles below Tupelo. Making a feint of intending to attack the entrenchments, Smith turned suddenly toward Tupelo, on the 12th of July, and the Seventh Cavalry became the rear guard, having to sustain the whole force of Forrest's advance in his eager desire to protect the town. The battle continued in this way from five in the morning of the 13th, until eight at night. The battle of Tupelo followed on the two following days, and when, on the 16th, Gen. Smith returned to La Grange, the Seventh, still doing duty as rear guard, fought the Second Missouri Rebel Cavalry, at Ellistown, winning honor at the cost of heavy losses.

Gen. Smith advancing from La Grange once more, on the 1st of August, to attack Forrest, the Seventh Regiment bore a conspicuous part in all the principal actions of the campaign, having been engaged at the Tallahatchie when the river was crossed, on the 8th; in the capture of Oxford, on the 9th; and, seven days later, in the great cavalry battle at Hurricane creek, sustaining the honor of the Union in every conflict. When Gen. Smith's expedition returned to Memphis, the Seventh, under orders from Gen. Rosecrans, reported at St. Louis, Mo., on the 17th of September.

The remainder of the rebel forces were now being taken in detail while Grant dealt with the main body at Richmond, and there were but few events worthy of special mention until the end of the war. Under Lieut. Col. Malone, the Seventh took part in the campaign against Price in Missouri, and fought wherever it was necessary to uphold the honor of the Union by such means. Their charge at Independence, against a force superior in numbers, which was broken and dispersed by their impact, proved that they were indeed veterans in the field. Two pieces of ordnance were captured at Independence, and the campaign, if not the war, was ended. The remainder of their term of service was employed in subduing guerrilla parties, which, until far on in July, continued to infest Missouri. From the St. Louis district to Omaha City, from thence to Fort Kearney, and from that point to Fort Leavenworth, their last march as a regiment had been made; they had marched, exclusive of carriage by rail and by transport, 12,050 miles in the service of their country, and they were now mustered out free to pursue their individual profit, rewarded with the thanks of the nation.

Kansas was persistently called upon during the war, and at every epoch there was a fitting response. The state had gone through a long apprenticeship to war, and there were earnest souls in the population that could not rest at home as long as the battles of the Union were to be fought and won. The Eighth Kansas was a regiment of infantry, organized in August, 1861, under orders received by Gov. Robinson late in July. The first intention was to organize only for home service, because it was anticipated that the state would be invaded by the rebels, who had long since learned to consider Kansas as their special prey. In the long run it began to appear that the rebel party had procured so many lessons of defeat on Kansas territory that they had no wish to increase the record. Expecting to operate in a sphere so limited, it was thought expedient to raise a regiment consisting of eight companies of infantry and two of cavalry. The savages and the rebels could both be held in check by a force so compounded, and on that basis the regiment was raised. There were already six regiments in the field, sent to the front by Kansas, and the seventh was being formed; hence the present was nom-

inated the eighth. Recruits came in rapidly, notwithstanding the multiplicity of demands, and before the end of September, six full companies had been mustered in. Major Wessels was appointed colonel, and he brought to his task the advantages of training at West Point, as well as many years of active service in Florida, Mexico, and on the plains. The appointment was fortunate for the regiment, and was very generally approved.

The work of preparation commenced in October, when Col. Wessels assumed the command. Lawrence was the headquarters of the regiment, pending orders, and the organization was completed in November. Col. Wessels was removed in February by orders from Washington, which called him to his duty in the regular army, and his departure was much regretted by his comrades in arms, who had learned to appreciate very highly the qualities which won for him undying distinction. Lieut. Col. Martin assumed the command of the regiment on the 8th of February. The winter was spent upon the border, and the cold was very severe in the early months of 1862. The headquarters of the eighth were fixed at Ossawatomie for some time, and scouts were sent in all directions, to Missouri more frequently than in any other direction, as the border counties of that state were known to be disloyal, and it was found necessary to guard against the formation of rebel companies to cooperate with confederate troops, known to be hovering about the state. The monotony of camp life, unbroken by incidents out of the groove of mere routine, became exceedingly tiresome before orders arrived to give a new current to events. That long looked for relief came when the month of May was nearly spent.

Pittsburg Landing was the objective point when the route arrived. Gen. Halleck was to be reinforced, anticipating an attack from the forces under Beauregard, but before the eighth and other Kannsas troops could reach their destination, instructions were received deflecting them to Columbus, Ky. Corinth had been evacuated by the southern general in consequence of the defeat suffered by his troops on the second day at Shiloh. The regiment, with others, went into camp on the 2d of June, 1862, on a commanding bluff at Columbus, just outside the rebel fortifications recently abandoned. Gen. Mitchell's command moved

south on the 8th, through Clinton and Moscow, Ky., to Union City, in Tennessee. From thence there was a forced march to Trenton, where the rebels were expected to make an attack in force. Probably the rapidity with which reinforcements were pushed forward prevented the attack; at any rate no assault was made. Moving from Trenton, under orders the eighth was attached to the command of Gen. Rosecrans, and was almost immediately afterwards reported against as being mutinous and demoralized.

Kansas held stronger views on the slavery question than any other western state, and while the troops marched through Kentucky and Tennessee, they had not hesitated to give protection to any slave that was willing to remove from the area of bondage. Gen. Butler had declared slaves "contraband of war," and the Kansas boys were acting on the same principle; but Gen. Quinby, an officer of the union forces, commanding in the district through which the Eighth had marched, reported that body of men as "mutinous and demoralized." Gen. Quinby was a war democrat with strong proclivities for slavery, and his rage against the Eighth induced him to threaten that he would muster them out of the service, because they could see a trifle further ahead than himself. Rosecrans would not allow himself to be prejudiced against the men without full inquiry, and in consequence the regiment was put through a course of inspection within twenty-four hours after their arrival in camp. The Eighth was pronounced a first class body of men after the fullest examination, and Gen. Quinby was discounted. While the regiment remained under the immediate inspection of Gen. Rosecrans, many advantages were enjoyed which had not been possible before, and the Eighth omitted no opportunity to become thoroughly versed in the details of a soldier's life.

From Corinth the Eighth moved to Jacinto on the 22d of July, and on the 2d of the following month proceeded to Eastport. This town contained a depot for commissary and quartermaster's supplies, and it was threatened by guerrillas in large force. The regiment occupied the town for fourteen days, scouting the country in all directions, breaking up every guerrilla force large or small that could be found, as well as procuring supplies of vari

ous kinds that had been stolen from union settlers or smuggled through our lines for the use of the enemy. Many prisoners were also taken, and munitions of war to quite a large extent. Florence, Alabama, was reached on the 24th of August, and it was then made known that the command under Gen. Mitchell was to reinforce Gen. Buell, who was threatened by two armies under Bragg and Kirby Smith, the first of whom had crossed the Tennessee at Harrison above Chattanooga and traversed the Sequatchie Valley, while the other had pushed forward through Cumberland Gap, both forces to unite in Louisville or Cincinnati. There was not a moment to be lost, and from Florence the troops went forward in light marching order carrying nothing that could be dispensed with without decreasing the immediate effectiveness of the army. The march commenced at two A. M. on the 26th of August, and the troops were rapidly initiated into all the hardships attendant on forced marches, half rations, little water and that poor, the sun shining as hot as fire upon the shoulders of the marching regiments, and the clouds of dust rendering the air all but unbreatheable. To many of the men these were new experiences, but there was no murmuring at what was known to be inevitable. When hard bread gave out there was flour, and every man contrived to get cooked as much as would ward off absolute starvation; but it is a puzzle now to know how time or means were found for such ends, when it is borne in mind that there was a march of from twenty to twenty-four miles every day, and pickets to be maintained.

The march into Nashville, a route of nearly forty miles, was commenced at four in the evening of the 3d of September, and the troops, stragglers excepted, were in Nashville the next forenoon at eleven; the Eighth being specially noticed for their solidity and rapidity on the march. The next march after leaving Nashville was lengthened by countermands and returns, until a distance of 47 miles occupied 48 hours almost incessantly moving. From Bowling Green the troops moved at six A. M. on the 17th, hoping to overtake Bragg just ahead. Just such experiences day after day, and Bragg always contriving to escape, while the troops that followed were almost starving because they were temporarily unable to reach their commissariat, and could not pause lest the

enemy should finally escape. Big Barren River was forded, and a drenching rain followed during a march of eighteen miles, the rain continuing through the whole night while the troops tried to sleep without shelter or food. Similar hardships, varying in detail one day after another, and still the enemy only just ahead, one smart bit of fighting between Bragg's rear guard and Wood's division alone varying the monotony, and that for only a very few hours, before Bragg had safely crossed Green River and was safe from pursuit. The army reached Louisville at last, and was received with enthusiasm by the citizens, but even the sight of provisions in plenty could hardly prevent the eyes of the troops closing in slumber while the speeches of the grateful people were ringing in their ears.

Hard marching had effected the rescue, just as completely as hard fighting could have done, and perhaps more so, but the ordeal was terrific and long continued. During nine marching days, the troops had averaged twenty-two miles per day, to reach Nashville, and then from Nashville, Tenn., to Louisville, Ky., during thirteen marching days an average of sixteen miles per day, one day of nineteen hours covering thirty-nine miles, and other days making only from four to ten miles. The management was certainly as bad as it could be, but the endurance of the men was beyond praise.

Four days rest in Louisville, and the army was once more in motion on the first of October, marching towards Bardstown, where the rebels were supposed to be in force. On the morning of the 7th, Bragg's army was found deployed to the north and west of Perryville, in an admirable position, one of the best that could be desired. During the remainder of that day there was but little other than an artillery duel between the two armies, although there was some skirmishing also. The men slept on their arms that night. The second day's fighting commenced with daylight, but it was not vigorously prosecuted, as for some reason it was thought undesirable to bring on a general engagement. The second day closed with some advantages gained by the union forces, and on the morning of the 9th, when the troops advanced to the attack once more, it became evident that Bragg was retreating, leaving only his rear guard to keep up appearances, while the army made its escape.

The assailants bivouacked on the third night with some approach to comfort, on the field which they had won. Perrysville was the first great battle field in which the eighth bore a part, and the courage and endurance of the troops merited commendation, more especially when it is considered that the army was not, as a whole, well handled on that occasion. Good generalship, such as Grant could have shown on such a field, would have left no wreck of Bragg nor of his army, but the men were sound to the core, and the fault complained of was attached to few, but they were in a position where their want of energy allowed a first class opportunity to pass by half improved. The The eighth could and would have done much more under proper leading, and so would every regiment in that three days' fight, could their officers only have obtained permission to go ahead.

The troops marched on the night of the 10th to Nevada Station, remaining there until next night, when another march commenced, towards Harrodsburg, changing from time to time, the enemy was once more in our power on the 14th, at Lancaster, but just as Gen. Mitchell had brought his forces into position, he was restrained by positive orders "not to bring on a general engagement;" precisely the same policy that robbed the union of half the victory that was reluctantly grasped at Perrysville. The enemy escaped through Lancaster, carrying an immense train of baggage, part of which consisted of plunder, and none of which would have escaped, if a vigorous attack had been made as soon as Gen. Mitchell formed our troops.

Lancaster was entered on the morning of the 15th, much to the delight of the inhabitants, and some smart fighting with the rear guard of the enemy ensued, many prisoners being taken. Rosecrans assumed the chief command on the 3d of November, and his coming was taken as an earnest that the deeds of Iuka and Corinth would be repeated, carrying destruction into the ranks of the rebels. Other changes made at the same time were just as cheering to the men, and all that was now wanted was the enemy. Reconnoisances were made from time to time, the eighth being often employed as skirmishers, with excellent effect in such expeditions, but the close of the year saw the brave fellows back in Nashville, acting as provost guards, and looking anxiously for-

ward to more active duty. The battalion in Kansas, during the year just closing, had engaged in many expeditions, pursuing Quantrell and other guerrilla leaders, having been engaged with a force under Coffey, Cockrill and Quantrell, on the 18th of August, the result being the complete defeat and temporary dispersal of the enemy. Other such engagements, on a smaller scale, with bushwhackers, gave the troops many opportunities of usefulness, but they naturally looked with much desire toward the broader fields in which their comrades were winning glory, fighting the battles of the union with more effect. The eighth, abroad as well as at home, had proved the possession of soldierly qualities, such as the nation at that time especially needed.

Nashville was just then the abode of some of the most abandoned characters that could be found on this continent, and the duty assigned to the eighth regiment was delicate and important. The city was a favorite rendezvous for rebel spies, and fully three-fourths of the population sympathized with secession, yet for strategic reasons it was necessary to retain the position as the main depot of supplies. The eighth was bound to act with despotic vigor in a community so mixed, but usually it contrived to discriminate between the lawless classes, whose designs were inimical to the Union, and those orderly citizens who looked to Washington for succor in their need. The discipline of the troops lifted them above temptations which might have destroyed some regiments completely. Theatres, which had been closed because of disorderly scenes continually recurring, were reopened soon after the eighth assumed provost duty, and the streets became as orderly as the most peace loving could desire. Nashville, so far as its most worthy citizens were concerned, rejoiced in the presence of the eighth. The duty was so discharged that there was always a patrol in the streets, the men being relieved every two hours, and a strong reserve was ready whenever called upon to act, at a minute's notice, to quell any disorder that might arise.

Immediately after the eighth assumed duty as described, in Nashville, Murfreesboro battle was fought, on the 31st December, and following days. Rosecrans had followed Bragg as far as Stone river, having left Nashville on the 26th of December, when McCook was surprised and routed by Hardee under Bragg, who

had been reinforced. The center and left, led by Rosecrans and Thomas, held the field on the first day with much hard fighting, and on the succeeding days the advantages became more marked on the side of the Union, until on the 3d of January, 1863, Bragg evacuated Murfreesboro and decamped during the night. While the battle lasted stragglers were steadily drifting into Nashville, and it became the duty of the eighth to send deserters under a proper guard to the front. Prisoners taken from Bragg's army by Thomas, afterwards known as "The Rock of Chickamauga," and by Rosecrans himself to the number of over 2,500 men, were all provided for during their stay, held in safe custody without any of the brutalities that were known in Andersonville, and within one week dispatched to the prisons in the north. Some of the wounded secessionist prisoners were inquired for with much anxiety by the wealthier secessionists in Nashville, and the provost guard saw an excellent opening for a moral lesson; the wounded rebels were billeted upon their sympathisers, and from that moment the urgency of their pity made no further sound in the public ears. The conversion was effected on both sides.

On the 13th of April, it was found that many of the more prominent citizens of Nashville were holding communications with the rebels, and although it might be considered quite natural on their parts to do so, seeing that their friends and their interests also, as they believed, rested with secession, it would have been the extreme of folly for the United States authorities to allow such conduct, once discovered, to pass unpunished. All right thinkers agree on one point, that the first duty of a government is to maintain its own existence, although, unfortunately, as long as the spirit of secession remained unquelled, it was well known that traitors, plotting the downfall of the Union, were cherished in the very heart of the nation, and permitted to shape its policy. Gen. Rosecrans, having reason to believe that there were traitors in Nashville, used his power to subdue treason by ordering the arrest of one hundred prominent citizens. The provost marshal and the eighth regiment carried out the order. The men might, some of them, have been able to show that they were harshly dealt with, but military justice cannot afford to go slow, stern necessity imposes upon all tribunals of the nature of courts mar-

tial speed and vigor during the prevalence of war, and where citizens are conflicting with the safety of a nation, or are assumed to be, there is less consideration than for a supposed military offender.

Rosecrans made his order, the arrests were effected, and one hundred men were transferred from comfortable homes to supremely distasteful prisons, with hardly more clamor than might be caused in ordinary times by the removal of an official from a post office. Those who were not arrested feared that their own turn would come next, and alarm was deep seated among those who knew that they had behaved disloyally. Every man that was not menaced was suspected by his disloyal friends of having given information against the others. Of the prisoners, some were sent south within the lines of the rebels with whom they sympathized, some were sent north of the Ohio and there set at liberty upon parole, and others were confined in northern prisons until the end of the war. Nine days later an order was made by Gen. Mitchell that every person in Nashville over 18 years of age should take the oath of allegiance, or noncombatants' parole and give bonds, or be escorted south of the lines. The provost's office was rushed immediately by men whose every word had until then menaced the union, and it was found necessary to extend the ten days named for the oath or bonds to twenty days to permit of the requisite papers being made out. Within twenty days over fifteen thousand persons took the oath, or gave their parole, and bonds were taken, varying in amount from $500 to $20,000, according to the requirements of each case. Two hundred persons, who were too honest or to obstinate to comply with those conditions, were sent south and escorted outside our military lines so that they could no longer serve the enemy within, and were bound to desire the speedy settlement of the quarrel which many of them had helped to intensify.

Discharging so many and such arduous functions, the eighth had won good wishes of all loyal souls in Nashville, and when on the evening of the 8th of June, orders arrived for the regiment to come to the front at Murfreesboro, there was a series of protests by telegraph from all the authorities, civil as well as military, that the eighth were indispensable to the good order of the city; but the answer speedily came, that the men were wanted at Murfrees-

boro, for other duties not less important, and on the morning of the 9th the favorite regiment marched out of the city following its band to the fine refrain of "John Brown." The good feeling of the loyal portion of Nashville could not have been manifested more heartily than by the cheers and farewells of the crowd that filled the streets. We shall see in our next chapter to what duties and high responsibilities the loyal eighth were called, and how bravely they did their devoir.

CHAPTER XXII.

STATE HISTORY — FIGHTING FOR THE UNION — 1861-1865.

(continued.)

War Record — Eighth Kansas — Murfreesboro — General Rosecrans — General Bragg — Tullahoma Menaced — Shelbyville — Successful Strategy — Clearing Tennessee — Liberty Gap — Hoovers — Wading to Victory — General Sheridan — Scattering Guerrillas — Winchester — Georgia — The Tennessee — Evacuating Chattanooga — Rosecrans Concentrates — Bragg's Reinforcements — Dead Man's River — Chickamauga — Terrible Carnage — Wood's Mistake — Longstreet's Dash — Terrible Alternatives — Sheridan's Rally — Supporting Thomas — Holding Chattanooga — Regimental Spirit — Rock of Chickamauga — Defending Chattanooga — Army of the Cumberland — Erecting Fortifications — Starving but Merry — Bad Weather — Dog Feast — Unfailing Humor — Cannonade — Hooker Advancing — General Grant — Rosecrans Superseded — General Thomas — Liberal Rations — General Sherman — Orchard Knob — Desperate Fighting — Victory Secured — Headquarters — Mission Ridge — Lookout Mountain — Hooker's Attack — Charging Chattanooga — Awful Cannonade — Hardee's Corps — Bragg Routed — First Flag — Utter Demoralization — Noble Emulation — Counting Spoils — Decisive Victory — Commanding Genius — Burnside — Eighth at Knoxville — Sheridan's Command — Veterans — Resaca, Altoona Pass — Kenesaw — Atlanta — Marietta — Rocky Face Ridge — Pulaski — Columbia — Franklin — Nashville Victory — Crushing Hood — Ninth Kansas — Locust Grove — Van Buren — Quantrell — South Kansas — Capturing Clarkson — Bentonville — Eleventh Kansas — Governor Ignored — Night Marches — Fighting Guerrillas — Indian Warfare — Twelfth Kansas — Terre Nor Swamp — Thirteenth Kansas — Fourteenth — Moscow — Fifteenth — Sixteenth — Seventeenth — Colored Regiments — Batteries — Civil Government — Kansas Prospects.

When the Eighth arrived at Murfreesboro it was 700 strong, and within a few days was ready as ever for duty in the field. Some of the officers remained in Nashville for a few days to instruct their successors in the work devolving upon provost marshal, but by the 17th of June, every one except Capt. Austin, who was detailed for a further stay in Nashville, had arrived in camp. The regiment was forty men stronger than it had been six months before, on the occasion of its being stationed in Nashville.

It is no part of our purpose to give in this place a connected history of the war; but in order to present a reasonably correct sketch of the proceedings of Kansas regiments, it is necessary to give occasionally some details of general proceedings. The army under Rosecrans had not been idle since the battle of Murfreesboro, which concluded on the 3d of January, 1863, with the retreat of Bragg; but no offensive operations had bean undertaken, as it was claimed that reinforcements and supplies were necessary. Especially was it said that he lacked cavalry in sufficient numbers for the work before him. On the 24th of June, the army advanced from Murfreesboro. Bragg occupied a strongly fortified position at Tullahoma, with 15,000 men, and Polk's corps of 18,000 was at Shelbyville, besides which Hardee, with 12.000 men, was at Wartrace, between the other two positions. Forty-five thousand men so placed, with the advantages possessed by them for defensive operations demanded a large disparity in the attacking force, or some stratagem that would bring the enemy out of their fastnesses. The plans of Rosecrans had evidently been well considered, and they were well executed in every particular; but one point had not been thought of, and precisely that point was all but fatal to the general and his army. Demonstrations were made by the general against roads that led over a range of mountains, leading through Hoover, Liberty and Guy's gaps. Some of the demonstrations were feints merely, and others had a direct purpose which Bragg could not immediately divine; the result was as Rosecrans anticipated; the intrenched troops were compelled to come out and meet him on more equal ground, in order to protect their communications. Three guns and five hundred prisoners were taken at Shelbyville; all Middle Tennessee was cleared of armed confederates. Bragg, sustaining little

loss, retreated, possibly with ulterior designs, as more than once in his military career he turned suddenly upon his pursuers when they felt themselves most secure, and snatched a victory out of the very jaws of defeat. Bragg, apparently compelled to take such action by the procedure of Rosecrans, who had crossed the Tennessee at several points, abandoned Chattanooga without fighting, and was now in full retreat.

The eighth advanced with the division to which it was attached, on the 24th of June, toward Shelbyville six miles, then crossing the country to the left gained the Wartrace road, and camped at Old Millersburg. There was continuous skirmishing during the day, and Johnson's division made a spirited attack on Liberty Gap, which was carried with a loss of sixty men killed and wounded. Attempts to recover the position were unavailing. Hoover's Gap was surprised and held by Wilder's cavalry until the infantry came to hold the pass, so that the enemy had lost two of the three strong passes, and was forced back to his intrenchments. The weather was deplorable, rain descending in torrents, roads impassable, or nearly so, artillery could be moved only with the greatest difficulty, wagons were immovable in many places, and even infantry found it difficult to proceed. A march of twelve miles through soil where men sank ankle deep at every step, and oftentimes even knee deep, put a heavy strain upon the attacking force.

Early on the morning of the 25th the Thirty-Fifth Illinois and Eighth Kansas were detailed to protect the train, a duty especially irksome under the circumstances. The wagons were parked in a plowed field, the rain still falling in torrents, and it required twenty-four hours patient and incessant labor to get the train upon the road. Gen. Carlin's brigade suffered severely on the afternoon of the 26th. The following day the rain still continued, and although the men were ready to set out at three in the morning, no movement was made until the afternoon, and even then only four miles march could be effected. This was more regretted because heavy firing was heard ahead. The same record for the following day, a march of eight miles to Manchester through a deluge of rain and a camping place three inches deep in water, with mud below that, yet the fatigue so complete that sleep came readily.

The weather already discribed, continued until the 30th of June, but on the first of July there came bright warm weather, and the rebel stronghold at Tullahoma, evacuated by Bragg, was entered by the eighth and other troops at midnight, six guns and considerable supplies being captured.

The success of the movement was complete. Sheridan's division had a brush with the enemy at Elk River on the 2d, but the retreat was continued. The weather alone saved Bragg from a worse disaster than flight, and the pursuit was maintained with some eagerness, wading rivers waist deep and permitting no obstacle to delay the advance. Guerrilla companies were destroyed or scattered by scouting parties, stores were captured, and, generally, everything went well, although the commisariat was faulty in the last degree, the men were shoeless, and shoddy generally made the supplies of little value. The campaign had been successful, and in face of that fact all the troubles of the march were as nothing. The enemy had been driven out, 1,700 prisoners taken, and the conduct and bearing of the Eighth Kansas was made the subject of circular orders, which are of great value, while the force was encamped at Winchester.

The division broke up its encampment on the 17th of August, and crossing the Cumberland Mountains was in Stevenson, Alabama on the 20th. The route traversed was full of peculiar difficulties, but it was direct. The army was to ford the Tennessee at Caperton's Ferry at daylight on the 29th. There was great peril in the attempt, but all was made ready for the service in good time. The Eighth Kansas and Fifteenth Wisconsin led, covered by heavy batteries, masked by the foliage on the bank of the stream; but after the passage had been effected it was found that the enemy had fled panic stricken just at the time when a determined resistance must have been fatal to hundreds and might have checked the progress of Rosecans' army altogether. The gallant conduct of the eighth and the other troops forming the advance elicited much praise from the commander-in-chief and other officers.

The troops were now moved towards Chattanooga. Two divisions had crossed at Carpenter's Ferry, others at Shell Mound, Bridge Port and Battle Creek; Crittenden's corps had moved di-

rect on Chattanooga; Thomas had pushed over Lookout range and reached McLemore's Cove; so that Bragg was driven by his fears out of Chattanooga, on the 6th and 8th of September, and Crittenden occupied the position on the 9th, advancing soon afterwards to Ringgold, Ga. The several movements indicated had broken the force under Rosecrans into detached parties, and had concentrated Bragg's command completely, besides which he was now daily obtaining reinforcements. Buckner, Johnston, Longstreet were at hand or soon arriving, and every man that the rebels could send to his aid was being sent to the front with all possible speed.

The necessity to concentrate the scattered forces was perceived, and on the 13th movements with that object in view were commenced, but the enemy just as persistently strove to prevent such a consummation, but at length, on the 19th of September the eighth came upon the field at Chickamauga just after the battle had commenced. The troops were about equal in numbers, probably 55,000 on either side, but those of Rosecrans hastily coming up, those of Bragg well in hand and concentrated to deal a crushing blow. The first advance of the rebels won some trifling successes against Reynolds' and Van Cleve's divisions, but the eighth and the division with which it was operating came up on the run, formed in line of battle, going in where the fight was hottest and saved the fortunes of the day. There was terrible fighting on both sides and the carnage was awful. The fire of our troops was perfect, being delivered with great precision, and every volley cut its way through the lines of the foe. The brigades that were in the hottest of the fight on the first day lost forty per cent. in killed and wounded. The eighth suffered tremendously, but it moved with the precision of a machine and never gave ground except under orders. The work of the 19th had been fearful, but the result was indecisive as the courage of our men could not more than equal the courage of the opposite side, and their troops were, some of them, quite fresh and in good order. Two brigades of Davis' division had fought two full divisions and had not been beaten, still the battle was not decided.

The next morning found the troops on both sides ready to renew the struggle, and the battle was beginning hotly, when Gen.

...od, misunderstanding an order, broke the union line by moving to support Reynolds. The gap thus made was turned to fatal account by Longstreet with his fresh troops, four columns deep, coming down from the rising ground occupied by the enemy. The first and second lines of the rebel advance were shattered by the fire of our men, so that there seemed to be no doubt that we were winning the day, when it became apparent that the gap had been penetrated, and the right and center had to choose between three alternatives, all terrible: retreat, annihilation, or surrender. The wonder is that one man should have escaped. Everything that courage could accomplish was effected, but there was no chance of retrieving the fortunes of that day under the circumstances. The division reduced to a wreck, without a commander, severed from the main body, all but surrounded, still rallied near the Chattanooga road and checked the advance of the enemy for a time. The fragments of the division marched toward Mission Ridge, and numbers increased at every step; Gen. Carlin, with part of his brigade; Gen. Sheridan with part of his division; and that officer immediately assumed command, extricating the troops from their terrible dilemma and moving them to a position three miles from Rossville, from which Gen. Thomas could be reached.

Gen. Davis, who had come in from another direction, was at Rossville, and a brief consultation between the two generals, sufficed to determine, that the troops should move to the support of Gen. Thomas, who still held the field of Chickamauga against the enemy. The movement had just been effected and the rallied troops were near Gen. Thomas' right, when orders came that they should return on Rossville, which order was obeyed, and about midnight on the 20th, the army concentrated at that point, expecting a renewal of the attack. Early in the morning of the 21st, breastworks were thrown up at Rossville, and our men remained upon the field, but the enemy did not appear, and at midnight the troops withdrew to Chattanooga, reaching that place about daylight on the morning of the 22d. The conduct of Gen. Thomas, worthily named "The Rock of Chickamauga," for his action on the 20th, is simply beyond praise, and the ultimate event of the struggle, thus untowardly begun, leaves little to be re-

gretted in its progress, save the lives of the brave men sacrificed by the blunder that broke our line.

The Eighth Kansas bore itself bravely all the day through its most perilous mischances, and the pen of Homer could not do justice to the desperate heroism which tried to wrest victory from impossible odds. When the eighth went into the battle of Chickamauga on the 19th, it consisted of 406 rank and file, and when it retired to Rossville in the evening of the 20th, it had lost in killed, wounded and missing 243; only 163 remained, and there were no stragglers from the regiment. The record is of a character which deserves to stand with that of Leonidas, and his heroic spartans at Thermopylæ. The crossing of the Tennessee near Sand Hill mountain, and the second day at Chickamauga may be named among the best deeds of a brave regiment, although in the first no lives were lost and in the last there was not the solace of immediate victory to crown the lives of the immortal dead. The loss of the brigade under Col. Martin during the two days was 719, out of 1218, and yet the brigade remained in order of battle on the field after the conflict closed. Numbers of the slightly wounded returned to duty within a few days, and the spirit of the force was undaunted.

The army arrived in Chattanooga at daylight on the 22d of September, having lost 18,000 in the two days of terrific fighting immediately precedent, and there were only 30,000 men fit for duty to hold the point upon which the issue of the campaign rested. Bragg, flushed with his success, and his army largely outnumbering ours, with reinforcements hourly arriving, hemmed us in, surrounding Chattanooga convinced that he would capture or annihilate the force which had troubled him so long. His right rested on the Tennessee river northeast of the town, his lines running in front of Mission Ridge to the southwest below Chattanooga creek, on the south to Lookout Mountain running over its point, and his left resting on the Tennessee in the Wauhatchie Valley. The series of positions had been splendidly taken, and he was justified in thinking that so posted, he was invincible against ordinary troops.

There were only two or three unfinished forts on the east and south of the town when our army entered Chattanooga on the

22d, and the army of the Cumberland commenced the work of fortification almost in the face of the enemy. The lines were a half circle, resting its left on the Tennessee, the 14th corps in the center, and the right also on the river. The right and left respectively were the 20th and 21st army corps. The eighth, forming part of Gen. Davis' division, was on the extreme left of the 20th corps, facing south to Lookout mountain and the Chattanooga valley. Sleep or rest had almost been strangers to the army since daylight on the 19th. The brigade which included the eighth was detailed for picket duty on the morning of the 22d, after two hours had been given to cook and breakfast as well as sleep. During the forenoon, half the men watching while the others worked, a light line of rifle pits was thrown up along the irregular banks of the Chattanooga creek. Relieved from that duty at noon, there was one hour for rest, and then a heavy line of breastworks had to be constructed on the front. The work was kept up with terrible vigor until midnight, after which, orders were made that one-half of the men should rest while the others labored at the fortifications. Sleep fell upon the eyelids of the relieved troops wherever they sank down, but they were ready once more as soon as the call of duty was heard.

One line of fortifications followed another, day after day; not a moment could be lost, not a chance allowed to the enemy; forts, redoubts, curtains, made every point as nearly as possible impregnable, with such men for their defense; but as the works advanced, there was no longer such urgency as to demand incessant labor. There were hours of rest occasionally, but the fortifications were being improved by details of men, falling to their duty in rotation. Then the weather became wet, the flats where the troops were in camp were flooded, cold winds presaging winter, but not cold enough to harden the ground, chilled the lightly clothed men as they huddled round camp fires, or busied themselves trying to construct efficient shelter from the elements with the *debris* of old buildings. Food was becoming terribly scarce, and the army mules were dying for want of support in their terrible labor of drawing supplies from Stevenson, sixty miles away, over two ranges of the Cumberland mountains. Gen. Rosecrans made an order that only one-third rations should issue, and there

was an absolute prohibition that officers should be allowed to purchase more than the quantity issued to the soldier. The necessities of the position need have no stronger comment. The cattle that were killed were almost dying of starvation, so that their flesh seemed to increase the famine rather than allay its pangs. Slaughter houses were haunted for offal, and men cooked with avidity what they would have turned from with disgust in times of ordinary scarcity. Thus terribly did the defense of Chattanooga open, the work of fortification making awful demands on physical and mental vigor, the rain and cold increasing the stress of suffering, light clothes refusing warmth to enfeebled frames, little sleep possible save in the very extreme of exhaustion, and food so scarce that a few crumbs of crackers falling into the road as boxes were removed from the commissariat wagons were eagerly scrambled for by gaunt men, solicitous lest their strength should give out before the moment of relief.

The Prodigal Son envied the husks which were fed to the swine, and that fact could be easily understood when it was necessary to station a guard over the corn doled out to the famished artillery horses, back of our camp, lest human competitors should deprive the poor quadrupeds of their scanty provender. An ear of corn was a feast, and a strange dog wandering in the camp was converted into means of defense for the Union. There was no despondency among our brave fellows, nor was there any leisure in which such an indulgence could be enjoyed. One week after reaching Chattanooga, the heights of Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge thundered with the crash of great guns, opened upon us by the rebels, and from daylight until late into the night the sullen roar continued at intervals, day after day, but the men remained at their work, building shanties, improving fortifications, cooking their meager repasts, or, at their leisure, watched the effects of the enemy's guns, and that of our own in reply, with an *abandon* that cannot be understood, except by those who have been a long time under fire. There was an enduring faith on the part of our men, that we were thus cooped up for a time only, to give zest to our ultimate victory; hence, perhaps the gaiety and recklessness that maintained a general good humor, and flashes of genuine wit, among men almost

at the point of death, suffering from hunger, cold, and want of shelter.

Early in October the breastworks were so far completed that incessant labor ceased to be imperative, but there was still enough work to be done to prevent the time hanging heavy on our hands. Picket duty was harassing and continuous, but it was done by men who knew the value of unceasing watchfulness. The army of the Potomac sent good news to the beleaguered force on the 2d of October, when two corps, the eleventh and twelfth, arrived at Bridgeport, only twenty-three miles below, under the command of Gen. Hooker. Gen. Grant found Hooker there, and having assumed the command in chief, directed the clearance of the river, so that supplies could reach the famished defenders. The command in Chattanooga was changed under Grant's orders; Gens. McCook and Crittenden were relieved, the three corps were consolidated into two, the fourth being committed to the charge of Gen. Granger, and the fourteenth to Gen. Thomas. Other changes were made, part of which consisted in the eighth being located on the extreme left. Orchard Knob and Mission Ridge were in front of the line, which rested on Fort Wood, the largest fortification in Chattanooga. Gen. Rosecrans was superseded by Gen. Thomas, when the changes just named had been completed, and on the 23d Gen. Grant arrived in Chattanooga, in command of all the forces in the department. The resistless energy was now at our head that must bear down all opposition, and every man knew that we were about to win our greatest victory, one that should make the record of Chickamauga a petty detail, and give to the war an enduring remembrance among the nations of the earth.

Supplies came in after the 26th with greater regularity, and in comparative plenty. Gen. Hazen had descended the river to Brown's Ferry, below the spur of Lookout Mountain, and effected a landing which was permanently maintained; so that with Hooker's forces in the Wauhatchie, there was no fear of famine. On the 12th of November the supply of food was increased to two-thirds of a ration for each man, twice the quantity that had been served out for a long time, and of better quality. The strength of the men required some building up after a fast of so

long continuance, and the work to be effected wanted the exhilaration of sufficient diet. Gen. Sherman arrived on the 15th of November, in advance of his army, which was coming by forced marches, to the point where the fight would be hottest; and his force was diverted to Grant's left, up the Tennessee, on the 21st, as soon as they came in. There was general understanding that we were to attack and carry the several positions of the rebels, without an hour's unnecessary delay, but we did not conceal from ourselves that it would be a work for giants to accomplish.

The 23d of November arrived, and the eighth Kansas went on picket duty at daylight, the line covering the front of the brigade, and along the railroad embankment from north to south. Until noon there was the accustomed monotony of waiting and watching, but just as the sun reached its meridian altitude, a strong reconnaissance was ordered to develop the enemy's force; the division, with that of Gen. Sheridan, would form line before the breastworks, and at the bugle call the eighth Kansas picket line would advance on Orchard Knob, three-quarters of a mile in front. The line of breastworks crossing Orchard Knob was to be carried and the rebels dislodged by the eighth, if possible, and if not, then by the whole line of battle. Orchard Knob must be carried, so there was work before us at last.

Picket reserves were doubled on the advanced lines of skirmishers, additional ammunition was supplied, and the bugle was heard sounding "Forward." The regimental bugles took up the strain, and every heart leaped to the music that meant raising the siege of Chattanooga. It was a grand sight to see our men advance, with the confidence of veteran troops, not undervaluing the foe, but determined to conquer. The embankment and an open field were passed, and the small arms of the confederates were answered by a volley and a cheer before our boys rushed on again, deliberately, but with unswerving resolution. There was a stubborn conflict in the woods, the crash and the roar were inspiring, as the yelp was drowned in the hearty hurrah, that told us how the Kansas eighth was bearing down all opposition. The best blood of the army had its representative in that advancing line, and the rebels could no more stand against it than could a feather resist a whirlwind. One-half of the rebels were captured

in the fierce onset, and the remainder broke in wild confusion, carrying dismay to the rear. Through the woods rushed the combatants, pursuing and pursued, while the great guns were now heard booming out from Fort Wood and Mission Ridge, shell answering shell, as they crossed in the air over our heads, or fell in the forest, through which we were tearing our way. The rebels seemed to rally once or twice, but they were scattered in a second, and there was no actual pause until their reserves were reached behind the entrenchments at Orchard Knob.

The fight was once more furious, the battle of the day was now before us; the proceeding up to this time had been a race as well as a conflict, but Orchard Knob was our objective point, and our honor was involved in carrying it before the main line of battle could come up. The rebels knew as well as we did how important was the position, and the advantages of the ground as well as of the works were all on their side. Fierce and swift were the volleys, yelp and cheer swelled the din, and the crash and roar of battle seemed to fill the air; but the decisive moment came, the ringing cheer that reminded us all of Kansas and the wrongs that we had suffered, told of victory once more; the boys rushed over the first line of breastworks, the rebels faltered for a moment, and then fled in hopeless disarray. We had won Orchard Knob, and driven the foe a hundred yards beyond, where they paused and reformed under their second line of breastworks. The skirmish line was established with the regularity of a company on parade, and the brigade came into position behind the captured works. A position assumed to be impregnable was won, and the key to the enemy's position was in our hands. Both sides felt the value of that capture. The enemy would bend all his energies to drive us back, and the orders on our side were that it must be held at all hazards. The artillery fire was terrific, as the batteries on Mission Ridge were well served, and they completely commanded Orchard Knob. Other skirmishers were now sent out, and the Eighth called back to the main line at the mound just carried. Solid shot and shell struck the ground at every angle, the stones were driven from place to place with the force of the solid balls that had propelled them. Branches were torn from trees and hurled to the ground by the impact of mis-

siles; and for fully one hour the iron hail continued without slacking its fury, still the Eighth held their ground like heroes until darkness came to give some measure of rest. The night was spent in strengthening Orchard Knob, a line of breastworks with abbatis in front, was constructed before one in the morning, a battery was placed in position, the picket line was doubled, and then the men were permitted to snatch a brief repose; but one-half of all the number passed a sleepless night. Before daylight every man was aroused and standing to arms, as it was thought possible that the rebels, maddened by their defeat, and calculating upon the fatigue attendant upon our triumph, would make an assault before dawn; the more likely because they were acquainted with every foot of the ground, and all the approaches that had so long been in their hands. The day opened cold and chill, rain fell nearly all the day, the fires would scarcely burn when their heat was most wanted, and a sullen cannonade was maintained at intervals. Orchard Knob became the headquarters of the army. Mission Ridge and the valley in its front could be plainly seen from this point, and Lookout Mountain to the right and rear could be commanded; there was no better position possible for men who were to control the proceedings of an army. Grant and Thomas took up their headquarters on the Knob, and a signal station was established whence nearly all points on the line could be instructed. Howard, Sheridan and Hooker were among the earliest visitors, and after them came Schurz, Wood and Willich, each intent on the business of the hour. Sherman, Davis and others were off to the right having a work of some magnitude before them. Hazen, Harker, Granger, Palmer and Baird gave their counsel, received their orders, and were off on their several missions, untroubled by the hail of death which fell around them. Sherman crossed 8,000 men to the south side of the Tennessee at dawn on the morntng of the 24th, and took up a position on the hills to the left of Mission Ridge, and in the afternoon Hooker carried the enemy's works on Lookout Mountain. The advance could be seen from Orchard Knob in spite of the falling rain as our men gallantly won their way in the very teeth of battle. The panorama of victory was then closed by an envious mist which concealed the conclusion of the struggle, during which the south

and west sides of Lookout were carried in the same irresistible way that triumphed at Orchard Knob, and Hooker's men entrenched themselves against the enemy, whom they had disastrously defeated.

Night once more closed in upon the scene of conflict, and the eighth, stationed on Orchard Knob, would have enjoyed the warmth of their accustomed camp fires, but prudence denied the privilege, which would have rendered every fire a target for the guns of the enemy; and the dismal hours passed in cold and weariness, only cheered by the remembrances of yesterday, and the hopes of to-morrow. When day dawned it became evident that Bragg meant to make his great fight on Mission Ridge. All his artillery was concentrated there, and his entrenchments on the hill had been materially strengthened. So much had the precautions thus observable improved the works of the enemy, that when Sherman, early on the morning of the 25th, assaulted the right, although the battle was fiercely sustained until noon, the main purpose had not been secured. Still there were advantages, and every point gained was held as a preliminary to the next effort.

Mission Ridge ran parallel with our lines at an almost equal height, with promontories or spurs jutting into the valley, and on some of these the rebels had posted their batteries, so that an attacking force would be enfiladed as well as subject to a direct fire, and assaults upon the batteries were more difficult. Dense woods, covering broken land, stood between Orchard Knob and the ascent, after which there was an open field, and an abrupt rise, surmounted by earthworks of great strength. Back of the earthworks a plateau of about a hundred yards wide, where the rebels had been in camp, until their lines were broken by our advance. Then beyond the plateau, the Ridge, nearly five hundred feet high, towered above, crowned by entrenchments. The ground which must be passed over by an attacking party from Orchard Knob to the crest of the Ridge was commanded by converging batteries and still more deadly rifles that could rain death upon thousands during a prolonged assault. Bragg might well consider he was still impregnable.

Two o'clock in the afternoon, and Sherman still pounding on

the right, winning some advantages continually, but stubbornly contested at every step. Gen. Thomas was now ordered to advance his lines and the troops formed in front of the breastworks. The division in which the eighth was incorporated was directly in front of Orchard Knob, the brigade occupying the centre, formed in two lines. There stood the troops, waiting this time, not for the bugle call, but for the discharge of six great guns from Orchard Knob in rapid and regular succession. When the sixth gun boomed out, the line of assault would move forward like one man. The signal and the order came, and the army was in motion. The right had been strengthened to resist Sherman, and the center was in consequence somewhat weakened, but it was still strong, and there was terrible work to be accomplished by our men. The tramp was commenced in silence, the troops almost held their breath as they moved rapidly on, but the flame, smoke and thunder along the Ridge told us that we were looked for by watchful enemies. Under such a fire death was the price of delay, and the men started at double quick, as it were, by instinct. The rebel pickets fired incessantly, but the assailants never returned one shot as they pressed onward over every obstacle, yet maintaining their line with wonderful precision. The woods were passed through at a run, and the troops had gained the open field. Then, and not until then, there was a cheer, full of fierce exultation, from men who recognized the inspiration of victory. The fire was more deadly here because the batteries converged upon this ground, and the rifles in the rebel line at the foot of the hill rained down upon our fellows without one moment's intermission. From the summit also, the bullets were dropping through our ranks, and many a brave soul winged its way from that field of blood to eternal glory, but no soldier wavered in the advance, and before many seconds had elapsed, our force was at the foot of the abrupt rise, proceeding to take the line of earthworks which had been so well and valiantly defended.

The grey lines were broken now, for the forces on the summit in their eagerness to disable the attack, were firing upon their own comrades in the earthworks, and human nature could not stand against such a combination. Some rushed to the rear of the pla-

teau and tried to scale the hill. Nearly all threw down their muskets and surrendered, trying to shelter themselves, meantime, behind their breastworks from the cruel fire of their own comrades, but no such protection could be allowed them, nor could any force be spared to hold them prisoners; they were merely ordered to charge upon Chattanooga, and without more ado they sought shelter in hasty flight, toward imprisonment beyond the lines, from which the attacking army had advanced.

This was the limit assigned for the attack, and there was a brief halt; but it was only momentary; no force could live on that plateau while the ridge was held by an enemy such as that now firing cannon and small arms upon our ranks. The regiments moved on as if by common consent, grim as the task they had voluntarily assumed, and silent as death itself. Five hundred feet to scale, with musket shot and cannon balls pinging and hurtling through the air, it seemed like climbing the sides of the infernal pit, surrounded by its atmosphere. The line, maintained until now, was broken at last in the general eagerness to grapple with the foe. Who should be first, was now the effort, and truly it was a race for life. Should those men be hurled back upon the plateau, not one in five hundred would return to tell the tale, so that there was every motive as well as heroism to urge on the intrepid assault. From Orchard Knob that gallant onset was seen by men deeply interested in its success, and fully able to appreciate the dire and terrible necessity, which made victory sure. Regiments were seen intermingled in the advance, and almost struggling with each other for the lead, then gradually order rose out of the confusion, each regimental battle flag became the apex of a pyramid, and following its lead the troops marched with a step that never wavered. Slowly and with much slaughter the ascent was won, whole ranks falling for the gain of a few feet in some places, but in spite of cannonade and rifle ball, the crest was being attained, and the heroes in blue could not be daunted. It was a sight once seen that could never be forgotten while life endures.

Still onward and upward, like the march of the Union itself, the attacking force carried into the minds of the men upon the Ridge that defeat must be their portion. In vain they poured

their deadliest fire down that steep declivity, destroying hundreds, and wounding thousands, the thinned ranks filled again and breasted the mountain resolutely as before. There was no quailing, as men will sometimes flinch from a rifle ball instinctively, every man looked straight ahead, anxious only to mount the Ridge and grasp victory. Mainly the order in which the troops started was maintained, although the line was broken; our eighth was in the centre, mounting one of the half circular bends. Hazen's men were on the right, breasting a point, and Beatty's to the left. An Ohio regiment of Hazen's was fierce in rivalry with two of ours for the honor of planting the first flag on the rebel lines, and there were but a few yards to be won; danger was forgotten in that struggle, and the cheering was wild and incessant. Let who may say that there is no use in the brave hurrah, that cry sent terror through the rebel ranks; there was a tone of victory that could not be misunderstood, and before that hand to hand fight with bayonet and ball began, the result had ceased to be a problem. The intrenchments were carried, the momentum of assault drove back the Confederate force, resistlessly, the flags of our regiment fluttered along the works, and within a space of seconds, the rebels were dashing down the hill beyond, to find shelter if not safety in the woods.

There was a movement in pursuit, which in a few minutes might have left the Ridge once more in the enemy's hands, for every man had been considering the battle as lost or won on his own standpoint; but the enemy's cannon trained upon us at this instant, reminded us that there was a general victory to be won, as well as our particular triumph. One moment and the ranks were formed, prepared to charge along the breastworks, left and right, when the whole line gave way, breaking into sudden tumult and confusion. Wildly and with distraction in every aspect, the troops in grey divested themselves of every weapon and impediment, running for dear life. Officers strove to rally them for a final effort, but in vain; they were caught in the maelstrom themselves and hurried along with the flying mass. Batteries limbered and ready for orders, waited in peril for the return of commanders who were involved in the confusion which they had tried to stem; and at length dashed madly off, running at last into the

position where capture was inevitable. The vigor of the pursuers increased with the panic of the pursued. Whole squadrons surrendered upon the first summons. The army under Bragg was not only beaten, it was demoralized, and had become a mob incapable of military duty. Mission Ridge was won, and the defiant rebel force so lately sure of its invincible strength had nowhere an abiding place.

One hour and fifteen minutes from the time that the sixth gun was fired at Orchard Knob, our men had carried the ridge, and terminated, in one blaze of triumph, the siege of Chattanooga. We have followed the fortunes of the Eighth so closely that it might seem as though no other force had been engaged on the side of the Union; but, in reality, as our readers must be well aware, when Gen. Grant, at Orchard Knob, saw the men who had carried the first entrenchments dash up the hill in front of them, he had ordered an advance of the whole line. The forces of Sherman, Hooker and Thomas clasped hands upon the Ridge which every section of the army had helped to win under the direction of the master spirit, Gen. Grant. There were men in the Eighth who had not recovered from their wounds at Chickamauga, and others, suffering from the ravages of disease, who rose from their sick beds that day and fought as though they had never known an ailment. There was never a more beautiful sight in the annals of war than the attack on Mission Ridge, and its success was the more glorious, because it stamped afresh the genius possessed by the leader to crush out the evil of rebellion, and converged upon him so much popular regard that it was impossible longer to doubt his fitness to control the whole armament of the Union, and to secure for the nation the blessings of peace, by vigorous, well planned war.

There were substantial benefits immediately accruing from this campaign. Forty pieces of artillery were taken and many thousands of small arms, while the prisoners actually encumbered the army. The eighth Kansas had more prisoners by far than there were men in the regiment, besides which, it had captured four guns and five hundred stand of small arms. It is claimed that the eighth planted the first flag on the entrenchments of the rebels on the Ridge; but, where so many gallant regiments claim

that honor, it would be invidious, if not impossible, to pronounce. There was no longer a force capable of resisting the Union in the country controlled by the Army of the Cumberland, and that force, in able hands, such as had now been found, could answer for a large section of several states. Burnside, who had been shut up in Knoxville by the superior force under Longstreet, could now be relieved by the troops under Gen. Sheridan; but, before retiring, and in the hope that he might win a victory while Sheridan was on the way, Longstreet made an assault upon Fort Saunders on the 28th of November. Burnside repulsed his assailant with great slaughter, and, immediately afterwards, Sheridan, with whom was the brave remnant of our own glorious Eighth, came upon the scene, driving Longstreet back to the Army of Virginia, and setting Burnside free and reinforced to retain in east Tennessee a proper sense of what was due to the Union. The success of Grant at Mission Ridge was the hinge upon which turned wonderful results.

There was but a brief rest for our friends in the Eighth after the well won series of battles at Chattanooga, as we find them *en route* to Knoxville, at 3 P. M. on Saturday, and on the 7th of December they had reached their destination, having passed, in the interval, through Harrisonville, Decatur, Sweet Water, Morgantown and Maysville, a distance of rather more than 150 miles. The men were shoeless, or nearly so; it was winter, and the roads were stained by their bleeding feet, while their sleep at night was rendered unrefreshing by the want of sufficient clothing. There were substantial services, but no more battles to be won by the Eighth during 1863. The sufferings of that winter in Tennessee would have broken the hearts of a dainty soldiery, but the regiment and the corps had seen hard service and was full of the importance of the grand work that was being surely accomplished.

Veteran regiments were now called for — men who had seen service and would not require to be taught the rudiments of the soldier's art. The term of service had expired, or nearly so, and the Eighth sternly faced the necessity for a further term. The order calling for volunteers was read to the men on the 2d of January, 1864, and, on the 4th, four-fifths of the whole number

reenlisted. Of the remainder, some who were at the time unable to respond to the call, fell into the ranks again but shortly afterward.

The retreat from Dandridge was covered by the Eighth Kansas with conspicuous valor and patience, and, after a brief sojourn in camp near Maysville, on the 23d the regiment marched to Chattanooga to be mustered in as veterans, and then enjoy a brief furlough before resuming active duty in the field. The return home from Chattanooga was a succession of *fete* days in Nashville and in other cities where the name of the Eighth and the remembrances of friends made all classes proud to show them every attention. Kansas did honor to itself by showing every mark of hospitality to the brave defenders of the Union at Atchison City, Leavenworth and elsewhere.

The furlough of thirty-five days passed speedily amid home friends, and, on the 5th of April, 1864, the regiment was once more ready for duty. The transit from Fort Leavenworth to Chattanooga was an arduous and toilsome work, carried through in the best possible spirit by brave men, and there were opportunities to review some of the battle-fields of the Army of the Cumberland before the next great campaign was entered upon; but, as our brave fellows are now mustered at Chattanooga to serve under Sherman in his campaign against Johnston, we cannot do better than just briefly glance at the proceedings of that officer generally, before proceeding to mention in detail the services of the Eighth.

Sherman advanced with 100,000 men from Chattanooga in May, 1864, being chief in command in the west, under Grant, who was now general in chief of the armies of the union. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston with 54,000 men, knew the prowess of Sherman and his troops too well to risk an engagement with such odds against him, and he retired at once on the road toward Atlanta, Georgia, but availed himself of every advantage on the road to render the march of the union troops slow and perilous. There was a stubborn fight at Resaca on the 10th of May, and it was only by flanking the position that Sherman compelled its abandonment. Every such engagement cost the union force a loss largely in excess of that suffered by the rebels, and the de-

sign of Johnston was to continue such action until the two armies might be brought nearer to an equality in numbers, or if possible until his force steadily recruited should have the advantage in the field.

Adairsville and Cassville were smaller editions of the same kind as the battle of Resaca. Allatoona Pass was much worse than Resaca, and it cost Sherman many days of fighting and flanking before Johnston's position could be turned. Kenesaw mountains, flanked by Pine and Lost mountains, had been connected by strong field works, and there was desperate fighting on both sides before Sherman could compel his antagonist to abandon his position. It will give some idea of the success of Johnston's scheme of defense, prepared long before hand, to mention in one assault at Kenesaw on the 27th of June, it cost the union arms 3,000 men, including Generals Dan McCook and Harker, to inflict a loss of only 442 men on the rebels.

The position was practicably impregnable, but Sherman flanked the enemy and Johnston was compelled to retreat or be cut off from his communications. Johnston, whose plan had cost Sherman so dearly, was now relieved of his command by the confederate president, because he had not won victories with 54,000 men against 100,000 of the best fighting men in the union armies, although a man possessed of military prescience must have seen that he was achieving marvels in defense. His army at the outset was only 54,000, and when he was relieved by Gen. Hood at Atlanta, it was still 51,000 strong, so nearly had his recruiting come to restoring his effective force.

Sherman captured Atlanta on the 1st of September, 1864, after protracted and destructive fighting, which cost the confederates more lives than all the operations under Johnston from Chattanooga to Atlanta. The union force under Sherman remained in Georgia until Hood marched into Tennessee, when Gen. Thomas, our old friend of Chickamauga, being left to give an account of Hood and his army, Sherman was able to carry out Gen. Grant's long cherished scheme of "The March to the Sea," with which our Eighth had not the honor to be identified, having been detailed for duty in Tennessee at that time. With this brief sketch we return to the Eighth leaving Chattanooga.

The eighth started from Chattanooga on the 9th of June, to rejoin the brigade, but was delayed to escort a pontoon train, so that it camped at Ringgold, Ga., on the 10th, then through Dalton, Resaca, Adairsville, Kingston and Cartersville, reaching Etowah Bridge on the 17th of June. Allatoona mountain was the next camping ground following over the series of battle grounds which had been made memorable by their comrades and companions in arms. The bridge over the Etowah was supposed to be in danger from the rebels, and in consequence the eighth was relieved from escort duty by Gen. Sherman's orders on the 20th. Breastworks were constructed at the threatened point, and the country well scouted, but the rebel cavalry did not appear, and on the 26th the regiment proceeded to rejoin its brigade in front of the Kenesaw mountain. Picket duty and resisting night attacks kept the eighth from falling into habits of idleness. The eighth was the first regiment to enter the works at Kenesaw when the rebels abandoned that position because of the flanking movements of Sherman. Two hundred persons were taken.

Beyond Marietta it was found that Johnston was in force behind a strong line of earthworks at Smyrna camp ground, where the eighth was brought into active service. On the 4th of July the army started in pursuit of the rebels, who once more found their works untenable, driving the enemy to beyond the Chattahoochie river near Vining's station, where earthworks were constructed on both sides, the regiment being under fire and engaged for nearly thirty hours. The action at Peach Tree Creek was a very spirited and successful affair in which the eighth showed to great advantage, and at every movement, the enemy now under Hood, who had relieved Johnston, suffered considerable loss. In front of Atlanta the eighth constructed a line of earthworks in fifteen minutes, only 500 yards from the works of the enemy, and but 100 yards from his picket pits, which afforded good shelter from musketry. Such facility said much for their courage as well as their defensive skill, as the works were carried on under a terrible artillery fire of shell, shot, grape and canister.

The earthworks thus formed were occupied for thirty-three days, and during the whole time there was no cessation of firing, and every kind of missile was to be looked for at all hours.

There was one fine movement by the eighth, dislodging and driving the enemy from their picket pits, on the 28th of July, which won and deserved high praise, the result being much greater safety for the Union line. There was another brilliant affair of rifle pits on the 3d of August, in which the eighth figured to advantage, as the enemy's pickets were all driven in or captured. There was no further relief from monotony until the 25th of August, when orders were issued to flank Atlanta, and the troops moved forward with alacrity. The result of Sherman's generalship was that Hood was forced to abandon Atlanta after burning and otherwise destroying all the stores and works that permitted demolition.

The eighth bore its share in all the movements that necessitated Hood's retreat, and from the 28th of June to the 5th of September, a period of sixty-seven days exclusive, was under fire no less than sixty-three days and forty-four nights. The army was now allowed a brief term for recuperation, and it came none too soon, for the duties of the campaign in a climate so warm had been very oppressive. There was rest until the 2d of October, when there were stirring orders once more, and the eighth was among the earliest in motion. By noon on that day the regiment, passing through Atlanta, had reached the Chattahoochie, and thence continued through Smyrna camp ground to Kenesaw. The fact proved that Hood, reinforced by Hardee, had passed Sherman's right, and was threatening the capture of Allatoona. The post was held by Gen. Corse with less than 2,000 men, but so well was the general prepared for the defense, that repeated assaults were slaughterously repulsed until the enemy was beaten off.

The corps with which the eighth was incorporated was in the advance, but the assault by French's division of the rebel army upon Allatoona could not be averted, and when the union force came up, French was already in full retreat.

The enemy made a feint of attacking Resaca, which could have held out against all their force, and contented themselves with destroying railroads and works, making also some small captures at Dalton and Tilton. There was a prospect of hard fighting at Rocky Face ridge, which range the enemy held in

strong force, and there were but few gaps at wide intervals capable of obstinate defense. Sherman carried the works by a bold movement, such as Hood had never dreamed of. The gaps were to be defended to the last extremity that was clear, and a great loss must be incurred in forcing them. Sherman suddenly massed two corps, the 14th and that which included the eighth Kansas, and ordered them to carry the precipitous hill-side, moving without a single piece of artillery, because of the nature of the ground. The enemy, taken completely by surprise, abandoned the gaps and fell back, having learned a new fact in the art of war. This success was achieved without the loss of one man on the Union side, and the victory was in every sense complete.

The eighth was in Chattanooga on the 30th of October, and moved thence to Pulaski, where defensive works were soon afterwards erected. Hood had been deflected from Georgia, so that Sherman could carry out his famous march. Thomas, reinforced, would hold Tennessee, and the eighth was in an excellent country to see service. Hood having crossed the Tennessee near Florence with an army of 55,000 men, the army of 30,000 at Pulaski was unable to cope with his force, and the troops were withdrawn to Nashville. The armies were very near each other, both moving towards the same point at Columbia, but an attack, although threatened, was not put into execution, and the disparity was too great to warrant offensive operations on our side. There was some skirmishing, and strong earthworks were thrown up; but the union troops were so well handled that Hood was unable to destroy their communications. All the arrangements of Hood were perfect to compel the smaller force to fight him, where it must surrender or be destroyed in detail; and just when he believed that nothing remained but to enjoy his victory, he found that the army was on its way to Nashville, and too far advanced to give him any chance in pursuit.

The action at Franklin, in a bend of the Harpeth, was a fine display of defensive war. Gen. Schofield had then only 20,000 to oppose 55,000, but his position had been taken with good judgment. The union troops only arrived about noon on the 30th of November, and the assault was made in the afternoon. The repulse was bloody and disastrous, as five generals fell and

nearly 5,000 rebel troops. The generals were Cliburne, Gist, Adams, Trahl and Granbury. The losses on the side of the union were great, but not one-half so great as those of the confederates. Several times the assault was repeated, and every time with like results until the rebels concluded to allow the union troops to proceed on their way to Nashville without further molestation. The punishment of the 30th was so distressing that the march of the 1st of December, 1864, was hardly assailed, and the command of Gen. Schofield arrived in Nashville on the afternoon of that day.

The eighth was completely at home in the city now to be defended, and they constructed a line of breastworks with great hope that they would be called upon to hold them against the enemy. Hood followed speedily and was in position, prospecting for weak places, on the 4th, but his impetuosity had been greatly cooled off at Franklin. It was in fact an impudent and imprudent act, on the part of Hood, to sit down before Nashville, with Gen. Thomas defending the town, now that the concentrated Union forces were nearly equal to his own; but he was encouraged by the quietness of Thomas to believe that he was about to achieve the defeat of an officer whom Bragg's army had been unable to subdue under circumstances much more favorable to the attacking force. Hood called up every possible reinforcement, and still Thomas remained quiet until the 15th of December. Gen. Grant appeared to have been just as unable to understand the strategy of Thomas as Hood himself, but in due course the whole scheme was developed with complete success.

Thomas aimed at securing the fruits of a campaign from one battle, and the weather was sufficiently severe to make it an object that his troops should be protected as much as possible. On the evening of the 14th word was passed along the lines that an advance on the enemy's lines would be made soon after daylight the next morning. All ready before dawn; but the attack did not commence until 10 o'clock, when the brigade that included the eighth charged the works on Montgomery Hill. The distance from our works was just three hundred yards, and it was Hood's strongest position. The position was carried in less than ten minutes, the assault being made in splended style. Forty pris-

oners were taken, and the brigade commander named the eighth as the first regiment to enter the works of the rebels.

The second movement was not made until nearly 1 o'clock, when the eighth had a second time in one day the honor of being first within the lines of the enemy. This time the attack was made along the whole line, carrying the works of the heretofore besieging force, and taking a large number of prisoners as well as a battery of brass guns. The rebels were driven in great confusion for about one mile when the approach of night rendered it necessary to return to the captured works where the union army bivouacked.

The morning of the 16th was cold, wet and disagreeable, but the advance was resumed at daylight. Hood still had faith that there was a victory before him, and he had taken up a strong position on a range of hills four miles south of Nashville. The movements of Thomas showed the *acme* of generalship. The eighth was in the hottest of the fight but space will not allow of full justice being done to the attack; suffice it say that Hood's army was demolished and driven towards Alabama. Hood crossed the Tennessee at Bainbridge with the debris of his command. Thomas captured in all in this brief campaign, 72 guns and about 12,000 prisoners, besides administering the amnesty oath to 2,207 deserters from the confederate ranks. East Tennessee was completely cleared of rebel forces and the wisdom of the line pursued by Thomas become apparent to all concerned except Hood.

After this brilliant exploit the army encamped and remained at Huntsville during January. Early in February there was a sudden movement back to Nashville, and that time no serious or dangerous duty arose until the war was ended by the surrender of Lee; the rejoicings over which event were soon changed into deepest grief by the dreadful message, "Abraham Lincoln is assasinated."

Contrary to expectation, the troops were ordered to Texas on the 13th of June, instead of being mustered out as soon as the war was over, but true discipline secured compliance with orders and the eighth was not mustered out until the 9th of January, 1866, and the record of the regiment will bear comparison with that of any in the world.

The ninth Kansas volunteer cavalry was formed by the consolidation of independent battalions on the 27th of March, 1862. The earlier record of the regiment deals with comparatively local events, such as guerrilla scouts and the Locust Grove fight in the Cherokee nation. The ninth took part in the engagement at Newtonia toward the end of September, 1862, and did all that men, armed as they were, could effect against superior numbers. The fights at Cane Hill and Prairie Grove were participated in by two companies of the ninth. The raid on Van Buren was very materially aided by this regiment, and escort duty fell heavily on this arm of the service at all times, but the ninth never failed to do its duty thoroughly at all hazards.

Affairs with bushwhackers were of frequent occurrence, and one portion of a company of the ninth, under Capt. Flesher, fell into an ambuscade of this class of desperados near Westport on the 17th of June, 1863. There was little blame to be attached to Capt. Flesher, and he and his men fought well after the first surprise was recovered, but the event was much handled by enemies of the regiment. The assailants were very severely punished afterwards by scouting parties from the ninth.

The Quantrell raid on the city of Lawrence was made in August, 1865, and two companies of the ninth were the first troops upon his trail. Quantrell's rear guard was overtaken at Brooklyn, and from that moment a series of harassing attacks continued on the enemy. Other companies of the ninth, and one squadron of the eleventh Kansas fought the guerrilla and killed many of his command, recovering much of the property stolen at Lawrence. The cry of the raiders was "no prisoners," and they were made to fully comprehend the meaning of their motto before the debris of the scoundrels found a retreat in the forests where they were safe from recognition or pursuit.

The services of the ninth were called into requisition to oppose the forces of the rebel Gen. Shelby some few weeks after the Quantrell raid, and Gen. Ewing with his command rendered efficient service, pressing the pursuit until the enemy crossed the Boston Mountains. It is a matter for regret that men in every way so well qualified for higher service should have been forced to do duty against bushwhackers and guerrillas as the Ninth did,

but beyond all question they were efficient, although it was their misfortune to hunt vermin instead of being engaged in more worthy pursuits. So much was this felt by the regiment, that applications for assignment to other duty were repeatedly made, and at length complied with. The regiment mustered 1,200 strong when mustered to join Gen. Steele's expedition to Shreveport; but the failure of Gen. Banks, and the subsequent disasters of that campaign, deprived the Ninth once more of its coveted opportunity for distinction on other and larger fields. The powers of endurance of the regiment were largely tried, but the more brilliant feats of arms that win renown were not demanded by the course of events.

While serving under Gen. Steele at Little Rock, the ninth rendered important services against the rebel leaders Marmaduke, Shelby and Fagan at different times, the affair at Brownsville being one of the most brilliant, and in that conflict much execution was wrought upon the rebels under Shelby. The loss on our side was also large, but the punishment inflicted on Shelby's force saved the country around Little Rock from further raids for a long time. The duties customarily devolving upon the ninth were arduous, dangerous, and yet not such as could win glory or even distinction, therefore it is high praise to say in their behalf that they behaved with fidelity and courage, and deserved well of the nation as well as of the state.

The tenth Kansas was formed by joining the third and fourth with some of the fifth, under orders from the war department. The regiment was 800 strong, and the men were well fitted for active service. Many minor services might be named would space permit, but the expedition of part of the Tenth against the rebel Clarkson and his command on the 3d of July, 1862, must be recorded. Col. Weer devised the plan of attack, and the result was the capture of Clarkson and 155 of his force, besides about 70 killed and wounded, and a very large quantity of camp equipage.

The tenth operated repeatedly against the guerrilla chiefs, Cols. Coffey and Cockrell, and sometimes with considerable distinction; but that branch of the service is not looked upon with favor by troops of spirit, and therefore the tenth desired other employ-

ment. The affair near Newtonia in September, 1862, when the rebel generals Rains, Coffey and Cooper, strongly reinforced, stood at bay, would have given the desired opportunity, but for the incompetency of Gen. Solomon temporarily in charge of Gen. Blount's division. The troops, more especially the tenth, wanted to advance, but Solomon would not allow his command to approach the rebel lines, his limit being one mile and a half from their position. The return of Gen. Blount alone saved the command from mutiny or demoralization.

The troops now moved back to Newtonia, where the enemy was routed and driven towards Arkansas, and the Tenth assisted in the pursuit of the flying rebels. The action at Bentonville, Arkansas, was but to a small extent participated in by the tenth on the 20th of October, but the regiment marched all night to reach the field in time for the fight. After the battle of Old Fort Wayne just named, the regiment was largely occupied in scouting. The engagements at Cane Hill and Prairie Grove gave a reasonable opening for the courage of the regiment, and it fulfilled the expectation of its friends, as it led in the defeat and pursuit of the rebels from Cane Hill, until the force disappeared over Boston Mountains, and Gen. Marmaduke's force was completely routed.

The advance of Gen. Hindman broke the repose of the tenth in camp at Cane Hill, and it was evident that an army and not a scout had to be met. The general engagement was not brought on until the 7th of December, when Hindman succeeded in flanking the force engaged, and made a retrogade movement inevitable; but the tenth succeeded in reaching Gen. Herron's command, by Rheas' Mills, before the design of the rebel commander could be realized. The conduct of the tenth elicited much commendation. The loss of the regiment in that engagement amounted to 23 per cent., and the outcome of the battle, considering that our force only numbered 12,000, fighting an army of 28,000, with thirty pieces of artillery, was very creditable to the arms of the union. Hindman retreated precipitately during the night after the action at Prairie Grove, leaving his dead and wounded.

The tenth moved out of camp again on the 27th of December,

1862, to strike Hindman at Van Buren and put an end to his army. The service was very severe, but the regiment did all that was expected in the way of disabling the rebels, and gave peace for some time to the region in which the action occurred. Marmaduke next invited the attention of the tenth, with a force of 6,000 cavalry, advancing to Springfield, Mo. The regiment made a forced march to Springfield, in conjunction with a brigade of cavalry, in very severe weather, making thirty-five miles a day, and by their advance forced Marmaduke to retreat. The brigade followed Marmaduke, and routed him at Sand Springs, thirty miles beyond Springfield, and the rebel in his hurried retreat fell into the hands of Gen. Warren, who completed his discomfiture. The campaign of 1862 finished in a manner very honorable for the tenth. The regiment was mustered out of service in August, 1864, but immediately reorganized as veterans. The tenth served against Hood in Tennessee at Columbia, Franklin, Nashville, and in pursuit of the routed foe, winning distinction, always being assigned to the skirmish line on every important occasion, and their losses abundantly testify to their courage and endurance.

The regiment was dispatched to Fort Gaines, Ala., on the 7th of March, 1865, and operated in that line of country until a junction was effected with Gen. Steele, and the works of the enemy at Fort Blakely captured. The tenth was named in the reports officially made, in a manner exceedingly gratifying to the state. The final mustering out occurred on the 20th of September, 1865, at Fort Leavenworth. The troops thus honorably discharged, as well as their officers, deserve the highest encomiums that can be bestowed on faithful soldiers and brave men who rendered important services to the union in the greatest rebellion the world has ever seen.

The eleventh Kansas was recruited and organized by the chief justice, Thomas Ewing, Jr., under authority issued by Gen. Lane, on the 6th of August, 1862. The authority of the governor was entirely ignored on that occasion. The state had sent ten regiments into the field, and despondency was everywhere, because of the reverses suffered by the troops under McClellan before Richmond; yet Kansas responded as before, with its full quota, by

voluntary enlistments in the briefest time ever occupied in such an undertaking even in this state. The regiment started on its first campaign on the 4th of October, before either pay or bounty had been received, and when there were no arms for them except muskets dating from the year 1818. The march then executed to Pea Ridge, Ark., by way of Fort Scott, would have been an honor even to veteran troops.

Under Gen. Blount the eleventh Kansas was at once engaged in night marches and surprises, and had the honor to assist in routing Gen. Cooper and his rebel force near old Fort Wayne, on the 20th of October, 1862, having double quicked over six miles to be in time. Cane Hill was the next scene of activity, where Marmaduke was routed, and the eleventh was engaged in every action, from the first assault to that which drove the enemy over Boston Mountains. Prairie Grove and the defeat of Hindman speedily followed, the regiment being rewarded with high encomiums for its services, and the rebel general having to resort to a disgraceful ruse to save his army and himself. The march to Van Buren commencing on the 27th of December, and the services rendered there against Hindman need only be briefly indicated. The victory was complete, but the service told heavily on the men who were engaged during that inclement season. The regiment lost one-third of its number within nine months from its first organization. Soon afterwards the service was changed to cavalry, and new companies were recruited, the alteration having been made as a reward for the conduct of the regiment, and at the request of the men.

Border duties and encounters with bushwhackers now fell to the lot of the eleventh, until Quantrell fled into Texas. The campaigns against Shelby commencing in September, that in the Cherokee Nation against Stand Waitie, and against Price at a later date, were all participated in by the eleventh, besides a host of minor duties. Little Blue was nominally a defeat for our arms, but, actually, it led to the detention of the rebels until Pleasanton could strike their rear and lead up to the decisive victory at Big Blue. Cold Water Grove, Mound City and Fort Lincoln, are worthy of remembrance in connection with services of the eleventh against hateful marauders.

The eleventh won much experience of Indian warefare by their operations against the Sioux between Laramie and Platte Bridge, as well as later in the campaign of 1865, which finally taught the Indians to behave with greater circumspection. The service was harassing in the extreme, but it is creditable to the eleventh to say, that it held its own against much larger numbers continually, and was never driven from the field. The maintenance of the mail route across the Plains from California, was for a long time entirely dependent upon the services of this regiment, but the line was never broken, although it became necessary at times for the men to horse the mails as well as supply drivers and escort, so persistent were the savages in their attacks. Some of the Indian raids were bloody and terrible, and it required no small amount of courage to subdue the infuriated savages, but in every instance, in spite of temporary reverses and checks, the eleventh compelled the Sioux to fly at last. The slaughter of Serg. Custard's party in the latter part of July, 1865, when twenty men held 2,000 Indians in check for six hours, will give our readers some idea of the work accomplished by the eleventh on the Plains.

The regiment was recruited among the citizens of Kansas, their discipline was exemplary, their intelligence and moral tone of the highest order, and their successes were commensurate. Many privates were promoted from the ranks of the eleventh to officer other regiments, and it would be difficult to imagine a fact more honorable to a body of men.

The twelfth Kansas was organized in August and September, 1862, the authority for recruiting being addressed to Senator Lane, and under certain restrictions the duty of officering troops also, devolved upon the senator. That fact and others of the same type, carry their own comment. The regiment served at Fort Smith, and on the Camden expedition, winning laurels in the battle of Prairie de Anne. The affair in Terre Nor Swamp was very trying to the troops, and the reverse at Poison Springs was in no way discreditable to the men engaged. The crossing at Saline River was brilliantly effected, and the march to Little Rock was a marvel of endurance. Throughout its period of service to the end of the war, when the twelfth was mustered

out on the 30th of June, 1865, there was not one of its records that failed to reflect credit upon the regiment.

The thirteenth Kansas was recruited under the same auspices as the Twelfth, and at about the same date. The first engagement was with Marmaduke, at Cane Hill, on the 28th of November, and the enemy was routed, as also subsequently, after an obstinate fight on Boston Mountains. The regiment next took part in the victory at Prairie Grove. The march to Van Buren, Arkansas, cost the regiment more men than the subsequent engagement with the enemy and capture of the town, brilliant and effective as that operation undoubtedly was. The weather was terrible. Guerrilla suppression was an unpleasant duty, which the regiment, added to its other exploits performed without a murmur, until ordered to Little Rock on provost guard and garrison duty, where it continued meritorious at all times until the end of the war.

The fourteenth Kansas cavalry was recruited by Gen. Blount in the spring of 1863, and it entered on picket duty almost immediately. The regiment fought with distinction at Prairie de Anne and at Moscow, winning ground from the enemy on both occasions. Poison Springs, Jenkins Ferry and the march to Little Rock, tried the courage and endurance of the men without abating their reputation; and after returning to Fort Smith picket duties were exceptionally heavy on the fourteenth. Mine Creek and Westport, and the surrender of Gen. Marmaduke, are incidents honorable to the regiment. Engagements with guerrilla bands were continually recurring, and the fourteenth having been raised when the confederates were in highest hope of eventual success, the services demanded from the men were incessant. They served to the end of the war.

The fifteenth Kansas cavalry was raised about the time of the Quantrell raid, when 143 unarmed citizens of Lawrence were murdered in cold blood, and the business quarter of the city burned to the ground. The regiment was filled in less than a month, and an extra company toward the sixteenth also. Circumstances confined the regiment mainly to expeditions against bushwhackers and marauders but the duty was thoroughly accomplished, although there are no brilliant services to be recorded.

The sixteenth Kansas came into the service too late to share so liberally as the regiments already named in the glorious record of war, but it served on the Plains against the Indians and rendered essential services in other particulars, useful, if not distinguished.

The seventeenth Kansas was called up in 1864 to serve for one hundred days, commencing July 4th in that year. The regiment was incessantly engaged from the day of its organization to the end of its term, in such movements as preserved Kansas from assault, and it participated with honor in the affair at Mine Run.

The first Kansas colored regiment was recruited in August and September, 1862, under authority furnished to Gen. Lane. There was a conflict between the civil and military authorities as to this organization, but the regiment was raised. An engagement with twice the number of Cockrell's band, on the 29th of October, proved the courage and capacity of the troops at the camp near Butler, as the enemy was very severely beaten and pursued. Colored troops on this occasion, for the first time in the war for the Union, proved their efficiency. On the 18th of May, 1863, a foraging party was surprised and attacked by the rebel Major Livingston, with 300 troops, the small force of 45 men being necessarily defeated. The colored prisoners and slain were treated with unheard of barbarity, but Col. Williams commenced a system of retaliation which at once arrested such practices. There were many instances of courage and enterprise that deserve honorable mention, at Cabin Creek, Honey Springs, and on the Camden expedition, but space will only permit the statement that the men behaved admirably under fire and won high honors everywhere.

The second Kansas colored regiment was mustered into the service on the 11th of August, 1863, at Fort Scott, and was first seriously engaged in the Camden expedition, under Gen. Steele, having participated with honor to itself and much loss in that campaign. The record of the second colored regiment was honorable in every particular, and in some instances high distinction was gloriously won.

The first Kansas battery served with distinction on many glorious fields, but the adjutant general was not supplied with a

formal record of its proceedings, hence we can only, in a general way, mention its services.

The second Kansas battery was raised by Major Blair in August and September, 1862, and its record during the war showed services at Newtonia, Pea Ridge, Cane Hill, Rhea's Mills, Sherwood, Cabin Creek, Grand River, Honey Springs, Perryville, Fort Smith, Westport, and everywhere, and always with honor to the battery and the state by which it was manned.

The third Kansas battery was formed in the latter part of 1861 for the New Mexican expedition but many changes occurred before it assumed the name and organization now recorded as the number borne by the battery implies. The origin of this organization will become clear to our readers when we state that the guns of this command were captured from the enemy and first known as "Hopkins' Kansas Battery." The command distinguished itself at Old Fort Wayne, Cane Hill, Boston Mountains, Prairie Grove, Van Buren, Weber's Falls, Fort Gibson, Honey Springs and Little Rock, being mustered out of service and honorably discharged on the 19th of January, 1865, after a long term of active labor.

Having thus closed the military history of this truly eventful period it remains only to be said that Kansas was as true to the Union at home as she proved herself in the field, although Gov. Robinson and his friends were for a time defeated in the civil government by the zeal which carried so many soldiers to the front. Carney was on some occasions more than suspected by the general government of want of zeal for the service in the war; no such idea could for one moment have attached itself to Gov. Robinson. The state had suffered immensely from the war within its own borders, and by the drouth before the rebellion arose to tax the energies of the people, but the zeal of the free state men never failed to respond in every emergency, although population increased but slowly until the war came to an end in 1865.

The attack by Quantrell's gang on Lawrence, in 1863, was one of the most horrible scenes enacted during the war, as it was conducted by cowardly ruffians against a defenseless town, whose citizens were murdered in cold blood with every mark of extreme brutality; but already the city was resuming its accustomed pros-

perity with more than its former extent, and we shall see in our future chapters that the state generally was commencing a career, prosperous and glorious for the people within, as well as for the nation beyond and around its borders.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Settling Down — Peace Prevailing — Internal Improvements — Railroads — Senator Lane — Successive Governors — School System — Kansas Courage — Difficulties Faced — Sound Policy — School Properties — Endowments — Estimates — Remissness — Rapid Growth — Superintendents — Territorial Schools — Color Line — Distinctions Abolished — Zealous Labor — Low Compensation — Heavy Responsibilities — Inspection — Trustees — Efficient Teaching — City Schools — Educational Funds — Reports — Summaries — State System — Direction — Supervision — School Districts — Graded Schools — Teachers' Institutes — Libraries — Educational Journal — State Board — Compulsory Education — General Basis — State University — Agricultural College — Normal Schools — Curriculum of University — Superb Building — Lawrence Generosity — Congressional Endowment — State Agriculture — Practical Training — Distinct Courses — Annual Growth — Endowments — Emporia Normal — Successive Years — Sound Instruction — Students' Engagement — Leavenworth Normal — Concordia Normal — Admirable Provision — Rapid Development — Religious Thought — Denominational Freedom — Church Growth — Presbyterian Community — Beautiful Edifices — Congregational Church — The Baptists — United Presbyterians — Methodist Episcopal — Episcopal Organizations — Roman Catholics — County Results — General Outcome.

Having followed in some degree the efforts of Kansas to subdue the great rebellion, and having glanced at the sufferings of her citizens in the field, where noble deeds beyond enumeration were accomplished to her honor; where the arms of the union struggled against fearful odds to maintain the principles of freedom and unity, it is now time to turn our attention homeward. Peace is at length won from the red fields of war, and the soldier has become a citizen once more. In most kingdoms the armed

force would remain a menace to liberty, and a permanent withdrawal from the producing forces of the nation. In this republic the soldier is at once absorbed into the army of industry as soon as the batteries of the enemy have been silenced, and the last foe disarmed. Thus it happened that Kansas could give her attention without delay to internal improvements, to the more efficient organization of her cities, to the establishment and working of new railroads, and to works of various importance toward state advancement.

The governors successively called to the highest office in the state were no longer the forefront of a battle, as when Gov. Robinson was first chosen. They represented law where order reigned supreme, and it is enough to say concerning them that Carney was followed by Crawford in 1865, who, in 1869, surrendered the lead to Harvey, and was further succeeded by Gov. Osborne in 1873, to rule until 1877. "Blessed is the land that has no history," says a somewhat paradoxical writer, one of the class that believes history to consist of wars and perilous mischances; we are content to say that the land is blessed wherein the people rule themselves, untouched by the calamities of war, and in which peaceful history is made in the progress of arts, sciences and industry, embalmed in the happiness of the domestic circle. One incident of a personal kind needs must be mentioned in this relation, before we give our attention to new interests and, comparatively speaking, to new men.

Maj. Gen. Lane, whose name occurred so often in the stormy days of territorial history, and whose deeds in the council, as well as in the field, often reflected honor on the free state party, passed from this life soon after the conclusion of the war, and it would be unpardonable to allow that event to pass without some notice. Before his arrival in Kansas he was already a man of mark. In the struggles of the free state men, he won distinction as a member of the government which confronted the Shawnee legislature, and as major general of the forces of the people. Indicted for high treason and for murder by the common enemy, he was acquitted by the popular voice. Sent to the senate of the United States by the state election of 1861, he was reelected after a considerable struggle in 1865. His conduct during the war in raising regi-

ments in obedience to the call of the country, irrespective of the will of Gov. Carney, had not failed to add to his list of enemies; but he triumphed over them all, so strong was his hold upon the community. In the year 1866, when he had yet only attained the age of 52, his frame, injured, no doubt by his services in the field in Mexico, in Kansas itself, and later as a brigadier general during part of the rebellion, was enfeebled by a stroke of paralysis, and it seems probable that his once vigorous intellect suffered materially from the same assault, as it falls to the lot of the historian to record, with deep regret, that he fell by his own hand on the 11th of July, 1866, in Leavenworth City.

The state sustained Abraham Lincoln by arms in the field, and by its vote at the ballot box, remembering how manfully the president had upheld the cause of Kansas long before there was a probability that he would ever be President of the Union. In the election of 1864, when McClellan mistook his *role*, and offered himself as successor for the brave man then in office, the state gave a majority of 12,750 for their tried friend the upholder of the Union, the popular vote for McClellan being only 3,691. The vote for President Grant in 1868 was 31,048, and in 1872, although the opponent was their old advocate Horace Greeley, they upheld Grant with a vote of 67,048, a majority of 34,078. Having thus set forth the political record of Kansas as a state, it is time that we should look to its evidences of social and educational advancement.

The school system of a country is not only the mark of its present status in society, it is also the measure of its ultimate advancement. Schools may certainly exist, before or after the people shall have risen to a comprehension of the place that academical instruction should occupy in human history, as for instance in those kingdoms in which the schoolmaster's art must be supplemented by compulsory legislation on the one side, a case by no means uncommon, or on the other as illustrated in the fact, well known to every student of history, that the schools of the Roman Empire still subsisted long after the barbarians had overrun Europe, and when the people had no desire for intellectual culture. It is the glory of Kansas that the school system now operated in the state is due to the will and the intelligence of the

people themselves, and in that fact consists their chief fitness and special value.

The courage of Kansas has been conspicuously marked in the readiness with which school burdens have been assumed, and the difficulties attendant upon the establishment of good schools in a sparsely settled country have been faced. The cost of good buildings and ample furniture is but slight where millions of people are congregated within a small territory, but when a few thousands, or a few hundred thousands are scattered over a territory so great as Kansas, the load to be carried would be intolerable to men of only average attainments, long before there would be school accommodation of the most meagre kind within the reach of every child. Kansas has breasted the ascent in this struggle with the same manly energy that marked her sons in the great battle at Mission Ridge, and the result cannot fail to be similarly victorious. The policy is sound that will contemn the present difficulty, however great, if it can by any means be mastered; that will permit the children of the state to be educated to the highest point that their own ambition and good sense may render possible. The school property of Kansas has gone on increasing every year from the beginning; but not to weary the reader with details, there are now 3,715 schools in Kansas, 211 having been built in the year 1875, and no less than 399 of that number having been constructed in the year 1874.

Many of the buildings indicated are plain and inexpensive, ten of the schools erected in 1875 were only of logs, but 146 were frame buildings, 10 were of brick and 42 were stone. Within the same time, $9,845 was expended in furniture and apparatus, to permit of the work of tuition being prosecuted in the manner most likely to prove efficient. Thus it will be seen that Kansas offers to the whole population of the world a wide area for settlement and industrial progress, with the special advantage of such facilities for training as elsewhere can seldom be found, except in the throng of great cities under the pressure of heavy rentals, and the terrible competition that grinds down labor to its lowest stage of remuneration.

The maintenance of the school system depends upon a state tax of one mill, which yields $121,000, the interest on the school fund

invested which yields $91,000, the interest on obligations for school lands sold, $114,000, and the remainder from local taxes. The endowments of the schools are not clear and satisfactory. There are claimants on many parts of the lands set apart for school endowments who appear to have been in possession before the allotment was made, and some portions fall within Indian reservations, but all such mistakes and remissnesses will be remedied in due time, when we shall be able to say something more of the magnificent system of endowments that is conveyed in the phrase that school lands are "estimated" to contain, or are "estimated" to be worth so much.

The permanent school fund is steadily growing, and bringing interests of from 6 and 7 to even 10 per cent., according to modes of investment. Sales of school lands are always being added, and the aggregate reached last year, that is to say, in 1875, was $1,159,923. Another fund nearly as great is now due on unpaid installments for lands sold on time, so that the permanent fund will soon be very large indeed. The system of superintendency in Kansas leaves no room for doubt that the whole amount will speedily be made available for the purposes intended to be served by the endowment. The rapid growth of the community itself is steadily paralleled by the increase of the permanent fund, and there is an ever-growing resolution that the sum shall be forever sacred from encroachment for any purpose whatsoever.

The development of the school system of Kansas has had two eras: that of the territory, under the organic law, which was warped to evil purposes by the Shawnee legislature; and that of the state, determined by the voice of the people. There is now an able supervision and wise control of the machinery of instruction and training, but there was nothing of the kind in the days preceding the overthrow of the Lecompton constitution. There was no school law until 1855, fourteen months after the first organization of the territory. In the year 1855, the law provided that common schools should be open to white children and persons ranging from 5 to 21 years of age. After the Lecompton party had been ousted from office, that law gave place to another, in 1858, which said the schools shall be open to all children, free and without charge. Distinctions were abolished, the hateful

color line was abandoned, and ever brain should have incentives to training.

The election of territorial superintendents began with an appointment by the governor of the territory, in February, 1858. and thereafter was made by the vote of the people. The salary of that official was small, much too small for the work imposed. being only $1,500 per year, but it is the good fortune of Kansas to have in the ranks of its well educated industrial classes many hundreds of men, so desirous for the successful prosecution of school training, that they gladly give their services for smaller amounts than their talents would command in other walks of usefulness. The names of Noteware, Greer and Douglas occur in the territorial record from 1858 to 1861, when the state organization came into force, and those who are best acquainted with the duties and the men will bear witness that there was no lack of ability for the prosecution of an onerous duty which was discharged with conspicuous zeal.

County superintendents were not appointed until 1858, and the amounts allowed to them by way of remuneration were small indeed; but necessity has no law, and it must be allowed that if the pay was small the range of duty was certainly ample. The responsibilities and the reward have alike increased of late years, and, as a rule, the men elected to this class of offices deserve well of the community for the painstaking and conscientious way in which their work is carried through. Under the law of 1855, there was an inspector and three trustees in each district, and those men were absolute masters of all educational facilities, the chief, if not the only, qualification being the oath prescribed by the Shawnee legislature to prevent free state men assuming the position of trustee, inspector or teacher.

The new system gives all rule into the hands of the people, by the officers of their choice, without any degrading oaths or any obligation except to further the cause of education. The system now in force gives to the people the fullest control of the machinery and of the men also, within reasonable limits, by whom the system is administered. The school law of 1855 was the school law of Missouri, the code of that state having been adopted *in globo* by the men at Shawnee, with such changes of name and

place as the adoption called for, and such punitive additions as were supposed likely to deter abolitionists and free soil men from interfering in public business, even to the extent of giving an opinion on any of the matters most nearly related to their own interests and those of their children.

The provision made for education, in 1855, was in every way inadequate to the wants and demands of the people, and, just as soon as the people were permitted to govern themselves, change in every direction became the order of the day. More efficient teachers were found, and, when procured, were better treated, and the formation of union or graded school districts became an object of solicitude, no provision of that kind being found in the territorial enactments. Missouri had been governing Kansas, and the border counties of that state had no sympathy with the schoolmaster in any part of his vocation. Possibly, the ferule and the birch — which have been called the tree of knowledge — were the only means by which the teacher could make impressions upon the people of those districts.

Teachers' institutes were not favored in territorial days. Common schools were restricted by the means as schools in the broader districts, and the imposition of taxes was vested in the trustees and inspector. Practically the law was inoperative, as, except in rare instances, the free soil party, the great bulk of the community, would not obey the laws, nor be assessed by the taxes of the Shawnee clique. With the advent of popular rule, even to the extent that popular rule obtained in 1857–8, the change for the better was remarkable. It was now evident that funds were to be provided by men of family who wished to see a reasonably efficient plan in operation, under which their children would procure a fair share of the scholastic training of the age.

The annual report of territorial days might be anything or nothing, and was not likely to be of much account, all power and all labor being devolved upon the officers before named, who were to receive no remuneration, and who had for their head the secretary of the territory, Mr. Woodson, a man with sufficient education to be dangerous, but without the slightest sympathy with the people of Kansas. The report now demanded for the information of the legislature, and through that body, of the press

and the people, is an intelligent and intelligible digest of the progress made, and made possible, by the system administered in the state; and it is the duty of the state superintendent to procure such returns from every institution as will enable him to submit his facts in good order, and with a reasonable approach to completeness. There was no summary of school returns in 1855–'6 or '7, and in 1858 the returns were only partial, as we find that only three counties reported concerning school affairs, in which only fifty districts were organized, and only 866 children were reported as of school age. There was a material improvement in 1859, when sixteen counties out of thirty-five reported; 222 school districts were organized, 88 districts sent in their reports; 7,029 children of school age were found in the several districts, and 2,087 were enrolled and in attendance more or less complete.

There was a larger average of peace in the territory than had been realized at any former time, consequently schools were more in demand among all classes, as well as better organized for all purposes of tuition and correspondence. $7,045 was raised for school buildings in 1859, and private subscriptions amounted in the same year to $6,883, besides a sum of $6,233 that had been raised by taxation for school purposes. Private schools were reported in 1860 to the number of 132, and Supt. Greer implies that there had been private schools in considerable number through all the time of trouble. The families coming into Kansas from the northern states were naturally desirous to procure training for their children, but it will be seen that their means and opportunities must have been very limited, when it is remembered that midnight assassins, incendiaries, robbers and border ruffians, thronged in all parts of the territory, making life a torture, and education almost an impossibility.

The state system of education dates from 1861, and its provisions are in the main just and prudent. The legislature is called upon to encourage intellectual, moral, scientific and agricultural improvement, by uniform systems of schools in the several grades, including normal, preparatory, collegiate and university departments, making no distinction in the rights of males and females. The laws of 1858–9 were adopted with some few amendments.

Free and complete education for all classes was the object aimed at, and the means have been proportioned so far as the condition of the state would permit. The state superintendent's salary, made only $1,200 per annum at first, was increased to $2,000 in 1873. The choice of officials is in the hands of the people, unless a vacancy occurs at any time between elections, and the duties of the superintendent are various and important; such as usually fall to such officers in the most enlightened states of the Union. Teachers' institutes are expressly provided for in every senatorial district, every year, and the state superintendent is charged with their supervision. The men who have held the office since 1861, are Wm. A. Griffith, S. M. Thorp, Isaac Goodnow, P. McVicar and H. D. McCarty. The present incumbent is John Fraser, who assumed office on the 11th of January, 1875.

County superintendents were only allowed $2.00 per day for the time actually employed on their duties under the law of 1861, but since that time their remuneration has been made to depend upon the extent of the duty devolving upon them. Those having school districts with less than 2,000 children of school age receive now $3.00 per day for the time necessarily employed, and others with higher numbers varying from $1,000 per annum, if over 2,000 and under 3,000, to $1,500 for those having districts with 5,000 children and over. Incorporated cities are excluded from all such enumerations. Those who receive fixed salaries are expected to give the whole of their services in consideration thereof to the work of education in the districts in which they serve. The duties devolving upon county superintendents are such as may well employ the whole time of men of first class ability with great advantage to the children under supervision.

The formation of school districts is a duty incumbent on the county superintendent, who is expected to provide in the most efficient manner for the convenience of the general public within the county under his control. The powers of school districts and provisions as to their indebtedness have been defined by the legislature with practical wisdom, and the school system generally cannot fail to prove satisfactory to the people of Kansas as long as they are capable of controlling their own affairs. Officers are chosen by popular vote, and their terms of service are brief, the

nominations to temporary vacancies only falling into the hands of the county superintendent.

Union or graded schools, and the districts within which they are to operate, have been cared for in an especial manner, as it is seen that the higher branches of education are those in which society has the largest interest. The teaching of teachers by emulation, attrition and mutual help is provided for under the arrangement for teachers' institutes, as already set forth in naming the duties of state superintendent. Public schools in the cities of the several classes where they are incorporated under special charters, are entitled to procure their share of the school fund subject to such regulations as may have been made and approved for control and supervision.

School district libraries are made objects of particular legislation, as it is wisely thought that well selected books, well used, are equivalent to university training for some orders of minds. Such libraries may be procured by a direct tax, if the people so will, but it is expressly provided that the books shall consist of histories, travels, biographies and scientific works. Probably the limitation thus placed is perfectly necessary, as in many libraries almost the entire demand is for works of fiction, and even in works of that class the most sensational and trashy are most preferred. Teachers' associations for all purposes of culture, are especially commended to the fostering care of state superintendents and all other officials as it is perceived that every means that will tend toward improving the teacher must act advantageously upon the pupil who is capable of being taught. Independent of legal sanction and support, there is in Kansas an admirable association of teachers, which has achieved very valuable results, having been in operation since 1863, and its annual sessions are looked foward to with interest, not only by those engaged in tuition, but by all classes of the community, because of the high intellectual grade of the men and women who are identified with its operations. Institutions of that class are rare even in states much farther advanced than Kansas, and it is an honorable fact in the history of the young state that there has been so much of permanency and solidity in an association which originated in a year so marked by depression as 1863, in the acme of the rebellion, when

Quantrell and such as he believed that the flag of the union could be trailed beneath their feet. It is, however, only one instance indicating the high tone of Kansas.

The Educational Journal of Kansas was assisted by a proviso that every school district should be provided with one volume of that publication, and it was doubtless anticipated that the work would make its own way subsequently among those persons who were thus enabled to peruse its pages; but unfortunately, there was a withdrawal of state support in 1874, and the work came to an end, because a publication peculiarly sectional could not appeal to the general public, accustomed to read for amusement quite as much, if not more, than for instruction.

A state board of education was provided for in March, 1873, the members being the state superintendent, the chancellor of the state university, the president of the state agricultural college, and the principals of the state normal schools. State diplomas are issued by the board to teachers who are found worthy of such certificates of merit after two years' teaching in the state. The board is authorized to issue diplomas of various grades. Under that law three annual examinations have been held, and 36 certificates have been issued in all, in 1873–4 and '5.

In view of the fact that some parents and guardians are not mindful of the duties properly belonging to them as the education of youth, an act was passed in March, 1874, compelling all such persons to send the children under their control to school for at least twelve weeks in every year from the time that they attain the age of eight years until they are fourteen years old. The child may be sent to a public school or to a private school, at the option of the person in charge of the child, but six weeks of the time must be consecutive. There are limitations to the compulsory power, as in cases of ill health, or extreme poverty, and the entire want of such clothing as would be essential; but failing compliance with the law where no valid excuse can be assigned, the penal clauses are of such a character as will be likely to secure compliance with the enactment. The duty to give proper training to the mind of a child should be held by every state to be as imperative as the necessity to provide food for the body. Of course none but the depraved or eccentric would require the operation of such a

law; but it is well to find that foremost thinkers are grasping the nettle danger with so much vigor and success. The details of the enactment are complete, and the officers who are to carry out the provisions of the measure are specifically indicated.

School funds are protected and directed by legislative action in Kansas in accordance with the congressional act of 1841, and the division of the proceeds of all such funds, as well as of any increase that may come from time to time, is so guarded that it seems improbable that any malversation can at any time occur. The support of the common schools of the state rests upon the interest of the permanent school fund which is divided *pro rata* among the school districts; the state tax of one mill on the dollar, divided in the same way as the other item; the county school fund from estrays, fines paid for exemption from military duty, or for breaches of the penal laws; every county dividing its own fines among its own school districts *pro rata;* and district taxes levied for school purposes in the district by which the sum is to be expended. The moneys thus allotted from the several funds are to a certain extent earmarked, so that moneys meant for one purpose cannot be applied to any other.

The quantity of land to which Kansas is entitled under the act of 1841, has not been definitely settled; but it is expected that not less than 2,000,000 acres will be thus appropriated. Whatever the quantity may be to which the state is entitled under the act of admission, it will not of course be as liberal as the promises made, should the state accept the Lecompton constitution, and in consideration of the services rendered by the sons of Kansas from the breaking out of the war until its end, as well as on account of the certainty that the appropriation will be well used, the most liberal construction should be placed upon the law in this instance. The provisos, as to the sales of land so granted for school purposes, are of such a character as that there can hardly be a doubt that the children will receive the full advantage of the endowment in the cultivation of their God given faculties, which will be used, if properly trained, for the advantage of the state and of the union.

Some idea may be gained as to the progress of education in Kansas from the quotation of but a few figures. There were, in

1861, only 12 counties reporting, and, at the close of the rebellion, there were 35, which in the last year, 1875, had more than doubled, as there were 71. In the first year of state government there were 217 organized districts; at the close of the war, 847; and in 1875 no less than 4,560. The districts do not all report. Only 114 reported in 1861, and in 1865, 721, but in the last year reports came in from 4,280. In 1861, there were 2,310 children enrolled, and there are now 142,606, with an average daily attendance of 85,580, employing 5,383 teachers, of whom more than one-half are women. The value of school property is now estimated at $4,096,527, and in 1861, it was less than $10,000. Much more might be said on the several points glanced at, but figures must not be pushed to excess.

The State University, provided for under the law already named, is an institution of great merit, and it has achieved much good for the community; but it is only in its infancy, and may be said to have scarcely commenced its greater usefulness. Literature, science and the arts are to be cultivated, and a love of learning in every branch diffused by the university. The act to locate the institution was passed in February, 1863, and at or near the city of Lawrence was named for the site of the building. Educational work commenced on the 12th of September, 1866. The start should have been made with six departments: Science, Literature and the Arts, first; then Law, Medicine, Theory and Practice of Elementary Instruction; Agriculture; and, finally, the Normal Department; but circumstances rendered the complete accomplishment of that design impossible, and only the first department of Science, Literature and the Arts has so far been established. The curriculum is high; much more exacting than that of many European colleges and universities; but the superior energy and the fair facilities afforded have enabled many to graduate with honors. Students desiring to confine their attention to special branches are allowed to do so, subject to the advice of the faculty. The apparatus of instruction includes all that is necessary for a complete course of laboratory practice in analytical chemistry; equally complete preparation for students of astronomy, engineering, and for a wide range of experiments in mechanics and physics.

The cabinet collections for the study of natural history contain upwards of 20,000 specimens in botany, geology and zoology mainly, but every department is well supplied. The library is increasing rapidly, and is very large already. There are no charges for the full enjoyment of all the advantages named, except a contingent fee of $5 per session, which sum is returned to those who are so unfortunate as to fail in the preliminary examinations. Orphans of soldiers, or of those who were killed in the Quantrell massacre, are exempted from even that small fee. Under such circumstances, there are few, indeed, having the ambition to study, who need be shut off from the benefits of university training. The expenses of living are generally so light that students can be boarded for about $4 per week, and those who club together live on much less than that small sum, while they are amassing treasures of knowledge and habits of culture worth more than the stream of Pactolus.

There are two buildings; one finished in 1866 was used at the outset for purposes of instruction. It is a stone edifice on a lot of ten acres within the city limits. The new building, half a mile to the south, is in a lot of forty acres, just outside the city bounds. This structure was first occupied in December, 1872. Lawrence voted $100,000 as a free will offering toward the new building, in February, 1870, and also gave to the state $10,300 as the nucleus of a permanent fund for the university, the old building and the two lots of ground. Such munificence on the part Lawrence cannot be too highly praised. The whole amount is estimated by the board of regents at $180,300. The sum given in money, besides that earmarked for the building, was originally a gift for educational purposes from Amos Lawrence, in whose honor the city was named, as he was one of the few wealthy men that responded to the first call for help to establish free state men in Kansas when the Kansas-Nebraska bill became law, and it was evident that Missouri, if not the south, had resolved beyond recall upon making Kansas a slave state.

The government of the university is vested in a board of regents, and the immediate control of the departments as they may be severally formed, will be committed to their several faculties. The general government has made an endowment of seventy-two sec-

tions of land, besides whatever may be given in support of the same object by the state, and it is expressly provided that no religious sect or sects shall at any time control the university nor the common schools of the state, nor the funds of those institutions. This proviso is one of the articles of the state constitution. The state annually makes an appropriation to cover the expenses of the university, and some small amount is received by way of contingent fees, but tuition in every branch of study is free. The lands granted by way of endowment have not been sold, and consequently no income has yet been derived from that source. The total amount of the several appropriations by the state legislature to the present time amount to $202.978.

The state agricultural college commends itself at the first glance to every observer, because it promises to enable men to deal in a more intelligent and effective way with all the problems of cultivation, whereby the earth can be made to give forth its increase for the sustenance of the human family. The reader of books finds therein a priceless pleasure, which in some way sooner or later may bring material profit to him or to his, but numbers are unable to look far enough ahead to discover the gain that comes from book learning. There is no such drawback from even the commonest appreciation of the value to be found in the study of agriculture as a science. The veriest clods have seen lands on which science has expended its lore, side by side with other lands dealt with under the old regime of stolid ignorance, and the result has been as marked and as continuous as the flow of a river. There is no basis for the doubter as to the worth of sound agricultural training, and precisely for that reason colleges of this description are being sustained in all parts of the Union. The Kansas state agricultural college is located near Manhattan in Riley county, pursuant to an act passed in 1863. Congress passed a law donating lands to every state that should establish colleges in aid of agriculture and the mechanic arts, in July, 1862, and that wise provision has led to the formation of numerous institutions, in some of which the work of instruction is perfunctorily executed, and the students take as much or as little interest as they please in a study that seems to be bereft of practical application.

There is no such drawback upon the usefulness of the college

at Manhattan, the men teaching and the men taught are thoroughly practical in their modes of operation. They want theories, and will master them, because they are the soul and essence of practice, but they will not rest with either half of the two processes, thought and deed, out of which the work of progress must be elaborated. The work was commenced on the second of September, 1863. There are four departments engaged in aiding to develop: agriculture, mechanic arts, military science and tactics, and literature and science. Prominence is given to agriculture and to the several mechanic arts, just in proportion as they seem to be adapted to the wants of Kansas, and to the several branches of science and learning as they tend to the furtherance of the great aim of the institution. The curriculum is adapted to carry out that scheme of instruction, and there are courses of study for six consecutive years eminently adapted to supply Kansas with a class of farmers, mechanics, strategists and literati whose learning in their several lines of study must materially aid their own course in life, while contributing to make them invaluable citizens. The studies of the several classes offer an intensely interesting picture of the pursuits on which human life may be expended with pleasure and profit.

The monks of old were hard working men, devoting themselves to farm work and other arduous employments, perhaps some of them having very worthy ideas as to the application of thought to the cultivation of the soil, but they soon fell into easier customs. The student of agriculture has his term of study diversified by the application and working out of his ideas, but with the knowledge that he must soon return to the field to work out his problem alone with nature and art. He finds himself called upon in his course of study to give one term, consisting of five recitations in each week to algebra; two terms to political economy and practical law; two to practical horticulture; three to practical agriculture; three to geology, mineralogy and meteorology; four to drawing; five each to botany and zoology; physics and chemistry; practical mathematics and political economy. But he is not yet through; he must take up English and history for seven terms; legal, mental and moral philosophy for six; shops and practical mathematics, eight each; and then conclude

with twelve terms of field and shop practice. The man that is capable of passing through such a system of study without brightening his faculties may well be given up as a hopeless case.

The curriculum for the other sex is varied, of course, but in every way just as completely practical and thorough. It would be interesting, would space permit, to summarize the course, but that, unfortunately, is not practicable. The records of the college show that the practical thought of Kansas trends in this direction, and inasmuch as every form of industry must needs be aided by the course of investigation pursued, it is not difficult to perceive that some of the ablest and most successful men and women, whose names and lives will adorn the future of the state, are now procuring their culture at Manhattan. In the collegiate year of 1873–4, there were 124 male and 59 female students — in all, 183; and in the calendar year, 208. The average age of students is 18 years.

There are five buildings, the old college, the new building, the mechanical building, the boarding house, and a carpenter's shop. All the buildings are of stone. The grounds include lawns, nurseries and college farm — in all, 255 acres. The Bluemount Central College Association gave the old college building and appointments with 100 acres of land for the purposes of the agricultural college. Manhattan township gave $12,000 to help purchase the farm, and the congressional grant was 90,000 acres. Some of the lands indicated fell within railroad limits, and being of higher value were reckoned as equal to two acres for each one. That reduced the grant to 81,601 acres. The total endowment is valued at $432,505. Tuition is free, as it should be, but when investments are completed there will be an income of about $50,000 per annum. The aid received from the state up to November, 1875, amounted to $129,643. In all such statements we avoid fractional amounts.

The government of the college is vested in a board of regents, consisting of the governor, secretary of state, superintendent of instruction, president of the college, and nine others, nominated by the governor and confirmed by the senate; but not more than three of such nominees shall be members of the same religious denomination. The board of regents has power to remove any

or all of the professors should cause arise, but the immediate government of each department is vested in the faculty, guided in some degree by the advice of the board. The value of such an institution so administered needs no further comment.

There are three state normal schools, located severally at Emporia, Leavenworth and Concordia, and the course of training in each institution aims at the complete preparation of both sexes for the work of tuition. At Emporia work commenced in 1865. Latin and German may be acquired, but students may decline if they choose. Every other part of thorough training is imperative. During the second year French may be acquired, but it is not insisted upon. The same may be said of Greek in the third year. The system pursued is being further developed every year to render the professional training of teachers as nearly as possible perfect; not to cram the mind of the learner with dry facts, but to prepare the intellect for the grand work of developing the resources of other minds. It is saying much for an institution to assert that it even approaches to completeness in so large an aim.

The first term of the school in 1865 saw only 18 students in February, closing in June with 42, and in 1874 there was an aggregate of 236. The building is of brick and stone, and the city of Emporia gave $10,000 toward the erection. There is a land endowment which accrues to the state for normal school training, under the act of admission, under which 38,460 acres came into the possession of the board of directors, and only 480 acres have been sold. The income of the school comes mainly from state appropriations, as only an incidental fee of $2.00 per term is charged to each student. The amount voted by the state up to November, 1875, aggregated $168,373.

Students are admitted upon their signing a pledge that they propose to devote themselves to teaching as a profession in the state of Kansas. The board of directors is nominated by the governor to the number of six, and the several state officers are also members. The advantages of the institution are open to both sexes, and without regard to color. Persons not entitled to admission by law, may be admitted on payment of fees, if the board of directors see fit to make an order to that effect. Exper-

imental schools are established in connection with the normal school, so that the methods inculcated in daily training may be reduced to practice under proper inspection. Applicants for admission are required to pass a preliminary examination, and the character of each person is also considered a fit matter for full investigation when necessary.

The normal school established at Leavenworth is conducted on precisely similar principles, and it was located at that point in consequence of an offer from the city to supply for the purpose a school building, which with its furniture and apparatus cost $80,000. The board of education undertook to keep the building heated, insured and in perfect repair in consideration of the normal school being located there; and the fourth story being used for the normal school proper, the high school department under the Leavenworth board became the practicing departments for the normal school students. There were other arrangements and provisos, looking more particularly to the personal convenience of students, which determined the government to close with the decidedly advantageous offer. The amount appropriated by the state to sustain this school, has aggregated $32,533, and the school has no other source of income.

The state normal school at Concordia was established by the government on precisely similar conditions, the government is similar, the plan of study and practice the same, and the degree of success bears a very similar proportion. This school was established in September, 1874, when there were 66 students, which number increased to 171 in 1875. State appropriations constitute the only income of the institution, the amount received up to November, 1875, being $5,297. The diploma issued by either of the boards is a life certificate of fitnes to teach in any school in Kansas.

CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS.

Religious thought had from the first been the base of colonization in Kansas. Christian equality was the idea that brought old John Brown and the men who acted with him, clear and strong in Puritan resolve, to fight the battle of the slave upon this soil; and the ribald element with which they contended, only

made them stronger in their primal convictions. Hundreds of the men, whose lives were spent in the effort to make Kansas free, and who were sent to the front later in the struggle to maintain the union, could look back as he did to the Mayflower and its remembrances as a source of strength. With such men, and a community built and defended by them, religion was broad based, and could not fail to give a tone to society. The influence of that fact is seen in the vital progress already made by the state, in works of charity, and in schools, which from before the days of state government were open to all classes, without regard to color or condition. There was no uniformity of creed, no covenant signed or insisted on as between Presbyterians and Independents, as the price of help, the views of men varied from the farthest extreme of orthodoxy on one hand, to the widest latitudinarianism on the other, but back of all these was an enduring faith in God.

Hence, there has been wide diversity, yet constant agreement in the main, among the several classes, securing breath, freedom and strength among the churches in Kansas. This is an element of power to the community. Men who are seeking homes for their families, desire to settle down where religious thought is well founded, and where the school keeps pace with the church. The state owes much of its speedy development to that cardinal strength, and its population of six hundred thousand souls, will soon become millions, because of the same motive continuing in action. There is no organization that aims at or could succeed in bridling free thought among our citizens, into a stunted and tame orthodoxy; but men rally to their several churches, under manifold names, like regiments and companies to their flags, making one glorious army to fight against sin and wrong, with a broad manly recognition of the value of every creed, and more especially of the freedom out of which those creeds and their consequences arise.

There are portions of the Union, outlying and remote, not yet built into the great arch of freedom, under which the nations of the world must pass; where church organizations are few and far between, but there are not many such, and they are but rudimentary. When civilization and law come to take hold upon them,

order and religion, with the school as their concomitant, will be found not only as their auxiliaries but as their vouchers before society, shorn of which there can be no substantial advancement by accretion from without. Kansas has passed through no such elementary condition. The church in the souls of men came with the first colonizing force to the site of Lawrence, and its altar fires have never been extinguished.

The several religious organizations in Kansas would, if they were treated in detail, make an extensive book, and in consequence, there can only be a summary statement of the proceedings and strength of a few of the more prominent churches, still it will be understood that each body thus named is, to a large extent, representative in its character, and stands for all the subordinate divisions of the radical idea from which the larger agglomeration naturally resulted. Some of the church organizations in this state have histories stretching back many years before there was an attempt to build a state upon this territory and it is desirable to place on record the main facts in connection with their first establishment. This will serve as a kind of datum, to resolve the question what churches and how many should be specifically noticed in these pages. The notices will stand in the order suggested chronologically, as the missionary spirit sent forward advance guards and videttes, to skirmish over the ground, preparing the way for the grand army of truth and love with its innumerable battalions now in force and irresistible.

The Catholic church came first into the valley of the Mississippi in the person of Pere Marquette, and it seems to be perfectly in order that its mission house should be the first in Kansas. DeSoto and Coronado, also Catholics, were in the heart of Kansas a century before the Jesuit missionary, and his companion, Joliet, who also had been educated by the Fathers. The voyages, journeys and expeditions of La Salle, one of the same school of religious thought and training, had made the civilized world comparatively familiar with our rivers and soil; and the Jesuits had never loosed their hold upon the Indian tribes, as they moved toward the west. Father Quickenborn, superior of the Jesuit house of Florissant, performed missionary labors among the Osage Indians, near the site now known as the Osage mission,

early in the year 1827. This was in Labette county, although no counties were then dreamed of, and for many years later this country was considered the permanent abode of the Indian race, where the tribes were to dwell together in peace, under a protectorate of civilized power. There was a recommencement of missionary effort among the Pottawatomies at about the same date. We say recommencement, advisedly, because the first mission established on Lake Superior, in the seventeenth century, had commenced the relation of religious teacher, with the ancestors of that nation, and established an enduring regard for Christianity.

Leavenworth City was made the location of the first mission among white settlers, near the old fort, in the year 1855, when the Rt. Rev. Bishop Meigs said mass and preached to his first Kansas congregation, consisting of only nine persons. In this city a church was built in the same year, as the Catholics slowly increased in numbers, and the bishop had many opportunities to witness the success of his labors. This was not the first church building necessarily, seeing how long the mission had been established. Father Odin erected a church at the Osage mission in 1829, and in the same year a church was built at the Pottawatomie station, by Father Felix Verreydt, but the churches, so called, were mere huts, not to be compared with some of the log chapels built in a day, in western New York and in Maine, when the first missionaries attempted to Christianize the Iroquois Nations and colonize Acadia, in the seventeenth century. It would be difficult now to find a vestige of those buildings.

The bishop had been consecrated for missionary labors among the Indians in March, 1851, and under his leadership thus transferred by the spread of the Union to a more populous field, the church has now in Kansas 202 organizations, the congregations of which, numbering children of Catholic parents as members, aggregate 37,198 persons, with 165 church buildings of various kinds, of an estimated value of $405,300. The growth of the church is marked and significant.

The Methodist Episcopals came next in point of date, being second only among the Indian nations, and first among the churches to attempt organization among the white settlers. The first missionary effort among the Indians was conducted by the

Rev. Thomas Johnson, on the Kansas or Kaw river, about eight miles from its junction with the Mississippi, in the year 1831, four years after the beginning of the Osage mission by the Roman Catholics. The first organization of a church took place in March, 1832, under the same pastor and the first converts were gathered in from the Shawnees and Delawares; a chief of the latter tribe being among the most influential upholders of the work. There is no record to show how soon after this date, the first church was erected by this denomination, but an old log edifice near what is known as the White Church, Wyandotte county, was probably the first, and a frame building, about five miles west of the large Manual Labor School, among the Shawnees, must have been built shortly afterwards, as both were dilapidated, although still in use in the year 1843, when the first reliable record concerning them appears. Probably both churches were built during the pastorate and under the superintendence of the Rev. Thomas Johnson. It is interesting thus to mark the beginnings of labor in what was emphatically the day of small things and to place in order the men by whom the work was accomplished.

Missionary labors among the Delawares, Wyandottes and Shawnees were certainly established as soon as possible after the tribes commenced to be located on this territory; and as soon as settlement was begun, under the provisions of the organic act, known as the Kansas-Nebraska bill, several missionaries were accredited to preach to and organize the community into what was certainly a church militant for many years. The ministers thus sent by the Methodist Episcopal church were the Revs. Wm. Goode, A. Stell, James S. Griffiney and A. L. Downey. They were all located at Wyandotte, pending such developments as would allow of their being more particularly placed, but soon afterwards, still in 1854, we find them distributed to the Delaware mission, Shawnee, Leavenworth, Atchison, Fort Riley and other places, vigorously extending their sphere of operations, organizing congregations wherever possible, and preparing the way for increased usefulness.

Church buildings were commenced in 1854–5, and not long after there was a special interdict placed upon the utterances of

Methodist preachers, whose tone did not accord with the views of the border ruffians and their directors; but to the great glory of the church, such menaces did not prevent the preachers and organizations continuing their labors. The Methodists grew stronger because of such denunciations, and the first building completed was the edifice in the city of Lawrence, where there are now seventeen prosperous churches of various denominations. The church at Leavenworth was second in order of completion by the Methodists, and that edifice stood almost alone, where there are now twenty-seven commodious buildings devoted to the work under the superintendency of the several denominations. The Methodist Episcopal church has now in Kansas 621 organizations, ninety-six church buildings, the church property being estimated at $340,400, and the membership of the church, only reckoning those who have voluntarly associated themselves with the work, being accepted after due inquiry, reaches the satisfactory aggregate of 22,696.

The Presbyterians date their missionary enterprise here from about the year 1837, seven years before the beginning of white settlement, although there were already white men scattered over the territory in connection with Indian agencies or as traders, or otherwise associated with the nations. Highland, about twenty-five miles north by west from Atchison, was the first location, as it is still the most favored, being the site of an excellent Presbyterian university; but the labors of the missionaries, Revs. Wm. Hamilton and S. M. Irvin, speedily made them known all over the territory. Most of the churches now operating in the state in connection with this denomination were organized by those zealous and untiring workers, or by the aid of the missionary effort in which they cooperated. The Westminster church at Leavenworth City, and the Presbyterian church at Junction City, near the confluence of the Smoky river and the Republican, where the Kansas river is formed, are the only exceptions to the rule just named. The first church organization of the old school Presbyterians seems to have been formed near the site of the city of Ottawa in the year 1840, but the name of the founder of the church does not appear. They were more intent upon effecting the work than anxious to write their names on the records.

The second church was formed in Doniphan county, somewhere in the northeastern extremity of Kansas, under the joint labors of the missionaries already named, but the exact location is not specified. This work dates from October 21, 1843, and beyond doubt, the preachers founded their well ventilated church edifice, under overarching trees, with the green sward for their luxurious carpet. When territorial organization began, there was a movement toward the settled districts, but it was not rapid, and it seems to have waited for a call, as the earliest church organization in that troubled era is recorded on the first of January, 1856, under the pastorate of the Rev. C. D. Martin, well and favorably known among the old settlers, as a sterling worker.

The New School began their organizations two years later, in 1858, when settled government was beginning to be enjoyed, after the people had passed through their major troubles. The labors of the Rev. James Brownlee found responses at Brownsville, Gardner, Black Jack, Olatta, De Soto, Spring Hill and Centropolis. Churches were erected at Auburn, Shawnee county, by the New School, and in Leavenworth City by the Old School, soon after this effort, but the dates have not been ascertained, and there are now 181 organizations, 82 church buildings, with church property in all valued at $370,300, and an aggregate of 6,826 members. This, of course, does not include the children of members nor any persons who have not voluntarily come into the several organizations of the Presbyterian church.

The Baptists inaugurated their missionary labor in Kansas about the year 1837, by the ministrations of the Rev. Mr. Meeker, among the Ottawas when that tribe first made its settlement in Kansas. The date of his coming is only approximately given, but he began the work of translation and soon afterwards caused to be printed in the language of the Ottawas, the sacred books of the scriptures, making the word a true gospel of glad tidings to that nation. He was amply rewarded for his enterprise, as a church organization was effected speedily, and nine-tenths of the Ottawas became members. The Ottawa tribes had welcomed Jesuit teachers nearly two centuries earlier, but the truth as now presented made so great and lasting an impression that when the first white settlers came into the country in 1854, seven-eighths

of all the adult males of the Ottawa nation were members of the Baptist church, and professing Christ. The first organization among the white settlers was made in 1855, in the month of June, nearly twelve months after settlement commenced, when seven members were formed into a church under the pastorate of the Rev. Mr. Hall. The first edifice erected now stands in the city of Atchison, having been raised under the leadership of the Rev. Mr. Alderson. There are 286 Baptist organizations in Kansas with a membership of 12,197 persons, and 63 church edifices valued at $246,650.

The Congregational church commenced missionary work in the midst of the troubles at Lawrence, in the year 1854, when it was doubtful whether the little handful of white settlers would not be driven out of the territory, or worse, by the infuriated hordes by which they were menaced. The Rev. S. Y. Lum could not be intimidated by the worst threats of the border ruffians, and he persevered in his labor so that there was an organization effected under his pastorate during the latter part of that year. The first church building connected with the Congregational denomination in Kansas was raised in the same city in 1857, and the organization has since that time so extended its operations that there are 121 churches, with a membership of 4,458, possessing church edifices to the number of 53, valued at $256,550.

The Episcopal church began its missionary effort in 1856, in the city of Leavenworth, when the Rev. Hiram Stone organized a parish under the name of St. Paul's church, on the 10th of December. The edifice now occupied in that parish was completed and consecrated by Bishop Kemper as St. Paul's church, on the 7th of December, 1857, after two years persistent missionary labor. The Right Rev. Thomas H. Vail is now bishop of the diocese, and there are 34 organizations in the state, consisting of 1,136 members, with 22 church edifices, and property valued at $173,000.

The United Presbyterian church began its labors at Berea, in Franklin county, in April, 1857, when the Rev. J. N. Smith represented the Associated church or Seceders. In July, three months later, the Rev. B. L. Balbridge was sent by the general assembly of the Associated Reformed Presbyterian church to

operate in Leavenworth, Geary City, Quindaro and Lawrence. There were thus two organizations in the field, but they coalesced in May, 1858, forming the United Presbyterian church. The first organization was formed in Berea by Mr. Smith in 1857, and in Leavenworth by Mr. Balbridge in 1858, church buildings being erected in the two cities in 1858 and '59 respectively. There are fourteen church buildings, valued at $49,200, and thirty-nine churches with a membership of 1,313.

CHAPTER XXIV.

POPULATION—STATE INSTITUTIONS—RAILROADS—RIVERS—AGRICULTURE AND LIVE STOCK.

Population. Many curious calculations have been made of late years to give a definite meaning to the sentence, "Centre of population," often used without special correctness in ordinary writing and conversation. Gen. Walker, who superintended the collection of the ninth census of the United States, went into particularly nice discriminations on this subject in computing the always changing centre for the United States as a whole, and for the several states and territories individually. It would be foreign to our purpose to enter at large upon this subject, but it is necessary thus briefly to say that the same process as that resorted to by him has been substantially applied to resolve the centre of population for the state of Kansas, and it is found that there has been a continuous change in this respect from the first properly taken census to the present time. The change was fourteen miles to the east on the same parallel of latitude, from 1860 to 1870, since which date there has been a tendency of the centre toward the southwest, so that it now rests in the northeasterly part of Lyon county. Popularly speaking, every city, town and hamlet is a centre of population, but when aiming to speak with a scientific accuracy, the term conveys a reference to that

point which is precisely the centre of the great mass of human life distributed over a range of country more or less extended. The present centre as determined by careful computation in 1875 lies in 38° 34′ 43″ latitude, and longitude 95° 59′ 20″, but the daily increase and change of population and settlement will continue to change our centre as long as there is life and motion in Kansas.

When the census was taken in 1860, there were 107,206 persons in the state of Kansas, and of course the depletion incidental to the rebellion, which called from Kansas a larger proportion of its male population than from any other state in the union, and the peculiar circumstances under which our troops fought, the animus with which they struggled to sustain the union, as on the bloody field of Chickamauga, at Mission Ridge and elsewhere, causing in their ranks a larger average of mortality than among the soldiers generally from other states, it might be expected that our increase during the ten years ending in 1870, would show but a small aggregate of gain. The result came out much larger than many dared to hope, as in 1870 there were 364,399 inhabitants, as ascertained by the census of that year, showing an improvement of nearly 240 per cent., or to speak with precision, of 23.9 per cent. per year. The gain of the United States as a whole, during the same term, amounted to 2.22 per cent. for ten years. The population was ascertained in 1875 to consist of 528,437 persons, and therefore cannot now be less than 600,000 as elsewhere stated. During the five years from 1870, the ascertained increment was 30 per cent. The suffering of the state from the locust visitation during the fall of 1874, led to a very considerable temporary decrease in population, as numbers who have not abandoned their residences here were absent in other states where they have spent the winter, and thus failed to be enumerated, although still substantially part of our population. The census was collected on the first day in March, just before the tourists and temporary absentees to the number of thousands returned. Opportunities occurred several months later in 1875 to test the population by a comparison of our voting with the election returns of former years, and it is evident after making every possible allowance for error, that the actual population of Kansas in the fall of 1875, was in excess of 568,000.

State Institutions. — *State Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb.*— The advanced intelligence which has marked the progress of the state, from the earliest days of territorial struggle, naturally prepares one to expect high tone in all matters affecting philanthropic effort, and the arrangement made for the education of the deaf and dumb of the state, between the ages of ten years and twenty-one, fully bears out that idea. The asylum is located at Olathe, under a law passed in 1866. Prior to that time, there had been only a partial assumption of this important duty by the state. Prof. Emery opened a school of this description in Baldwin City, Douglas county, in December, 1861, and, being a semi-mute, there was peculiar fitness in his effort. He had procured ample experience in the Indiana institution of the same kind, where he had served as an instructor. The circumstances of the time would not warrant the state in establishing an asylum at its own cost entirely, but there was such an urgent desire to effect something, that the legislature passed an act, in March, 1862, making an appropriation in favor of Prof. Emery's school. Similar appropriations were made in the two years following, after which changes were made, and during the year 1865, such further arrangements became necessary as resulted in the present asylum coming into operation in the year 1866, at Olathe. The act was passed in February, 1866, and Prof. Mount, who had become principal of the school in the interim, was transferred in the same capacity to the asylum. Prof. Burnside, of Philadelphia, assumed that position in April, 1867, but having resigned in the following November, was succeeded by Prof. Jenkins, whose services have given excellent results.

The legislature of 1873 made appropriation for the erection of a suitable building, of which only the east wing has yet been erected; but there is already a very handsome structure, and a promise of one of the most elegant edifices of the kind in the United States. The government of this asylum, and of all similar asylums for the blind, and for the insane, is vested in boards of trustees, appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the senate, under limitations to prevent any one county procuring a preponderance in their direction, and any persons being nominated to more than one such board. All persons who are in need of the

advantages offered by the asylum are eligible for admission upon compliance with the rules. There is no fee chargeable for board or tuition, and no certificate nor recommendation is necessary. The proper course is for the person who is interested on behalf of the candidate to write to the principal, stating the particulars of the case so far as known, and as soon as possible thereafter information is sent as to the time at which the pupil will be received; but whenever a candidate comes for admission at the commencement of a session, he is received irrespective of any such prescribed formula.

Persons under ten years of age, or above twenty-one, can be admitted by the board of trustees if they see fit, and pupils from other states are received on payment of $250 per session for tuition and maintenance. Six years is the recognized term during which pupils usually remain, but exceptions may be made by the principal and trustees in special cases of merit or distress. Pupils must be brought at the commencement of each session well supplied with clothes, and must remain until the end of the session, the second Wednesday in June in every year. No exceptions are made in this respect, unless in case of sickness. The session commences in September. The design of the trustees is to render the institution and the pupils self-supporting by the prosecution of useful trades. The girls are instructed in housework, needlework, millinery, and such avocations, the boys having a choice of various trades, work in the asylum or in the gardens and on the farm. The vacation is customarily spent among the friends of the pupils, and none are admitted who are mentally or physically incapable of education. This institution is closely guarded against expenditures for any purpose outside the avowed purposes of education and training, and it will be seen that much good can thus be accomplished under a perfect system with comparatively little outlay, contrasting the results aimed at by the asylum with the appropriations devoted to attain the end.

There is a complete staff of attendants under Mr. Jenkins, and the number of pupils has gradually increased from 28 pupils in 1868, to 70 in 1874. The report for that year says: "The male pupils now do considerable labor upon the grounds of the asylum. They have this fall plowed all the land devoted to the

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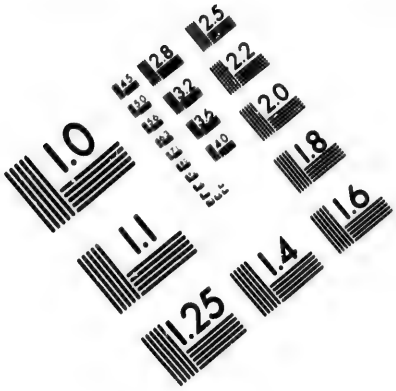

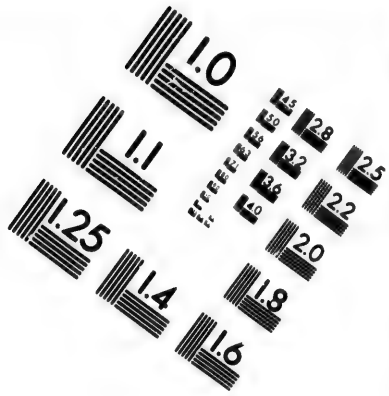

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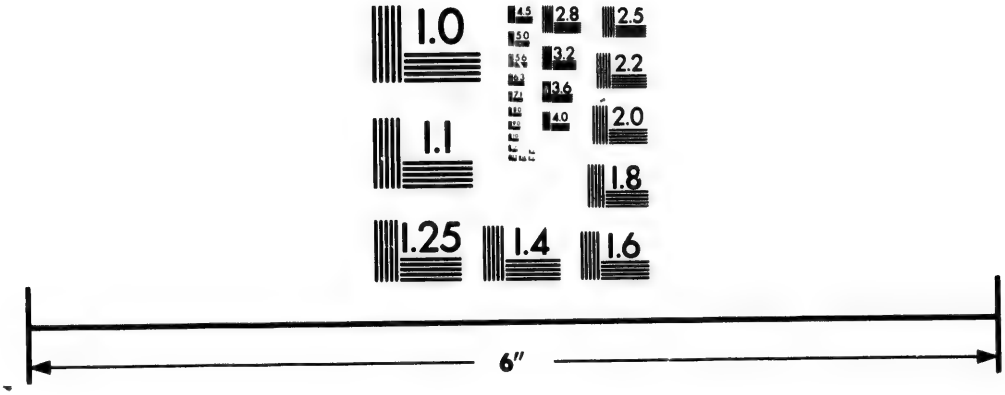

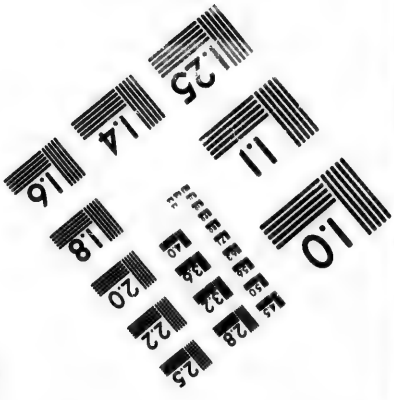

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garden, and performed much other labor to prepare it for the raising of vegetables. They have, moreover, performed much work in clearing away rubbish made by the workmen upon the east wing, and otherwise labored to render the grounds agreeable. I think the time has now arrived for the introduction of the trade of shoemaking. I would suggest that the necessary tools be provided, a room set apart for a shop, and a workman engaged to instruct a portion of the pupils in that handicraft at the opening of the next term of the school. The female pupils have performed much domestic labor. Indeed, as the number of male pupils has greatly exceeded that of the female pupils, the latter have had rather more than their share of work to perform. Several of the female pupils have learned to operate a sewing machine, and all will be taught its use as soon as they are old enough to be trusted with a machine. They also do considerable sewing for themselves and for the asylum." There are two buildings connected with the institution, and besides the fifteen acre lot on which the buildings stand, there are 160 acres used for farm purposes, about two miles east. The asylum is supported by state aid, but so nearly has it become self supporting that the total amount appropriated to all purposes, except building, from the commencement, has been only $151,038, a mere bagatelle in such a relation.

State Asylum for the Blind. — This institution is located at Wyandotte, and is free to all blind children in Kansas from the age of nine to twenty-one years, except as to clothing, traveling and incidental expenses. The government of all the institutions was described when referring to the asylum for the deaf and dumb. There are ten buildings, and the institution owns a site of ten acres. The purpose of the state has been to establish a family school, in which the youthful blind may be educated to become self supporting so far as is possible, considering their deprivation; but the limited means at the disposal of the government will not permit of its being converted into an infirmary for the treatment of diseases of the eye, nor can the institution be made into a hospital for the sick, nor into a home for the ailing and infirm. The asylum is necessarily limited to the preparation of blind youth for the practical duties of life; a design in every way benificent.

The pupils are taught reading in Boston type and New York points, spelling, writing with grooved cards, arithmetic, geography, grammar, physical geography, rhetoric, printing in New York point, ancient history and history of the United States, together with its constitution, geometry, and vocal and instrumental music. Many of the inmates are admirable musicians, and on the occasions on which their accustomed practices are held, it is quite pleasant to watch the intellectual eagerness depicted upon their sightless faces, when it almost seems as though the well tutored nervous system can be made to compensate the lack of vision. Boys are taught broom, brush and mattress making, and the girls receive instruction in sewing, knitting and fancy work. Many of the specimens of bead and other work exhibited to visitors are surprising specimens of ingenuity and good taste, so much so that it is difficult for one who has not seen the exquisite effects that can be attained by the sense of feeling, to believe in the genuineness of the exhibits.

During the year 1868 there were 13 pupils, and in the year 1874 there were 35. With larger means the area of usefulness could be extended, but even in the manner described the asylum has achieved excellent results. Superintendent Parker is a very efficient officer, and he is ably seconded by the matron, his wife, and the departmental assistants. It is very properly claimed that parents and guardians of the blind should cooperate with the officers of the institution, by training them before they arrive at the age for reception in the asylum, as well as by continuous effort in the intervals between the sessions. Many domestic duties can be taught at home and among relatives more easily than by strangers after the children are admitted. The rudiments of arithmetic can also be communicated in the same way, and the spelling and meanings of common words, with such facts in geography and history as may readily occur, forming a basis upon which subsequent training can raise a superstructure. It is found that in some families blind children are petted almost into imbecility, while in others they are entirely neglected, as though the absence of one sense rendered all the others of no avail. Blind children are as a rule very docile under proper training, and they can be taught almost everything that is desirable for persons in

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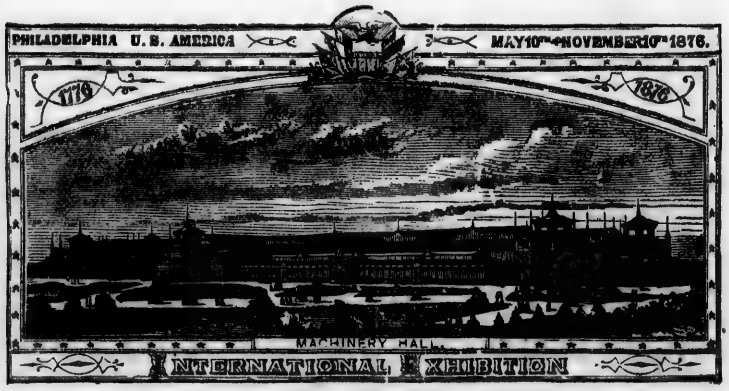
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their condition, provided that the requisite special and improved means are at their disposal.

The asylum is so managed, that imbeciles or persons of unsound mind, and those who have contracted improper habits, are excluded from its advantages for the sake of the other inmates. The same rule applies to confirmed invalids, as it would unwisely increase the expense of running the institution, supposing a hospital and set of nurses to be employed to meet the wants of the sick. The same rules as to being supplied with proper clothing and being present at the commencement of each session, apply to this asylum as have been named in connection with that for the deaf and dumb. During the summer, there is no provision for the support of pupils, consequently they are returned to their friends at the commencement of vacation. The institution depends upon state aid, but the total amount appropriated up to November, 1875, only amounted to $90,969, a very small sum, considering that the asylum was founded in 1868. There are 20,320 blind persons in the United States, as represented by the census, but there may be many cases of deprivation not enumerated; and there are twenty-seven asylums for their protection and education. There are only thirty public institutions of the kind in Europe, but there are many of great excellence, which are local and special in their operation. The first school seems to have been opened in Paris, in the year 1784. The first in this country was opened in Boston, in 1829 — the Perkins Institute and Massachusetts Asylum. The Paris asylum was initiated by Valentine Hauy, an *abbe*, brother of the celebrated mineralogist. His attention was called to the subject by his acquaintance with a blind pianist. The founder of the school was never successful in administration, but he invented the system of teaching by raised letters, and is properly named the "Apostle of the Blind." It was said of Valentine Hauy, by Dr. Howe, that "The Abbe possessed genius, generosity and zeal, his only lack was common sense." There are millions who are lacking in common sense, who have none of the other high qualifications to call attention to their want.

The world is, in one aspect, completely shut off from the blind. The rich feast of colors, in which nature delights to robe the out-

ward semblance of things, depends largely upon the adaptation of the human eye, and, for the blind, all those conditions have no existence. Their universe is circumscribed by the distances that can be reached by their fingers, save when the soul expands itself into infinitude, hence they have a peculiar claim upon the more favored humanity that is blessed with all the senses. Cheselden cured a blind boy who had attained considerable age before having the use of his eyes, and, although up to that time, all possible care and tuition had been bestowed upon the child, it was two months before his optic nerves could be educated to know that pictures were meant to represent solid bodies; after that time, the truth gradually dawned upon his intellect, and then he was disappointed when he touched each picture to find that it was only a plane surface.

State Asylum for the Insane. — This establishment is located at Osawatomie, the name of the region being arrived at by a junction of the appellations of two tribes, the Osages and Pottawatomies, who were combined for state purposes upon their removal to Kansas. Hence the name Osa-watomie. The government of the institution requires no specific description beyond that already bestowed upon asylums. The superintendent, steward and matron are the resident officials. There are 160 acres of land bestowed upon the asylum, and the buildings consist of a main structure, in two sections, each 40 by 75 feet and three stories high. There are also outbuildings, an ice house, a barn and a cow stable; but the buildings are falling somewhat into disrepair. The money cost of the asylum used to be charged to each county, but it is now met by direct appropriations from the treasury, and it is found that the cost of maintenance per head is a fraction under 20 cents per day — a scale that amply provides a good dietary.

Patients, who are to be supported at the cost of their friends, are admitted under proper precautions, the probate judge of the county and at least one practicing physician must certify as to the insanity of the person to be admitted, and sufficient security is obtained for the satisfaction of proper demands. The insane, who have no friends capable of maintaining them, are admitted with much less ceremony, and the state assumes full responsibility.

In the year 1868 there were 41 patients in the asylum, and, in the year 1875, there were 115, besides which the returns showed that there were 300 insane persons in the state not being treated in the asylum. There is no endowment, but the cost of management is defrayed by annual appropriations, after deducting the amounts received by way of fees. The appropriations up to November, 1875, had been only $338,736.

Much careful thought and investigation has been bestowed upon insanity of late years, and many curious theories have resulted from the crudity of the material upon which men have arrived at their conclusions. According to some there should be no restraint at all in cases of mental aberration, and at Gheel, in Belgium, a colony or village has been established in which insane persons live together, more or less correcting each others' delusions, but the result has not been of such a kind as to render a continuance of the system desirable. The government exerts particular control in the village, which has been a special resort for idiots and deranged persons since the seventh century, when the shrine of St. Dymphnea, here placed, was credited with peculiar virtue by and for idiots. In later times the farmers resident in Gheel made the treatment of such persons part of their means of livelihood.

The number of lunatics registered of late years in every civilized country has exhibited a marked increase, and many have concluded from that fact that cerebral derangement is increasing at a greater ratio than population, the general result being unfavorable to mental culture; but fuller investigation shows that the average of cases is not really greater, but that the fineness of discrimination, and the completeness of registration fully account for the apparent increase. In England, according to the methods in force in 1841, there was one idiot or lunatic registered for every 802 of the population, the proportion increased, in 1859, to 1 in 535, and in 1871, to 1 in 400. But in all that time the actual number of admissions to asylums continued to average about 1 in 2,100 of the whole population of the country. The same law is found operating in the United States, where, in 1860, the registration showed only one in 728, and in 1870 had increased to 1 in 637. Dr. Mandsley, a very high authority, says that there is no evidence of increase, in fact, although the returns are more

ample. The census becomes more complete and reliable every year, and the number is increased in appearance, because many persons are now treated as insane, who were of old times only subjected to medical treatment. The rate of mortality is less among lunatics, under the better systems now in operation, than it has been at any former time, which of course accounts for a larger number being in existence at one time, without necessitating the assumption of a larger average of cases occurring. Exercise and development of brain does not lead to insanity, as a rule, any more than exercise and development of the muscular system produces weakness, unless in either case excess eventuates in injury.

Delaware, Florida, Nebraska and Nevada are the only states in the Union in which there is no provision made by the state for the treatment of lunatics. All the other states have one or more asylums, but in some cases the systems found in operation are very faulty, more especially as affecting the pauper insane, who are boarded out and otherwise neglected. The philanthropic exertions of Miss D. L. Dix have contributed very materially to improve the methods in operation all over the United States, and by sympathy over the whole civilized world. There are numerous private institutions for the insane in all the older and wealthier states, but in communities so young as Kansas, the state must be relied upon to provide the machinery requisite for the sequestration and treatment of insanity, which certainly has a tendency to affect the minds of those who are continuously engaged in observing its wonderful phenomena. Kansas seems to have observed the happy mean in the management of this branch of its benevolent works, and there can be no doubt that as its wealth increases there will be still more liberal provision for the demented.

State Penitentiary.—This institution is located on a tract of forty acres, a little distance south from the city of Leavenworth. The county jail of Leavenworth was used by the state until proper buildings were erected, after the year 1863, pursuant to a vote taken in that year by the legislature. The penitentiary is a commodious building of stone, and the support of the institution to date has cost $906,940. There were 21 prisoners in 1861, and in 1874, that number had increased to 425, so that while our population had increased by a multiple of five or little more, our crim-

inals seem to have increased by a multiple of more than 20; a result mainly due to the great improvement in our system of police under settled institutions. The penitentiary is governed by a board of three directors, one being nominated every year, and the term of service being three years, so that there is always a change going on in the direction, or at any rate the opportunity for a change arises, without such violent disruption as might be feared if all the directors could be changed at one time.

The system observed in the penitentiary may be briefly stated as follows: Every prisoner must wear prison clothing, and submit to the operations of the state barber; he is then instructed as to the rules enforced in the penitentiary, with the penalties that will follow any transgression, and the rewards that attend upon full compliance. Every cell has necessary articles of furniture, to which the prisoner may add other prescribed articles, when he has earned the means to do so within the prison walls by actual labor. Cleanliness is strictly enforced, and silence is peremptory. There must be no communications between prisoners on pain of certain deprivations, should a discovery of any breach be observed. Books are allowed under limitations, and those who have earned the means by honest labor under duress may purchase other books, provided they are of a character approved by the authorities. Facilities are afforded to improve the educational status of prisoners, as it is found that ignorance is very largely associated with crime, to such an extent as to suggest the relation of cause and effect. Those who are capable of learning a trade are assisted in that direction. The demand for labor from the prisoners is incessant. During the year the working hours average nine every day; the length of the day in summer being ten hours and one-half, and during the winter six months from sunrise to sunset; so that none can eat the bread of idleness.

The quantity of work exacted is proportioned to the capacity of the prisoner, and laziness is properly punished. All violations of the rules of the institution have appropriate penalties, but none of them are severe and degrading except in the last extremity, when appeals to the better nature have signally failed. Ball and chain punishments, and close confinement on one meal per day, are among the heaviest that are ordinarily inflicted; but in very

aggravated cases, dark cells, temporary deprivation of food and other punishments are persevered in until the requisite condition of mind has been superinduced, unless the health of the prisoner is endangered. Prisoners are employed on contracts in some cases, in the quarries and on stone cutting in others, besides which their avocations include buildings and improvements, work in the yard, in the kitchen, dining rooms, bake houses, cells, driving teams, in the laundry and repair shops, in the female prison, cells, hospitals, and among the sick; so that there is work for every variety of strength and capacity of intellect. The aim of the penetentiary is, as it should be, the amelioration of the condition of the condemned without making pets of the prisoners.

There are two systems of prison discipline now in force in this country, that of Pennsylvania and that of New York; that of Pennsylvania prevents communications between prisoners at all times, and is so administered as that the individual does not know any of his fellows, and cannot be recognized by them, should they meet under other circumstances after the term of punishment is concluded; that of New York separates the prisoners completely after working hours, but permits of their laboring together in workshops during the day, subject always to the enforcement of silence at such times as well as during their meals in common. There is no corporeal punishment by stripes in the Pennsylvania system, but that of New York permits of such applications occasionally. Under both systems there is an effort to compel and encourage gainful industries, and both places aim at making the prisons self supporting. There are good arguments to be adduced on both sides, and either of them will give excellent results when well administered by competent men. The Kansas method may be described as eclectic, as it aims at the embodiment of the merits of each system.

RAILROADS IN KANSAS. — Ten years ago there was hardly a mile of railroad in Kansas ready for operation, and in view of that fact, the progress made in regard to transportation is surprising. The Shawnee legislature, as our readers will remember, signalized the end of their disgraceful session by certain acts that looked to the enrichment of members, contrary to the organic act, by grant-

ing offices, monopolies and privileges, grants for railroads among the number; but the territory was not benefited by such modes of operation. In the year 1858, the Atchison men, who had always enjoyed whatever favors could be procured from the Shawnee assembly, began the formation of a railroad; but it made its start from the Missouri bank opposite to Atchison, and was meant to connect Kansas with other parts of the union, but not to traverse the territory itself. The advantage aimed at was for Atchison merely, which must thus become the commercial metropolis of the infant state. The road was completed in 1860, connecting Atchison with the Hannibal and St. Joseph line at St. Joseph, Mo. Kansas men and money did the work, but the line was in Missouri altogether, and the benefit was to be local, as nearly as that end could be secured. This line was carried to Weston near Fort Leavenworth in 1861, and the enterprise made a stop at that point until the end of the war, although there had been many attempts to inaugurate work on other projected lines prior to and after the commencement of the Atchison and St. Joseph Railroad already mentioned.

While the civil war was progressing, the next effort took its rise under the congressional act, which provided for building a road to the Pacific; and the Kansas Pacific Railway was begun in 1863. Near Wyandotte where the work of construction was inaugurated, at the state line, was than a dense forest, and before the end of the summer the grading had been carried a long distance westward up the valley of the Kansas river; but there was nothing to give immediate promise of value to the undertaking; it had no grip on east or west, because Missouri, then traversed by United States troops, guerrillas and confederate forces, was a slave state, without sympathy with Kansas, unless the institution of slavery could find favor.

The man who was pushing on the work of the railroad, Samuel Hallett, was assassinated in the streets of Wyandotte in August, 1864, about eleven months before the war came to an end, and the work then passed into the hands of St. Louis capitalists shortly before the end of the war. Mr. John D. Perry became the director of the undertaking at that time, and the line of road has two termini, at Wyandotte and at Leavenworth,

which join at the city of Lawrence to run in one line up the valleys of the Kansas river and Smoky Hill river through the whole state and thence to Denver, Colorado. A line of about one hundred miles then connects with Cheyenne, Wyoming, where there is a junction with the Union Pacific Railroad, running through from Omaha to Salt Lake City by the junction at Ogden; and through Sacramento to San Francisco. The line at Denver has connections with all the railroads of Colorado, besides which there is a branch line from Kit Carson to Fort Lyon in the state of Colorado, and from Junction City to Clay county, Kansas. This is the most considerable line in the state, and by far the most important for its interests.

The Atchison, Topeka and Sante Fe runs across the state diagonally from northeast at Atchison to southwest at Hutchinson, striking Topeka and Emporia, where it crosses the Neosho river and follows the Cottonwood to its station on the Arkansas. From Hutchinson the line runs up the valley of the Arkansas to Pueblo, where it joins the Denver and Rio Grande narrow gauge line. An important branch runs from Newton south to Wichita, where it strikes the Arkansas and is intended to connect with the Southern Pacific at some point in New Mexico.

Junction City is the starting point of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, and from this point the Kansas Pacific road runs to the southeast, striking the Neosho river at Parkerville. Following the general course of the Neosho the line crosses the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe at Emporia, and crosses the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston road at Chanute. After crossing the southern boundary line of the state this line crosses the Indian territory to Texas. Another line of the same road runs from Hannibal, Missouri, on the Mississippi river through Missouri entering Kansas near Fort Scott crossing at that point the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf Road. This line connects with the Junction City Branch at Parsons. The road has connections at Dennison, Texas, that run to the Gulf of Mexico. A branch road, the property of the same company, runs from Holden, Missouri, on the Missouri Pacific to Paola in this state.

The Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad, already mentioned, runs from the mouth of the Kansas river at Wyandotte

through the counties of the eastern tier, to the southern boundary of the state, crossing the Missouri, Kansas and Texas line at Fort Scott.

The Missouri Pacific runs from St. Louis, Mo., and enters Kansas at Wyandotte, from which point, following the main direction of the Missouri river, it passes through Leavenworth to Atchison. This portion of the road from Wyandotte to Leavenworth is known as the Missouri River Road, and thence to Atchison it is called the Leavenworth, Atchison and Northwestern; but the Missouri Pacific operates both lines, having leased them of the constructing companies some years since.

The Atchison and Nebraska leads from Atchison northwest to Lincoln, the capital of the sister state, the distance being 146 miles. This line crosses the St. Joseph and Denver at Troy, Kan., and at Lincoln connects with the Midland Pacific and Omaha and Southwestern. A branch is being built from Salem, Neb., to Nebraska City, and the main is being extended north from the capital to connect with the Union Pacific at Fremont. Thus the Atchison and Nebraska, Missouri Pacific and Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf roads are continuous along the eastern border from the north to the south line of Kansas.

The Central Branch Union Pacific leads from Atchison to Waterville, in Marshall county, a distance of 100 miles west.

The Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston runs from Leavenworth, crossing the Kansas Pacific at Lawrence, and through the second tier of counties south of the Kansas to the southern line. A branch runs from Cherry Vale to Independence, Mo., and another from Ottawa to Kansas City.

The St. Joseph and Denver traverses the northern counties from the Missouri river opposite St. Joseph to Hasting, Neb., connecting with a line that joins the Union Pacific at Fort Kearney. This line runs through Kansas about 140 miles.

The Kansas Central runs from Leavenworth to Holton, 56 miles west, crossing the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe at Grasshopper Falls.

The St. Louis, Lawrence and Western runs from Lawrence through Olathe to Pleasant Hill, Mo., where it joins the Missouri Pacific, being operated by that company.

The Lawrence and Southwestern extends from the city of Lawrence to Carbondale, along the valley of the Wakamsa river, where it connects with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe road.

The Midland runs from Topeka along the valley of the Kansas through Lawrence to the Missouri line. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe company operates the Midland road.

A line from Wathena to Doniphan connects with the Atchison and Nebraska, and is operated by the company owning the road last named.

The Manhattan and Northwestern is not yet completed, but has been graded up the valley of the Blue to Irving from Manhattan. Several miles of track have been laid, and the work will progress. The Fort Scott, Memphis and Southeastern runs nine miles from the points named, connecting Fort Scott and Memphis.

The state is traversed east and west by six lines of railroads, two running the whole length, and it is spanned by a line north and south along the eastern border. The great valleys of the Kansas, Arkansas, Neosho, and Blue, have also their lines of railroad. Certainly no state of its age can compare with Kansas in this respect, and the lines join the great railroad systems of the continent by direct routes. From the eastern states the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific comes to the borders of the state, having termini at Atchison and Leavenworth; the Hannibal and St. Joseph has termini at Atchison and Kansas City; and the Burlington and Missouri River road has its western terminus at Atchison. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas connects at Hannibal, on the Mississippi, with the Toledo, Wabash and Western, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, and crossing Missouri in a southwesterly direction, enters Kansas near Fort Scott. The Missouri Pacific comes direct from St. Louis to Wyandotte, and running thence through Leavenworth to Atchison, has branches that reach Holden, Mo, and Paoli, Kan., as well as from Pleasant Hill, Mo., to Lawrence.

The St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern, is another direct line from St. Louis, which strikes the Kansas system of roads at Kansas City, Wyandotte and St. Joseph. The Kansas City, St. Joseph and Council Bluffs line traverses the Missouri valley along the east bank of the river from Council Bluffs to Kansas

City, with stations at the principal Kansas cities on the Missouri and at Council Bluffs, affording direct connection with the Union Pacific as well as with the lines of Iowa east and north. By the Atlantic and Pacific there is communication with Brownsville, Cherokee county, and of course with St. Louis.

There are eight great competing lines running to the east, northeast, southeast, north and south, which connect Kansas with the railroad system leading to the Atlantic. Two great lines lead to the markets of the mining countries in Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona and afford direct transit to the Pacific coast. Texas and the Gulf of Mexico are also easily within reach. The crisis of 1873, temporarily stayed the progress of railroads in Kansas, but there are signs that the recommencement is at hand, and the rapid growth of the state in population and productions must have increased facilities until every portion of the state can be reached readily, and can send the raw material and the manufactured article, which will unite to become their staple, into every market in the union. Works projected and in progress promise to assist in meeting those demands, and it is satisfactory to observe that forty-nine counties in Kansas are at present penetrated or traversed by railroads. There remain twenty-four counties, or less than one-third to be supplied. The total mileage of roads now operated in the state amounts to 2,084⅓ miles.

The Rivers of Kansas. — The Missouri is the great river of Kansas, as it forms the eastern boundary from Wyandotte to Nebraska. It is almost always navigable by steamboats of the largest class, and affords a channel of communication which can only be lessened in value by the development of competing lines of railroads, which must always find in the river a rival that will insist on lowering the rates of traffic to their minimum. Over this broad stream bridges, at once elegant and enduring, constructed of iron, for railroad and for wagon traffic, stretch from Wathena, Atchison, Leavenworth and Kansas City. The Kansas river has been navigable to Fort Riley, but unless very considerable improvements are undertaken, that line of traffic will never prove practicable. In the year 1869 a boat of light draft made several trips from the Missouri to Lawrence, but since

that date the stream has been spanned by several bridges at Wyandotte, Lawrence, Topeka and Wamego. The rivers Arkansas, Neosho, Republican, Solomon, Verdigris, Blue, Cottonwood, Spring, Marais de Cygne, Delaware and Nemaha, are all considerable streams, affording water powers more or less available at all seasons of the year. There are dams in the Kansas at Lawrence; in the Blue at Manhattan, Blue Rapids, Waterville and Marysville; in the Neosho at Burlington, Neosho Falls, La Roy, Humboldt, Oswego and at other points; and in the Delaware at Valley Falls. There are few rivers in the west that excel the water powers of the Blue, Neosho, Solomon, Republican, Cottonwood, Delaware and Marais de Cygne. There are few new states in which the rivers and creeks are so generally bridged, and the bridges are as rule of good workmanship and substantial, materials frequently consisting of iron on stone abutments and piers.

ROADS AND HIGHWAYS. — Few countries can offer to the traveler such roads as the state of Kansas. The philosophy of this fact, and the fact itself, have before been set forth in this work, but may here be once more summarily adverted to, in order that this department may be complete in itself. The country is so formed that it gives perfect drainage. The streams have cut deep into the strata of the surface, so that the bottom lands can be, and are, easily drained by side ditches. There are no swamps, and a slough is very rare. The surface of the higher lands, where lines of travel mostly lie, offers a beautiful surface for vehicles or pedestrians, and but little expense is involved in the maintenance of good roads. The great highways that passed through Kansas before it became a territory, and soon afterwards leading to California, New Mexico, Utah and Colorado, followed the "divides," and the sagacity of the early adventurers has been indorsed by the continuance of their routes. The early legislatures made those lines of travel into public highways, but more recent customs have complicated the first system by many zigzags, bending to township and section lines.

ELECTRIC TELEGRAPHS have kept pace with the wants of the community, being run along the railroad lines, and operated by

the Western Union, so that nearly every section of the state is penetrated, and hardly a village can be named that is not within easy reach of some telegraph station, connecting with all the world.

Agriculture in Kansas.—"Bleeding" and "starving" Kansas is a paradox and a puzzle to the rest of the states, because, in spite of its misfortunes, it is one of the most fertile and productive if not the most fertile and productive, of all the states in the union. The best prizes have been carried off from all the other states repeatedly, in fair competition, as well in quantity as in quality, by this state, at Richmond, Philadelphia, New York and Newark; its fruits, its cereals, and its root crops, being alike wondrous, and it is known that all those results have been attained while the state is yet in the infancy of its development. The growth of population in Kansas, and the high average of intelligence evidenced by census returns, alike give promise that the qualities inherent in the soil will be improved to the highest point of excellence in the future, at no great distance; and it is moderately certain that in the vast aggregation of wonders that are now being gathered into the world's show at Fairmount Park, the state of Kansas will be able to contribute from its products in 1875, such evidences of agricultural wealth as will procure for her the very highest place among the states in the lines of production in which she will be a competitor.

The wonder and the paradox arise because the misfortunes of Kansas have been crowded into a few years of her life. The civil war was an incident forced upon Kansas by the quarrel of north and south on the great issue afterward brought out on a broader field. The poverty of Kansas when the drouth came upon her was one of the consequences of that war. The drouth itself was intensified by the neglect of ordinay precautions, which the state of war and the uncertainties of the season just closing had mainly contributed towards. It is not too much to say that with more cultivation, more trees, more works for irrigation, the dryness of the summer would have been tempered to far different conditions, and there would have been no agonized appeal to the whole world in the name of Kansas. The civil war was the basis

of the whole series of misfortunes, and for that circumstance congress was responsible, in the fact that it did not possess the stamina to settle the slavery question by its own vote, instead of relegating the debate to the soil of Kansas, to be determined by the arguments and retorts of the bowie knife and the rifle. It is not proposed to make congress answerable for the coleoptera that ravaged our fields and devoured our harvests, but it is fair that the combined wisdom of the nation should carry its own burden, and leave Kansas with nothing to damage her repute as a state except the grasshopper invasion.

Kansas was libeled before it was even named as a territory, by the fact that its area was designated as a part of the Great American Desert, and continued to be thus described by absent minded geographers and map makers long after the testimony of Washington Irving and other eminent, disinterested men should have removed the stigma. The public mind has thus been prepared to receive the false impressions about this state with great readiness. Elsewhere a drouth or a grasshopper raid would be treated as an exceptional incident; here it is easy to procure the impression that it may be the rule. There have been times of drouth in other states which are still known to be good farming countries, affording on the average of years better profits to the farmers than to any other class, but merely because of the time that has elapsed since their first settlement, there is an answer to those who would torture the exception into the rule. Kansas can only answer all those who assail her repute as a producer, by referring to the sentence comparatively common in official reports, "Kansas again leads in the average yield per acre." Sahara can present no such record within historic times.

Men have settled upon lands in this state almost without as much money as would pay for their first year's seed, trusting to fortunate accidents to pull them through, with a faith equal to that of *Micawber*, that something would turn up. In many of the older states men would not venture upon wild land without capital, stock, implements and a reserve fund such as would be available against a whole year without returns; here there were men who settled down without any such aids, and they were overtaken by misfortune at their first venture. Many came here

well provided with goods and gear, but the ruffian hordes ran off their stock into Missouri, their houses were burned over their heads, so that they were glad to escape with their lives, even though their last cent had gone up in the smoke. There was absolute bravery in the persistent resolution with which such men stood up to wrestle with nature for further supplies, which were to give to the heroic settler provisions for the future as well as build up homes and buy cattle. Their failure is not fairly chargeable upon the soil of Kansas. The fact remains unquestionable that Kansas has produced under ordinary circumstances, and can produce again as long as the earth gives forth her increase, better returns per acre upon fair and adequate farming than any other state in the union. That is a broad and sweeping assertion, but it is safe because of its truth, as may be ascertained by any man who will be at the pains to examine the agricultural returns for the last ten years and compare the fruitfulness of Kansas with every state individually and all in a mass.

Add Indiana to New York and Kansas can beat them both in area; add Maine to Ohio and Kansas is larger; the same may be said of Maryland, Delaware and New England. Kansas is more extensive than the aggregate of those states, so that there is a wide range of country within which the competent agriculturist can seek his best location for farming. Four hundred miles in length by two hundred miles in breadth, give an immense territory. Only 68 per cent. of this state, little more than two-thirds, 35,750,600 acres out of a total of 52,043,520, are comprised in the organized counties. The cultivated land in 1875 only aggregated 4,748,901 acres. Little more than an eleventh of the whole area is improved, the remaining ten elevenths being still wild prairie, slowly, very slowly exchanging its accustomed verdure for blue grass and clover, or timothy. Kansas with a population of only 600,000, has ample scope and verge enough for 7,000,000. That fact is full of significance for the emigrant, with or without capital, who is willing to put his labor into the soil, and is content to grow up with the place, as Horace Greeley used to phrase it in his homely and forcible way.

The area yet unorganized lies within what is described as the third or western rainfall belt. The eastern and middle belts have

been favored so far by the great preponderance of population. Since meteorological observations have been made in this state, it has been ascertained that the average rainfall of the eastern belt is 37 inches, that of the middle belt, 24 inches, and that of the western belt, 19 inches; but taking the mean by seasons for the whole state it appears that the western has a fraction more rainfall than the middle belt during the growing seasons. The winter is the season of the year in which the least advantage comes from an excessive fall of rain, and it is precisely during the winter that the western belt has its minimum of pluvial visitation. The average fall in the western belt during winter is only one and a half inches, or, to be precise, rather less than that amount. The middle belt has then four inches, and the eastern belt five inches. For stock raising purposes dry winters are desiderata, and nowhere in the world can such vast ranges of nutritious grass be found for the winter feed of cattle as here. Buffalo have fattened here, guided by their unerring instincts. Surely then the situation must be well adapted for an industry which depends on the presence of grasses and the skill of the practical herdsman. Those who have made their ventures in this line in the western belt are not among the men who complain about Kansas; they are increasing their capital with tolerable rapidity, and as that multiplies they are steadily doubling and trebling their investments; so that there is tolerably good ground for the conclusion that the area known as the western or third rain belt will prove tolerably successful in the long run for a deserving class of men.

When Kansas was organized as a territory, in 1854, its best lands were Indian reservations, whereon the nations from New York state, the Pottawatomies, Delawares, Ottoes, Kaws, Kickapoos, Missouris, Sacs and Foxes, Wyandottes, Shawnees and others, were assembled in the eastern section; while the west was occupied in a semi-predatory and nomadic life, by the Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas and other wild and warlike tribes. When men migrate to any other territory to build a state, they mean, primarily, to farm; that was not the case with the men that came to Kansas in 1854–5–6, to anything like the same extent. They came primarily to settle the question of a free soil, and so strongly were they imbued with that sentiment, that when the

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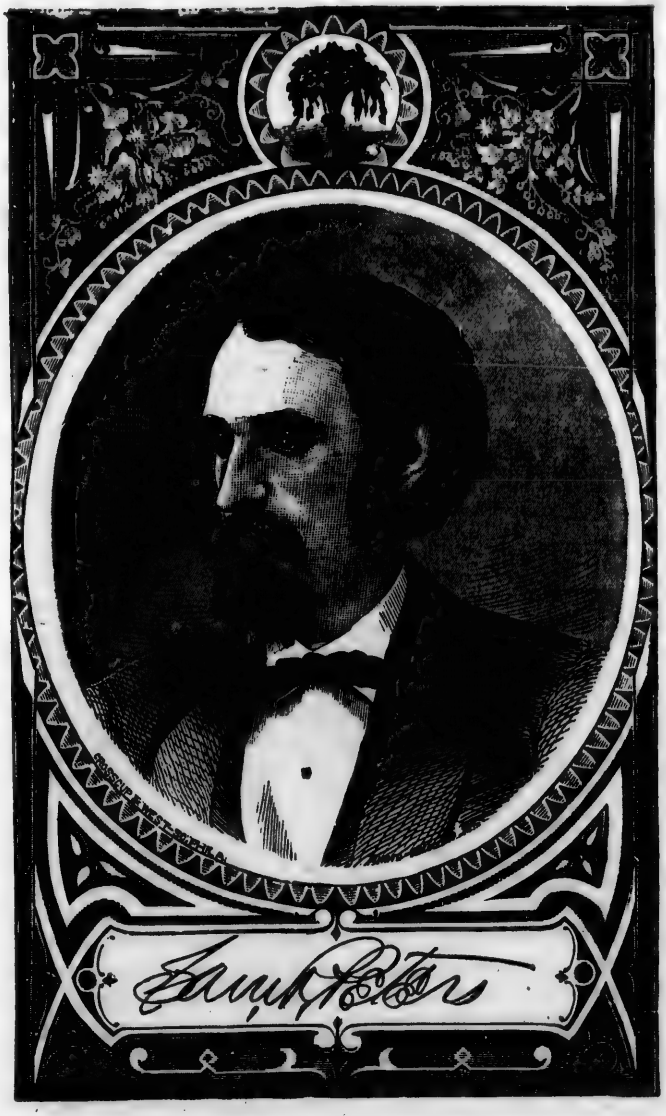
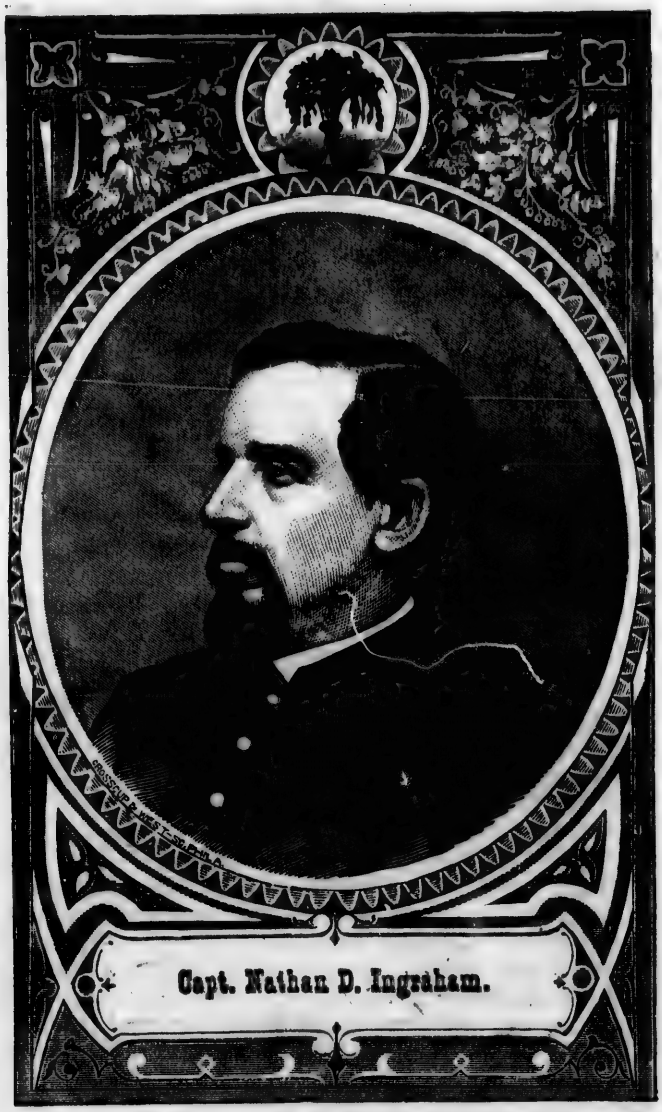




Capt. Nathan D. Ingraham.

war for the Union eventuated, the state contributed to the solution of that problem 20,097 soldiers, or nearly one-fifth of the total sum of the whole population of the state in 1861. Kansas gave 3,433 men more than her quota, under circumstances which should have minimized her response, but for the fact that the population comprised men warring for an idea, with more than the average of the John Brown inspiration in their nerve power. The state may well be proud of such men and their deeds, and the nation has cause to be thankful; but the soil was not likely to get more than the average of fair play at their hands, and in the actual fact they were not agriculturists.

Until the war was ended Kansas industries as a whole were stagnant. The men who sowed did not know who would reap. The men who built a workshop did not feel sure but that the brand of the incendiary would swallow up the fruits of long years of labor and skill. The men of daring were in the field already, or they were prepared to fight guerrillas at a moment's notice. That frame of mind was not favorable to commercial and manufacturing enterprise. Until the war came to an end, so completely were the people absorbed by the contemplation of the great issue that agricultural statistics were absolutely neglected here until the year 1865. That fact tells its own story as significantly as the figures themselves could possibly have done had they been prepared and preserved. The department of agriculture supplies some data touching Kansas, from the year 1862, but they are incomplete to such an extent as to render them little better than random guesses at important facts. There appear to have been 405,468 acres of improved or partially improved land in the state in 1860, and in ten years from that time only 1,971,003, and as if to indicate how many conflicting causes had been at work in that interval of ten years, more especially in the first half, the increase within the next five years brought up the total to 4,748,901. The increase in the first ten years was 1,565,535 acres, against 4,343,433 acres, in fifteen years.

The inclination to immigrate was minimized during the war, and, when the term of hostility had come to an end, there was a lack of means as well as of inclination among the persons in every grade most likely to emigrate to assume new risks. We

had a population of 8,601 in 1855, which increased, in spite of all drawbacks, to 107,206 in 1860, but the next five years only added about 33,000 to our wealth of human life. In 1870, there were 364,399; in 1875, over 528,437, and we have now over 600,000 at the most moderate estimate. The figures just quoted are eloquent and descriptive to an extent seldom possible within the range of arithmetic. Kansas drew from the northern states to the extent of very nearly 100,000 within five years prior to 1860, for no reason, more surely, than because the people were committed to a struggle on behalf of human rights. They came not to bargain for town lots so much as to remove a stain with which a certain party was proceeding to lower the moral status of the territory. They came not to a farm, nor to a laboratory, but to a battle-field, and they prosecuted their design with the chivalry of Crusaders, with this difference, of course, that the territory, in a commercial and agricultural sense, was well worthy of the struggle, as the city of Jerusalem was not supposed to be; but that fact hardly entered into their calculation at the time.

When the war had concluded, the people, who had on a large scale fought the battle of this state, as Kansas on a more restricted field had been engaged in battling for the Union five years before Sumter was threatened, turned their attention to the land which had been seen from afar, and had won, meantime, a repute for value scarcely second to Hymettus, whose bees, perhaps, do not really make honey sweeter than that of their neighbors. The era of hostilities did not favor migration. Immigrants from over sea enlisted to fight, or they found employment in the great cities of the free states beyond the arena of war. The peacefully disposed would as soon have thought of taking their children to settle in the sulphurous glades of Inferno as of bringing them here to colonize Kansas while the state was sending its manhood to remote battle-fields, and at home was being desolated by the followers of Quantrell. We only increased a fraction over six per cent. per annum for five years after the war began; but then came a time of preparation to move towards the west. Around camp fires, and on the march, soldiers had told their comrades about the soil, the mineral resources, the sites for cities, the rivers and water powers, and the exhilarating atmo-

sphere of Kansas, about all which they could be eloquent; statesmen looked in this direction, and the press sounded our praises — an exodus on a great scale was inevitable.

There was a pause until men could realize advantageously upon their old investments in the north, a little time within which to enjoy the society of friends from whom they had been long parted, and then Kansas, no longer blockaded on the river at Lexington or elsewhere, no longer requiring an array such as that known as "Lane's army," became the cynosure of all eyes. From that time, until 1873, investments for capital were in demand, greenbacks were plentiful although gold was at a premium, and properties readily found purchasers. Kansas began to receive a population intent on industries, bringing with them capital available for investments, or even for speculation. The repute of Kansas grew with every day, but the collapse of 1873 rudely stayed the stream of immigration just as it was broadening and deepening at every source. Men that would have sold their possessions in more northern states to move this way, had no longer a market available, unless they would give away their property; still there has been a large increase within the past five years — from 364,399 in 1870, to 528,437 in 1875 — rather more than 130 per cent., but a large margin below that of the preceding five years — from 140,179 to 364,399, or almost 190 per cent.

Several circumstances have helped toward this result. The corn crop fluctuated in 1872, and afterwards, then the crisis in 1873, and immediately following the perturbations of Wall street, the visitation of locusts in 1874. The corn crop receded 29,000,000 bushels in 1873, a fall of 37 per cent. on the crop of the former year. This incident affected Kansas materially, although the failure applied not to this state in particular. Other products suffered in degree from the same causes, and the means of the people were narrowed before the crisis applied its terrible squeeze to the sponge. All those circumstances slackened the stream to Kansas, and of course the locust temporarily turned the tide in other directions; but there are signs of the times, such as cannot be misunderstood, pointing to a compensating growth again within the next decade. Even now we can see by looking back that there has been no positive cessation of effort through all the times

of disaster, judging from the area of land brought under cultivation, as the figures amply prove. In giving the few statistics necessary, no harm can accrue from stating in round numbers, dropping in every case the hundreds, making them rate as a thousand if they come above five hundred, and dropping them altogether for the sake of brevity of statement, when they fall below that mean.

During the war it seems probable that the actual area was below that cultivated in 1860, at all times, and in 1864 there was only 244,000 acres under improvement. The next year gave an increase of 30,000 acres; in 1867 there was an area of 562,000, or more than doubled in two years, a rate of increase which was exceeded in 1868, when the area rose to 1,360,000 acres. The year 1872 brought up the aggregate to 2,531,000, and, the corn crop to the contrary notwithstanding, there was an advance to 3,038,000 in 1873, which in spite of the crisis grew to 3,670,000 in 1874, nor could the grasshopper cause it to recede in 1875; our last record as the acreage then tilled was 4,750,000. The figures here given are authentic except as to hundreds, as before mentioned.

Authorities are now recommending that Kansas should in the future give more attention to wheat and less to corn, because the easier and larger crop is subject to such distressing fluctuations. No wise farmer will carry all his eggs in one basket, and no harm can come from increasing the number of productions, more especially when the average of profit can be increased thereby. In 1870, corn gave only 17,000,000; in 1872, it grew to 47,000,000, and in 1874, it had fallen to 16,000,000, while wheat was increasing steadily all the time from 2,391,000, in 1870, to 13,209,000 bushels in 1875. Certainly it should be recorded that in 1875, corn reached the enormous aggregate of 80,799,000, but that only serves to illustrate, in a manner more marked, the fluctuation incidental to that crop, which has no corresponding uncertainty in wheat by way of set off. The practice in Kansas is gradually changing toward the cultivation of wheat, and will become more decided.

The increase of wheat cultivation has become an ascertained and indubitable fact, and it is well for Kansas that it should be so. Climate, soil, and market alike indicate wheat as the best

product. The rainfall of Kansas is especially adapted to wheat, and far less dangerous in its fluctuations to that crop than to corn. It falls when it is wanted for the one, and it is apt to cease when the lack is fatal to corn. The state is specially favorable to winter wheat, and the farmer, finding that crop a good paying investment, is steadily increasing his area. Figures could be quoted to prove this statement, incontestably, but the reader shall not be deluged with arithmetic. Practical farmers have advanced from 2,391,098 bushels in 1870, to 13,209,403 in 1875, the increase being steady all the time, and apparently beyond uncertainties, to an extent that must make the crop more and more a favorite among producers, and winter wheat is preferred over the spring growth by a wide margin. Kansas will make its very best showing in that direction.

Stock in Kansas. — Stock must be an object in every farming country, but in Kansas that branch of industry has peculiar claims upon attention. Dry winters will become better understood as experience widens to indicate that Kansas, more especially in the western belt, is adapted for stock raising. The minimum of shelter is required, the maximum of food is provided by nature, and the wide range of country available gives to the pru dent operator every possible advantage. There is a steady increase in the capital invested, the grade of cattle is being improved still more rapidly than even the advance in numbers. In the year 1860 there were only 93,000 cattle and 138,000 swine, which had changed by the end of the war in 1865, to 202,000 and 95,000 respectively. There are now, or rather there were in 1875, 703,000 of the one and 293,000 of the other. Sheep also are securing attention, as in 1860 there were only 17,569, and in 1875 they had increased to 106,224. Since that return was collected large investments have been made in sheep, and there is good reason to believe that mutton and wool will become in every year more important items in our aggregate of wealth; provided always, that some means can be devised to stay the ravages of worthless curs, that are more destructive and worrying to sheep in Kansas, than the dingo or wild dog on the sheep runs of Australia.

In the west sheep are herded in large flocks, with an almost unlimited range of country, and the sparse settlements scattered at wide intervals do not supply a sufficient number of dogs to affect this arm of enterprise; but where farmers give part of their attention only to small flocks, the depredations of dogs are simply ruinous to the effort. About 75,000 dogs are reported by the assessors, and they are said to have destroyed no less than 5,200 sheep, at an aggregate value of over $12,000. It will soon become necessary to determine which is of the most value, the dog or the sheep, and the most valuable should be preferred by actual legislation. A dog that kills sheep is worth one bullet, or a small dose of strychnine, and the case should be attended to without an hour's delay. Wool and mutton are invaluable, as any one may discover who will consider the growth of the sheep runs in Australia, year after year; and the western belt of Kansas could produce as fine wool and as good mutton with the same average of attention, besides being nearer to the best wool markets of the world. The middle and western belts are rapidly developing this industry. Russell and Osborne counties have added 27,000 to their flocks since the return was obtained, and increases have been largely progressing in other counties by importations from Colorado and New Mexico. The best Merino stock is being cultivated, and Cotswolds are also in favor wherever the dog nuisance can be abated. The climate is found preferable to that of Michigan, Illinois, Iowa and New York for sheep raising, and the diseases of sheep in Kansas are almost nominal. A cross of Merinos with the Southdown is said to be the best for all purposes, except in fenced pastures, when Cotswolds are preferred.

This branch of industry requires peculiar training and experience to win success, and in that respect it does not differ from other pursuits. The successful practitioner in any line is he that has added first class experience to good capacity. The sheep farmer wants nothing more. The climate banishes foot rot and catarrh, which are the scourges of the Australian squatter, and other diseases common among sheep are here unknown. It is even claimed that sheep already affected by disease before coming into Kansas find the climate specific, but there is no such

mass of evidence as to establish the statement; still there are so many advantages within the reach of the sheep raiser, as must make the pursuit increasingly popular every year.

Shepherds must be employed in Kansas to look after the large herds, and the sheep must have a wide range because of the dogs, wolves and cayotes on the one hand, and further, because in the absence of tame grasses the native pasture would be destroyed if eaten too close, as sheep will eat when kept within a limited range. Good sheds during the winter months and a summer corral where the flock can be protected at night, with moderate attention in the matter of food, and a flock is a fortune. Flocks will average as much as seven pounds per fleece unwashed. The mild climate, short winter, dry rolling prairie, abundant streams and ample feed are justly praised, and when tame grasses can be added the results will be still better. One flock of full blooded Merinos is reported as giving nearly ten pounds per fleece of unwashed wool. Clearly, the purer the blood and the higher the grade, the better the product.

One man, writing on the wool question, says: "We can raise as much wool on land worth from $5 to $10 per acre as can be raised in New York on land worth $100, and we can send our wool to that market for three cents per pound." It is said that a farmer can raise one sheep for every acre farmed without interfering with his farming operations. In Ellis county, sheep were only corraled about four days during the winter of 1874, and even when the weather was at its coldest, found feed in the ravines and broken ground; but it is laid down as an axiom that what is expended on food is more than repaid in wool. More might be said on this subject, but enough has been placed before the reader to indicate the immense value of Kansas as a field for the operations of sheep raisers.

Horses have increased by nearly 90,000 in number in five years, from 1870, as the last returns show a total of 207,376 in March, 1875; but just at that time horseflesh was in poor demand, and the rates of value were consequently very low; hence, the estimated worth was only increased $1,240,353. Raisers of stock have given very great attention to improved grades of late years. The Indian and Mexican pony stock is disappearing, and that

fact will not fail, in the long run, to make this market one of the main resorts of purchasers who require first-class animals, and will not have weeds at any price. There will be still greater improvements, in all respects, now that breeders have given the matter substantial attention.

In the year 1870, the total number of asses and mules in Kansas, as returned to the state board of agriculture, only amounted to 11,786, and in 1875 that aggregate had improved to 24,964, or 1,392 more than cent. per cent. of increase. The improvement of value in five years was just $608,474.

The increase of milch cows was very large within the same term, as in 1875 there were 225,028; there were in 1870, only 123,443, so that 101,585 had been added. Butter and cheese have been very noticeably increasing on the whole, although some counties show a decrease in each article, the results on the whole state being an increase in cheese of 1,014,003 pounds, and in butter of over 3,805,000 pounds. The nutritious native grasses, the brevity of the winter, the genial mildness of the climate, and the buffalo grasses on the plains, which are generally available all through the winter, afford such advantages as few states can rival for the prosecution of dairy farming; and this industry is clearly yet in the infancy of its developement. The native grasses permit of being cured with little labor, and the nutritive qualities, although lessened by the process, are still considerable. The increase of cattle other than milch cows has been very large during the five years indicated, almost amounting to cent. per cent The returns obtained by the state board of agriculture show that up to March, 1875, there had been an improvement in point of numbers to the extent of 227,768 head, a result that will be its own comment.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE PLAGUE OF LOCUSTS.

THE term grasshopper is frequently misapplied, to cover a family much larger than that to which it really belongs, as, for

instance, it is often used to indicate the Rocky Mountain locust (*caloptenus spretus*), a true locust, of the same family with that which is named in scripture among the plagues of Egypt and elsewhere; we may, therefore, be excused, if, without venturing further into the realm of technical phraseology, we give some few particulars about locusts in general, and the Rocky Mountain locust in particular. They are known all over the globe, and are only welcomed in some few places, where people of cultivated palates use them for food. Pulling off their wings, the bodies are said to be very pleasant articles of diet when fried in butter or in oil, or pickled for the table. We do not pretend to envy the locust eaters their peculiar and costly delicacy. The noise produced by the locust is not vocal but mechanical merely, as the elytra, or wing covers, come in contact, and the rubbing of the one against the other produces the harsh sound referred to.

The migratory locust is very destructive, and it moves in swarms. The vegetation immediately surrounding its place of birth being consumed, it takes flight to adjoining districts, and continues its raid until every green thing has disappeared. Sometimes the mass is so great as to shut out the sun at noon day, and the spots upon which the visitors alight are at once converted into a desert. In some parts of Central Europe, in Egypt, in Syria generally, and nearly all over the south of Asia, the locust comes periodically, spreading dismay at every visitation, and leaving little besides starvation for the people. In the southern portions of Europe rewards are offered for collecting the eggs and the perfect insects, and by such means the frequently recurring plague has been effectually fought and reduced. The same method has been pursued with good results in China and in Turkey. There is a record that in one season, in the year 1613, a sum equal to $4,000 was paid in this way, and considering the difference in money values then and now, that is about equivalent to an outlay of $20,000 in our own time. Southern Africa is sometimes visited by terrible swarms of locusts of very gorgeous colors.

The scriptures abound in descriptions of the locust, and of the manner and completeness of the destruction which procured for them the repute of special ministers of the vengeance of an

offended Deity. They covered the whole land in Egypt so that the earth was darkened, and they devoured every green herb of the earth and the fruit of every tree that the hail had left. Kansas is not the only state in the union that has suffered from visitations of the locust, as we find that in the years 1818–19 vast hordes of those insects called grasshoppers, but really locusts, appeared in Minnesota, covering the ground, as Niell mentions in his history of that state, three and four inches thick, and destroying everything in their track. Canada has sometimes been visited, and the Red river country in Manitoba has suffered terribly. About the year 1820 or '21 the western counties of Missouri were desolated by their presence, as they devoured every green thing, but they came late in the season, the country was then but sparsely settled, and only a few old residents besides the Indians can give any account of their ravages. The locusts filled the earth with their eggs, which were hatched in the following spring, but the insects took flight as soon as their wings were developed, and comparatively little harm was done in the second year. Those portions of Missouri in which cotton, flax, hemp, wheat and tobacco were planted, are said by another authority to have suffered much in the second year, but corn was not injured.

Kansas was included in that raid, beyond question, as its position between Missouri and the Rocky mountains, the habitat of the locust would necessitate a passing call, and the late arrival in Missouri argues a prolonged stay here *en route*. They were again in Kansas just after settlement began, in the autumn of 1854, when the few residents near Lawrence were much occupied by the encroachments of other plagues, and there were but few crops to be destroyed, except at the missions and on the Indian reservations; so that few particulars can be ascertained. A resident in the Delaware Mission says that there was no visitation from the time of his arrival, in 1837, until thirty years later, nine years ago; but a resident at the Osage Mission, whose experience commenced in 1847, remembers the locusts desolating the country in 1854, after a very dry summer. The grasshoppers, he says, came like a fall of snow, covering everything, destroying gardens, even eating the bark off peach trees. They went away in October, after filling the earth with eggs. The winter was particularly

severe, but that did not destroy the eggs buried in the soil and on hard roads, so that when spring came they were hatched, and much destruction followed. Oats, corn and the grass on the prairies were destroyed. Corn was thrice planted, but destroyed as often, and the horses had to be sent to Missouri. Had the visitation been general, there would have been some record of so much suffering among the settlers, and at the other missions. Naturally, those who were visited in 1854–5 would come to the conclusion that the whole country was desolated in the same way as the Osage Mission.

There was another passing call in the autumn of 1866, when the locusts are said to have descended like a rain on the gardens and in a few days all vegetation was destroyed. This was in September, and the fields and gardens were alike destroyed. The crops had been saved before they came that year, but their eggs were hatched in the spring of 1867 very early, and there seemed a prospect of a terrible visitation, when a freshet washed away the microscopic plague from the Osage mission, and the crops were saved. Some distance from the mission, where the local freshet did not avert disaster, there is said to have been much suffering from the locusts in 1867; but the statistics of the time only record that there were 562,120 acres of land under cultivation in that year in the state, and that the produce in wheat and corn respectively amounted to 1,587,000 bushels of the former, and 6,487,000 of the latter. The corn crop certainly was not a fair average, and perhaps the locust is answerable for that fact. Clearly the proper way to deal with the locust plague is to offer a premium for their eggs in the first place, and then for the perfect insect, before the ovipositor has been emptied in the other, so that a war of extermination may be carried into the enemy's country as a precautionary measure.

The Rocky Mountain locust only differs from the common locust in being stronger, and therefore capable of a longer flight without so reducing its power as to render it easy to combat the plague. The female has two pairs of horny valves, which can be forced in the ground and then opened by a great muscular effort, when the time comes for depositing ova; that operation being performed, the eggs fill a space almost equal in size to the abdomen,

which fills the hole bored by the valves, and the eggs are customarily buried about an inch below the surface. The eggs are held in position by a fluid something like the white of an egg, which probably serves some nutritive purpose also. Sometimes, but rarely, the eggs are placed much deeper in the earth where some root may have been devoured and a cavity occasioned, which gives the insect a new starting point. The number of eggs will vary from 30 to 100 in the sheath or pod, and the envelop is closed over the eggs. From the first hatching to the development of wings, about two months will elapse, so that there is a plenty of time to lay bare a considerable range of country with fair diligence, before an opportunity for flight can offer.

The young are said to fly toward the southeast as a rule, and it is claimed that the matured insect moves in the same direction, sometimes even flying in the very eye of the wind to preserve that course. The insects travel most by day, but they are most ravenous at night; still they seldom appear to suffer from want of appetite. They never make long flights except in cases of necessity, and although it is not easy to drown them, they avoid broad streams whenever possible, having perhaps heard that some of their ancestors had been relished by fish in such transits. When the insects have their choice, it is clear that they prefer depositing their eggs on dry and compact ground. Meadows and pastures are often used when the grass is bare and the earth not swampy. Newly broken and plowed land is too loose to accord with their ideas. Abundant opportunities have been afforded to entomologists to study this very curious and destructive insect in every portion of its economy, or perhaps it would be more proper to say of its extravagance, for there is very little economy in a flight of locusts.

The damage came from the northwest and approached the southeast in 1874, and the eastern parts of Kansas suffered least, because the crops had been mainly secured before the arrival of the pest. In the western portion of the state, the young corn, which happened, moreover, to be the principal crop, suffered terribly in 1874, but the insects passed on before depositing their eggs to any great extent. In the longitude of Topeka, eggs were deposited largely, and much fear was entertained that the whole

of the crop of 1875 would be destroyed in consequence. The figures for the two years show that in 1874 there were 3,669,776 acres of land under cultivation, and in the following year 4,748,901; the respective yields of wheat and corn for the two years being, in 1874, 9,881,383 bushels of wheat, and 15,699,078 of corn; in 1875, 13,209,403 bushels of wheat, and 80,798,769 of corn; so that there was no substantial ground for alarm in 1875.

The insects continued to deposit from the time of their arrival in and near the longitude of Topeka, until they had crossed the eastern line of the state into Missouri, late in the season, by which time the crops were safe.

The operations of the locust family in 1875 were closely observed in the neighborhood of Lawrence. The young were first seen on the southern slope of Mount Oread, which forms the termination of the high prairie, and is one of the bluffs at the intersection of the valleys of the Kansas and Wakarusa. The Indian plantain was being fed upon by some of the locusts, but myriads were at rest on the ground, and could have been destroyed easily. They were minute, almost microscopic, but would jump about two or three inches high, when disturbed. Nearly two hundred were caught by one sweep of the hand two weeks after hatching, and the process of hatching was very widely distributed. They were first seen early in April, but their movements caused no serious apprehensions until the 10th of May, and even then combined and systematized destruction would have preserved a wide range of country. Ten days later their ravages were terribly apparent and it was seen that much valuable time had been inexcusably lost. Many even then were able to save their crops by the ditching process, as the insects were still wingless, and could be arrested or deflected by slight obstacles. Three men whose crops were in danger ditched and destroyed 320 bushels of locusts in ten days, by actual measurement.

The city of Lawrence was invaded on the 25th of May, and nearly all the gardens were destroyed soon after, so that a green spot was an oasis for the eye to rest upon, except where moderate precautionary measures had been taken to save the trees, as the insects were still unable to fly and could be confined to the lawns and flowering shrubs. Seventy bushels of the pests were

destroyed by one man who valued his garden and grounds at the price of so much effort and outlay as was involved in the extermination of some millions of the locust army. About a sixth of the city of Lawrence stands between the river and the paved streets, and neither of those lines of fortification could be, or were, crossed by the scourge, consequently, the gardens and grounds were safe in that area. Many farms were saved by some such trivial incidents offering insuperable obstacles to the army of gluttons. The size of the locust was still so inconsiderable that 128,000 were found in one bushel in the beginning of June, but from that time they increased in bulk very rapidly, doubling their dimensions within five days. Fifty-five days elapsed from the time that the first larva was seen until the first winged locust was observed, and the departure from the neighborhood of Lawrence commenced about the third and concluded about the fifteenth of June.

Different observers give widely varying descriptions as to the direction of the flight of the locust, some saying that they always fly southeast, and others, that they persistently fly northwest; probably the fact may be that they are governed by local circumstances, and that each looker on has pronounced *ex cathedra*, upon a basis of observation, too narrow to cover a general conclusion. Locusts are said to suffer much from parasitic insects as well as from birds, and it is believed by some that the outcome of eggs not laid and hatched in the mountainous region are not so strong as those that start from the Rocky Mountains.

The ravages of the locust in Kansas in 1875 were confined to a narrow strip on the eastern border, and even there the injury that was effected was sufficiently early in the season, to permit of replanting, so that the crops of that year covered the losses of the year preceding, and have increased the wonder of the union at large by the abundant evidence afforded of the fertility of the state. The sufferings endured by the people of Kansas, in consequence of the locust invasion of 1874, have already been referred to in the preliminary chapters of this book, but there are matters of detail which could not then be given, and which ought not to be omitted from the record. The legislature was convened in an extra session and made such arrangements as were then

possible to meet the necessities of the case, being seconded therein by those who were in a position to assist the needy by loans or other temporary aids.

The legislature was convened for its regular session in January, 1875, and, in anticipation of that event, the fullest information was procured from all sources as to the amount of destitution arising from the destruction of crops by the locust plague in the state. An effort was also made to ascertain at that time what amount of help would be required to supply rations, clothing, seed and feed for animals required in the working of farms, to tide over the difficulties of the suffering class, and enable them to resume their customary avocations with the least possible delay. Gov. Osborn submitted the facts that could be obtained prior to the 26th of January, 1875, in a message to the legislature, and in that report there were returns from all the organized counties except Comanche, Harper, Kingman and Ness. The state was, in the report submitted, divided into five groups of counties, and reported upon in that order.

In the first group of 23 counties, with a population of about 270,000, part of the returns being from an earlier census, there were 1,680 persons in need of rations, 300 men and 300 women in want of clothing, and 729 children in the same condition. Neosho, Lyon and Woodson were the distressed localities, but in Lyon only one-thirteenth of the population would accept help; in Neosho, one-twentieth, and in Woodson, one twenty-fourth; the proportion for the whole group being about one one-hundred-and-sixtieth part.

In the second group, including 19 counties, with a population of 160,000, there were 7,927 in want of rations, 2,201 men, 3,217 women, and 6,103 children in want of clothing, besides some places wanting clothing, but giving no estimates as to numbers and amount of required relief. Jackson, Marion and Marshall proposed to deal with their own distress without assistance from beyond their own borders.

In the third group, comprising nine counties with a population of 60,089, there were 8,015 in want of rations, 3,164 men, 3,976 women, and 5,808 children in want of clothing. In the fourth group of nine counties, with a population of 35,703, there were

9,026, or over one-fourth, in want of rations, and 1,890 men, 1,642 women, and 3,430 children wanting clothes. The fifth group of twelve organized counties, and two others, including a population of 13,038, had 5,841, or 678 less than one half of the whole population in want of rations, and 522 men, 623 women and 902 children in want of clothing. In the gross, there were 32,614 requiring to be supplied with rations, and there were applicants for clothing to the number of 8,077 men, 9,758 women and 16,472 children. It was proposed to supply rations where required until June 1, 1875, that is to say, for 120 days, and the estimated cost was $547,915. Many of the counties subsequently increased the number of persons requiring aid, because many who had been hoping to bear up against the disaster unaided were compelled to surrender to their necessities at last.

The returns made by the several counties were not actual transcripts of suffering from the locust plague, as in some counties there was a determination to keep their sorrows at home, and in others there was an evident resolve to tabulate all distress to procure as much aid as possible from all sources. In some instances, where the answer was made that the counties would be self-sustaining, there were agents sent from those counties soliciting relief from other states, and of course, every agent that addressed an audience was bound to have telling facts to reach the sympathies of his hearers, whether he succeeded in giving a just picture of the condition of Kansas or not. Thus it happened that there were several different stories going the round of the press and of the community at the same time as to the suffering in Kansas, which some would deny *in toto*, while others magnified to the utmost of their power.

The want of seed was severely felt, and the estimated value of the assistance demanded was in all, $78,795; being for the first group $14,789; for the second, $18,780; for the third, $16,032; for the fourth, $18,516; and for the fifth group, $10,676. This estimate was based upon the actual planting in 1874, and deducting such areas as were certain to be planted by the owners or tenants without external aid. There was an effort made by those acting on behalf of the government to vary the crops in the state, beneficially in some respects, by offering only such seeds freely as

were known to be best adapted to give fair returns. There was specially an attempt to increase the area occupied in the growth of flax, as that crop is very profitable and desirable as a possible basis of other industries.

Most of the flax cultivated in Kansas has been under a kind of mortgage to the proprietors of oil mills in Missouri and elsewhere, outside the limits of the state. The proprietors loan to farmers a limited quantity of seed on conditions, that for every bushel advanced 1¼ shall be returned, and the whole crop be sold to them at a price fixed by the parties making the loan. The borrowing farmer must contract to deliver the whole of his crop to his creditors at their price and at their place, besides giving 25 per cent. interest for the use of the seed. The arrangement is objectionable from every point of view, and on that account the government endeavored to change the basis of flax cultivation, but the monopolists met them at every point, struggling to maintain the system which secures to them considerable returns at a minimum of risk and a complete control of the market below ruling prices. The recommendations of the governor on the basis suggested by the state board of agriculture were eminently judicious, and as a rule the aims of the government were seconded in a liberal spirit by outsiders from all parts the union.

Calculations had to be made for the supply of feed for horses to be employed in farm work until the farmers could get their work advanced to a point at which they could depend on their own capital, credit and exertions. That item alone involved an estimated outlay of $123,645. The largest amount allotted to one group being $31,648 to the fourth group, and the smallest, $19,059, to the first.

The attempt to meet the difficulties by legislative action failed, because, while everybody admitted the urgent necessity of the case, some wanted to grant a loan, merely, while others argued for a gift, and in the end the needy were left without assistance. There were other impediments to legislative action, which looked in the direction of local jealousies; but the result, certainly, pitiful and blamable in the extreme, was, that the urgent demand in the interests of sound policy and generous sympathy remained

untouched by the men whose special business it should have been to meet the woes of the state from its own resources, by a direct levy, or by contracting a public loan for the purpose. The two houses differed and could not be reconciled on the questions of the hour, although conference committees were appointed, and the appropriations fell through.

The state board of agriculture was worked throughout the time of trial with singleness of purpose and an energy that never flagged, and failing to procure appropriations from the legislature, there remained no resource but to use such outside help as could be procured. Seeds of various kinds were sent from persons, departments, societies and institutions, all of which were distributed according to the known wants of districts upon the basis already given; but, of course, there were cases of extreme want that could not be adequately dealt with upon means so limited. In many cases there were two or three different authorities acting in reference to the wants of one group, while another procured only a *pro rata* allotment of seeds from the state board, but such results were inevitable where proper concerted action had not been secured from the first.

The Kansas central relief committee issued an address to the people of the state in November, 1874, at the instance of the governor and leading citizens, setting forth the necessity for such action as was then taken; and the people of the eastern states were reached by the same document. It was necessary to answer those at a distance who were continually asking for authentic information touching the needs of Kansas, and it was desirable that there should be unity of action among Kansans themselves. The fact was duly promulgated that many exaggerations had been resorted to by interested parties for specific purposes; but above and beyond all such misstatements, the reality of distress was properly urged upon all classes capable of affording a degree of relief. Winter had then set in, and it was known that there were families and neighborhoods to a large extent destitute, or very poorly supplied at the best with clothing, fuel, food, bedding, and other essentials to sustain life; more especially among pioneers and new arrivals.

The failure of the government to meet the case by the legisla-

ture in special session, a foreshadowing of the ultimate failure, already mentioned, was pointed out, and it was stated that the distress was limited, not general, inasmuch as the older counties, long settled and comparatively rich, could deal with the want arising within their own borders, but could not cope with the distress known to be prevalent in other counties newly organized, or not yet organized, and where no machinery of benevolence could come between the necessitous and starvation. In the frontier counties there was distress because a great tide of worthy citizens had poured into that portion of the country within a few years, and the visitation had overtaken them completely, swamping their means before they could be expected to have established a reserve fund in any form. Such men certainly deserved generous aid from every source. The wants that should be met were briefly stated, and while the fact was insisted upon that very many of the worthy suffering class could hardly be said to be citizens of Kansas, so recently had they arrived; still in view of the fact that they were *bona fide* settlers honestly aiming to make homes for their families and themselves in the state, it was the duty of the older residents to protect them from want until they should be able to provide for themselves. Justice, charity, and sound policy combined to render it advisable that the state should deal with its own distress, however arising, assuming that course to be possible. The central committee offered itself as the medium for distributing assistance, and the urgency of its appeal to churches, societies, and other organizations, produced excellent results in regard to promptitude.

The unworthy motives of some of the parties, who were then in the eastern states soliciting aid in the name of Kansas, were glanced at in such a manner as must have led to the discouragement of their efforts, and if after that publication any persons in the east gave their money to unknown and unauthorized men, when they might have sent it to the central committee with a certainty of fair dealing, they were merely offering a premium to dishonest solicitors and fraud. With emphasis and truth the committee asserted what must long continue to be believed of Kansas, that its citizens lacked none of the essentials of true manhood and womanhood, although they had been overtaken by mis-

fortune, and it is due to the people of the eastern states to say that the appeal to their sterling generosity was not made in vain. The results were not adequate to permit of complete and satisfactory aid being given to every known case of want, but there was mitigation, and that amounted to a great deal where every man and woman was striving to accomplish all that was possible. The central committee received in cash from many sources $73,863, and besides that there were supplies of various kinds, amounting to 265 carloads and 11,049 packages. The carloads were brought by all the railroad companies free of charge, and they were averaged at $400 each in value; the packages were found to be worth in money about $5.00 each, so that the supplies, independent of cash, were worth on the whole about $161,245. As distributed by the committee, most of those supplies were worth more than they would have brought if sold for cash; but on that basis the amount apportioned by the committee was $235,108.

The time is now past and gone, and it is hoped that the lessons of thrift and economy then taught in the hard school of experience will hereafter benefit Kansas, so that no future misfortune will place her before the world a postulant for its benevolence, but should that time ever arrive, it may be hoped that the first step of the constituted authorities will be of such a kind as to discourage individual solicitation from the cities and states at a distance without such indorsements as will satify the generous givers that they are not bestowing their aid in vain. There is not a state in the union that deserves more from its sister states than Kansas, and there is not one in which the spirit of self help and proper pride is better developed.

The state has resources which will command support in the future, and will give returns upon sound investment. The mines, the quarries, the rivers, the soil and the pastures of the state invite an ever increasing immigration. Men who have money can find here openings for its employment. Men who can offer nothing more valuable than clear heads, sound bodies and honest intentions cannot fail to discover in Kansas their proper spheres of activity. The rural districts and the cities are both increasing in importance and in wealth, and the whole state is broad based upon natural advantages, such as hardly one component of the

United States can excel in every particular. Kansas has endured trials and vicissitudes enough to test the courage of a nation, and has come through the fire of persecutiou and suffering undimmed. Let us hope that her days of privation have gone by forever.

CHAPTER XXVI.

COUNTY SKETCHES.

THE counties of Kansas are, Allen, Anderson, Atchison, Barbour, Barton, Bourbon, Brown, Butler, Chautauqua, Chase, Cherokee, Clay, Cloud, Coffey, Comanche, Cowley, Crawford, Davis, Dickinson, Doniphan, Douglas, Edwards, Elk, Ellis, Ellsworth, Ford, Franklin, Greenwood, Harvey, Harper, Howard, Jackson, Jefferson, Jewell, Johnson, Kingman, Labette, Leavenworth, Lincoln, Linn, Lyon, Marion, Marshall, McPherson, Miami, Mitchell, Montgomery, Morris, Nemaha, Neosho, Ness, Norton, Osage, Osborne, Ottawa, Pawnee, Phillips, Pottawatomie, Pratt, Reno, Republic, Rice, Riley, Rooks, Rush, Russell, Saline, Sedgwick, Shawnee, Smith, Sumner, Wallace, Wabaunsee, Washington, Wilson, Woodson and Wyandotte.

ALLEN COUNTY was organized in the first year after the passing of the organic act through congress in 1854, consequently its history commences with 1855. The governor of Ohio has the honor of being perpetuated, if not immortalized, by his name being given to this county because he favored the doctrine of popular sovereignty as applied to Kansas. The county contains 504 square miles, and in 1875 had a population of 6,688, having decreased, in five years, 384, after increasing in the preceding ten years, 3,940. The sexes are evenly balanced in Allen county which is in that respect a fair reflex of the world, as there are 3,419 males to 3,219 females. Every state has contributed to the population of this county, and so have most of the countries of Europe. Manufactures and mining contribute to the employment

of the population, to a small extent, but over 67 per cent. are engaged in agriculture. Iola is the county seat, 79 miles from Topeka, to the south. The general surface is level, with bottom lands averaging about one and a half miles in breadth and comprising one-tenth of the county. There is a fair average of timber land, but 94 per cent. of Allen county is prairie. The principal streams are the Neosho, Little Osage and Marmaton. The chief creeks are Indian, Martins, Deer, Elk and Elm. The Neosho and Marmaton run from northwest to southeast, the Osage from southwest to northeast. Springs and well water are moderately plentiful. Coal has been found in the county in veins about three feet below the surface. There is good building stone, red sandstone and blue and red limestone abound. The county is traversed by two lines of railroad, the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston, and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas. Iola, the capital, is 78 miles south of Lawrence, by the L. L. & G. R. R. The village has a bank, three churches, and some manufactories of furniture and other goods, that give a fair average of employment, for which the Neosho river gives water power. There is in Iola an artesian well which affords mineral water much valued in some diseases, and an inflammable gas which would supply a large town with fuel and illumination if properly utilized. The village has a postoffice, which accommodates the township and a population of 1,759 persons. There is a good weekly paper, the Neosho Valley Register. The agricultural resources of the county assist to build up the capital, and there are good prospects for the village and district, although there has been temporarily a falling off in population. The distress in Allen county, after the locust visitation, was not excessive; about 300 persons were represented as in need of rations and 300 women and children as in need of clothing. Humboldt is another very considerable village in Allen county, on the Neosho river and on the L. L. & G. R. R., as well as on the M. K. & T. R. R., 80 miles south of Lawrence. The Neosho is here crossed by a bridge. The village has a population of 1,200, and the township of 2,000. There is a weekly paper and a monthly periodical published in the village, and a coal mine near the village which has also several fine business houses, a bank, a cigar factory and other industries of some im-

portance, including two steam flouring mills and a steam furniture factory. There are also in the county, at Geneva, a steam saw and grist mill; at Osage and at Deer Creek similar mills run by steam power. The county has 57 school districts and 55 school houses, the number of churches of the various denominations is equally liberal, but unfortunately there are no returns as to libraries and it seems probable that there are none in the county available for public use. Dairy products have exhibited a marked increase in butter and cheese since 1870, and sheep farming would be largely followed but for the ravages of dogs, which are far more destructive to flocks than even the wolves are. Farms are well managed in Allen county, and the vineyards, orchards and nurseries here attract and deserve much attention for the skill with which they are managed.

Anderson County was organized at the same time as Allen county, in 1855, by the Shawnee legislature, being named after Col. Anderson, of Lexington, one of the first members elected by Missouri interposition to the territorial legislature of Kansas The area of the county is 576 square miles, and the population 5,809, in which the males exceed the females by 233, and all countries seem to have contributed to make up the total. The growth of the last five years has been quite slow, only about two per cent. per annum, but prior to that time, had been very rapid for ten years. There are about 7 per cent engaged in mining and manufactures, and over 75 per cent. in agriculture. Forest and prairie divide the land in the proportion of 6 of the first to 94 of the latter, and 10 per cent. is bottom land, the bottoms averaging about two miles in breadth. The Pottawatomie is the main stream, with two forks, the north running east, and the south northeast. There are smaller streams, such as the Cedar creek, the Sac, Iantha, Thomas, Indian, Deer, Little Osage, Big and Little Sugar. Well water is found usually at from fifteen feet to twenty-five, and springs are numerous. There is good coal, but the seam is not thick, as it varies from eight to twenty-two inches, but it is free from sulphur and is only about four feet below the surface at the deepest, within the range of the county. It is mined for domestic use only, and in the scarcity of timber

for fuel is of much value. There is good building stone in the county and excellent fire clay nine inches in thickness, besides which lead has been found in two places, and a vein of ochre, which will become of commercial value. There are three railroad stations, at Garnett, Weldon and Colony, on the L. L. and G. R. R., which runs through the whole county. The distress in Anderson, arising from the locust plague, was very considerable, as about 12 per cent. of the whole population were in need of rations, and 326 were in want of clothing. There has been a decrease of cultivation since that time, to the extent of about or nearly 2,000 acres. In this county also the value and number of sheep killed by dogs exceed the ravages by wolves. Cheese and butter have increased in quantity in this county during the last five years, but not very largely. Bees are kept to some extent, and orchards, vineyards and nurseries occupy about 2,000 acres. There are four excellent water powers in the county, but they are comparatively little used, and could be made of great value with a small outlay of capital for manufactures. The city of Garnett is the capital, and it is 58 miles in an air line southeast of Topeka. The city has a railroad station, three grist mills, one saw mill, a cheese factory, a furniture factory utilizing the native woods, an oil mill and a planing mill. There is also a saw mill at Central City. There are two banks at Garnett and two weekly papers. The Paola, Garnett and Fall River line intersects the L. L. and G. R. R. at this point. There are 8 churches in the city and a college under the auspices of the United Presbyterians. The village is well built and all departments of business well represented, the population being 1219. The union school building is extensive and admirable in every way. The city lies 52 miles south of Lawrence. There is a Catholic parochial school at Garnett, there are two at Emerald, and at Scipio there is a monastery, with a college and parochial school attached. There are sixty-five organized school districts in the county, sixty-two schools, and the school property is valued at $68,586. There are nine church edifices in Anderson county and seventy-five private libraries are registered, with an aggregate or 7,381 volumes, or more than 100 volumes in each. The other principal towns have

been named, but the mineral and manufacturing resources of Anderson have been hardly touched.

Atchison County was named in honor of the proslavery leader David R. Atchison, whose zeal deluged the territory in sorrow for several years. He was for a short time vice president of the United States, and evidently hoped that his zeal for slavery would give him the higher nomination. There are 409 square miles of territory in the county, with a population in 1875 of 20,187, having increased nearly 5,000 since 1870. The males exceed the females by 785 in this county. Manufactures and mining occupy about 19 per cent. of the population, agriculture 31 per cent., and trade and transportation about 34 per cent. The capital seat is Atchison, long the head quarters of the proslavery party and the locale of the squatter sovereign, but now much more wisely engaged and prosperous in proportion. The face of the county shows about 15 per cent. of bottom lands, the rest being upland. Prairie and forest divide the area in the proportions of 90 and 10. The bottom lands range from two miles to one-fourth of a mile in breadth. The timber growing in this county is valuable for manufactures. The principal streams are, the Independence creek, which runs east to the Missouri; the Big Grasshopper, which runs south to the Kansas; and the Little Grasshopper, its tributary; Deer creek, tributary to Independence; Walnut creek, flowing into the Missouri; Camp, Little Stranger and Big Stranger creeks, which empty into the Kansas. The county has good well water at from twenty to thirty feet in depth, and springs are numerous. Coal has been found, but so far only in small quantities; the other mineral treasures found are sandstone and limestone, well nigh inexhaustible, yellow oxide of iron, in and around the capital, fire clay of good qualtity, and excellent pottery clay. The city of Atchison has a very charming appearance on the western bank of the Missouri river at the extreme western point of the great bend. This city is the western terminus of the Missouri Pacific, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, and the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroads; it is the northern terminus of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe line;

the eastern terminus of the central branch of the Union Pacific; the southern terminus of the Atchison and Nebraska; and the western terminus of the Burlington and Missouri line. The Kansas City, St. Joseph and Missouri River line also runs through Atchison; hence the city is a great railroad centre, and one of the chief commercial towns in Kansas. There are published in the city, three daily, three weekly, and three monthly papers, the principal of which are the Daily Champion, Patriot and Courier, the last named being German. The Champion of Sunday, June 13, 1875, was published on the first paper manufactured in the state, at Blue Rapids. There are two national banks and two private banks in the city. There are four public school buildings, the principal of which cost $50,000, besides St. Benedict's college and three private academies. There is a very handsome Catholic cathedral, and seven other admirable church buildings. There is also an iron and brass foundry of considerable dimensions, and there are four large furniture factories run by steam, three steam flouring mills with a capital of $110,000, a steam saw mill with a capital of $70,000, cigar factories, breweries, wagon and carriage factories, agricultural implement factories, a steam stone dressing factory, and other important works. The city has a population of 10,927. The papers published in Atchison supply the whole county.

There are other centers of less importance, but considerable, and among them are distributed a water power flouring and grist mill in Grasshopper township, with a capital of $2,000; a saw and grist mill in Walnut township; two water power flouring and grist mills in Kapiowa township; two wind power flouring mills in Centre township; and a cheese factory at Effingham. The water powers on the Grasshopper are very valuable, but they are only utilized partially, and will eventually give employment to many thousands of both sexes before many years have passed. When the locust plague fell upon Kansas in 1874, Atchison county was self supporting, and received no external help as might have been expected, from the fact that the county was the first to become connected with the railroad system of the continent, and was the only county in Kansas so placed before the war. There are 67 organized school districts in the county, and 71 school

buildings, the property being valued at $120,000; besides which there are other facilities for education, including St. Benedict College, in charge of the Benedictine Friars; an academy for ladies under the patronage of the sisters of the Benedictines; and a large parochial school connected with the same church. The churches in Atchison county number altogether thirteen edifices, which belong to the Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregational, Methodist, Episcopal, Catholic and Lutheran organizations. The central branch of the Union Pacific Railroad Company owns all the unsold lands in the county. There is no information afforded by the returns as to libraries, public or private, but the latter must be numerous and extensive. There are 2,673 acres of land in the county occupied as nurseries, orchards and vineyards, and apiaculture has commanded much attention, as there are 505 stands of bees returned, from which 3,874 pounds of honey were collected in 1874. The bridge over the Missouri River at Atchison is a very handsome and substantial structure of iron on stone abutments, and supported by stone piers. It is used for railroad purposes, and is sufficiently high to permit the navigation of the river to proceed unimpeded.

Barbour County was named in honor of a very estimable free settler, who was killed in sheer wantonness by a proslavery picket, during the troubles in Douglas county in 1855, as he was returning home from Lawrence. There are 1,134 square miles of territory in Barbour county, but the population is very small indeed, being only 366 in 1875, of which all save seventeen were born in the United States. There are thirty more males than females. The larger part of the population is engaged in agriculture. Medicine Lodge is the county seat, 198 miles from Topeka, in an air line southwest. Only one per cent. of the area is timbered, the rest being prairie. About ten per cent. is bottom land. No coal has been found, but large beds of gypsum will become of great value, and they extend over one-fourth of the county. There are no railroads, but the cultivated area extends annually, the increase in 1874 being 1,411 acres. The population suffered much from the locust plague, as there were 262 needing rations, and about the same number in want of clothes, when the state

board of agriculture procured returns early in 1875 for the information of the legislature. The population prior to the locust invasion was over 600. The county contains twelve organized school districts, and only one school house. The vacant lands are mainly Osage trust lands, or belong to the government. There are two saw mills, no banks, no newspaper, and only one church organization, the Roman Catholic. The county was organized in 1873, or the name might not have been permitted.

BARTON COUNTY was organized in 1872, and named in honor of a lady philanthropist well known for her services in the cause of sanitary reform during the war for the Union. There are 1,332 square miles of territory in Barton, and a population of about 2,100. In 1870, there were only two persons in the area. The males exceed the females by about seventy. The bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture. Great Bend is the county seat, 174 miles from Topeka, westerly. There are forty per cent. of bottom lands, but only one of forest. The bottom lands on the Arkansas river range fully seven miles, and on the creeks about two miles. The uplands are undulating but available for cultivation. The Arkansas is the great river giving the name to the county seat. Walnut creek and Little Walnut, its tributary, fall into the Arkansas. There are three other creeks worthy of note — Blood, Deception and Cow creeks. The county has few springs, but well water can be reached at from ten feet on the bottoms to sixty feet on the uplands. Coal or lignite is found in the northern part of the county, about twenty inches thick. Sandstone is abundant, and so is limestone in the west and north. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad has stations at Ellwood and Great Bend. There has been an increase of over 7,000 acres in cultivation in the last twelve months reported. The dogs are not so numerous and destructive here as in some counties. There is good water power on Walnut creek, but no manufactures appear to be located there. Great Bend is the post village and capital, and is situated on the Arkansas river, very near the center of the state. There is a bank, one newspaper — the Great Bend Register, a weekly, a fine brick court house, an excellent graded school, churches, hotels,

and a good trade. There are in the county, 31 organized school districts and 22 school houses, with property valued at $23,920. There are no libraries, but there are ten church organizations. The locust plague affected Barton heavily, as there were 1,000 persons, or nearly half the then population, wanting rations and other help in 1874.

Bourbon County is one of the earliest organizations, dating from 1855. There are 637 square miles of territory, with a population of 15,076, which has increased within the last five years 1,753. Rather more than half the population is engaged in farming, and about one-eighth in mining and manufactures. The capital of the county is at Fort Scott, 100 miles from Topeka to the southeast. There is about 10 per cent. of forest in the county, and the bottom lands are about 17 per cent., with an average breadth of one mile. The timber is usually of valuable varieties. The principal streams are the Osage river, with Limestone creek, its tributary; Marmaton river, with Mill, Wolverine and Shiloh as its northern, and Yellow Paint, Pawnee, Rock and Moore's Branch as its southern tributaries. Drywood is another stream on tl south line, with Walnut creek as its northern tributary. Springs are numerous, as usually is the case near woodlands, and well-water varies from five to twenty-five feet in depth. Coal has been found under about one-third of the county, varying in depth from one foot to fifty, and in thickness of vein from six inches to three feet. This deposit must materially affect the future of the county. During 1874–5, the mines were worked to the extent of about 150,000 tons, and the quality is moderately good bituminous. The expense of working is very light, as the coal can be supplied at the pit mouth for $1.90 per ton. Limestone, sandstone, hydraulic cement, mineral paint, fire clay and pottery clay are all plentiful, and lead has been found, but not in paying quantities. Fort Scott, the capital of the county, has stations on the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf, and on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroads, which bisect each other at that point, and traverse the county completely. This city is 380 miles west of St. Louis, Mo., and 98 miles south of Kansas City, and is situated on the Marmiton river. There are three

newspapers published here, one daily (the Fort Scott Monitor), and two weekly. The mines and mineral paints and ochres lead to many important industries already, but they are yet in the infancy of their development. The hydraulic cement works must become very extensive, as the quality of the article supplied is excellent.

Among the enterprises now flourishing in the city of Fort Scott are a steam brewery, two steam flouring mills, steam paint and cement works, steam planing mill and cabinet works, steam flouring mill and elevator, steam foundry and machine shops, steam castor oil works, steam woolen mills, wagon and carriage factories, marble works, several cabinet factories, fire, pressed and building brick manufactories, breweries, soap factories, cigar and tobacco factories, and in addition the state grange has recently erected valuable works, so that the aggregate of capital invested is already more than $400,000 in industries which are certain to grow with increase of population. Many businesses of great importance have not been enumerated, and the population of Fort Scott is 4,572. The county of Bourbon did not require help during the locust plague. There are no water powers utilized in Fort Scott, nor more than one in the county of Bourbon, although many such could be made available at little cost; but steam power is preferred because it is so steady in its operation, and, therefore, more economical in the main. The other principal manufactures in the county are in Freedom township, where there is a steam saw and flouring mill; at Timber Hill township, similar works; at Scott township, a steam flouring mill; in Franklin township, a saw mill; at Xenia, a flouring mill; in Marion township, two steam saw mills and one flour and saw mill, driven by water power; and at Cato, one flour mill and one saw mill. There are only two banks in the county, those at Fort Scott, the First National and the Merchants' National, with an aggregate capital of $250,000.

There are in the county eigty-seven organized school districts and eighty-six school houses, valued, with furniture and appurtenances, at $63,216, besides which the Catholic Church has established a school for young ladies. Seven townships only have made returns as to libraries, in which are included one pub-

lic and eighty-seven private collections, of 13,087 volumes altogether. Dogs are numerous and destructive, as more sheep have been destroyed by dogs than by wolves by more than three to one. Butter and cheese are largely made in this county, and there are nearly 5,000 acres planted in vineyards, nurseries and orchards.

Brown County was organized in 1855, and named in honor of a senator and ex-governor of Mississippi, who seceded with Jefferson Davis in 1861. The territory comprises 507 square miles, and has a population of nearly 10,000, which is still increasing; the males preponderate about 640 over the females. Over 80 per cent. are employed in farming, and about 11 per cent. in trade, transportation, mining and manufactures. The county seat is at Hiawatha, fifty-seven miles from Topeka, to the north. There is only about two per cent. of bottom lands and eight per cent. of timber. The forest woods are of good quality. The principal streams are Walnut creek, Grasshopper, Wolf, Boy's creek, Spring and Mulberry creeks. Well water ranges from twenty-five to forty feet in depth, and springs are plentiful. Coal has been found, but the extent is unknown. Where found near the surface, it runs from sixteen to twenty-two inches in thickness, and is not of very good quality. Limestone is found of good quality in the western part of the county. The county seat at Hiawatha is also the principal station on the St. Joseph and Denver City railroad, which traverses the county nearly east and west. St. Joseph city is distant only forty-two miles east. There are four fine churches, a bank, two newspapers, several schools, a steam flouring mill and two elevators. The capital is in the center of a fine agricultural country and does an excellent business. The water powers are excellent, but they are mostly undeveloped, and there is only one water mill in the whole county, on Walnut creek. There is a steam saw mill in Robinson township, a water flouring mill in Hamlin township, and a grist mill in Padonea township. The population of Hiawatha is under 800 souls. Barnett, Morrill & Co. are the bankers at Hiawatha. There are in the county 72 organized school districts, with 69 school houses, valued, with all appurtenances, at $80,814. There

are six churches erected in the county, but many organizations have no buildings. There are four public and eighty-one private libraries reported, with an aggregate of 6,728 volumes. Brown, being one of the oldest counties, required no help at the time of the locust plague, but the dogs are a plague from which the county continually suffers, in the damage inflicted on sheep farmers.

Butler County was organized in 1855, being named in honor of one of the proslavery champions representing South Carolina. The territory comprises 1,428 square miles, and has a population of nearly 10,000, in which males preponderate to the extent of about 900. Nearly 30 per cent. are engaged in farming, and about 9 per cent. in trade, transportation, mining and manufacturing. The county seat is at Eldorado, about 107 miles from Topeka southwest, on the Walnut river. The town has a national bank, a newspaper, an academy, two churches, two flouring mills, and good water power which cannot fail to be improved eventually, as it stands in the midst of a fine farming country. The population of Eldorado in 1875 was 1,136, and amoug the other industries not mentioned are, a tannery, a cheese factory, and a furniture factory for the promotion of which the native woods are well adapted. Elsewhere in the county are two water mills and one steam mill for flouring. At Augusta, there is a steam lumber mill, at Towanda a water grist mill and a cheese factory, and at Douglass two steam saw mills. There is only one bank in the county besides that at Eldorado, the second institution of the kind being at Augusta, where also the Southern Kansas Gazette is published. There are in the county 124 school districts organized, and 90 school houses, valued inclusive at $80,500. Libraries are but partially reported, and they show an aggregate of 1,332 volumes in one public and 37 private collections in seven townships. There are only two church buildings, but the organizations are much more numerous. Butler suffered heavily in the locust plague, as nearly one-ninth of the population wanted food, and 190 wanted clothing, as appears by the report of the state board.

Chautauqua County is one of the young counties, having

been organized in 1875. It has an area of 651 square miles, and a population of 7,417, having been prior to its separate organization part of Howard county, which was made into two counties, Elk being the other. Howard had only 19 inhabitants in 1860, and when divided it possessed 13,632. Fully 85 per cent. of the population of Chautauqua is employed in farming, aud nine per cent. in trade, transportation, mining and manufactures. Sedan, the county seat, is 135 miles from Topeka, towards the south. The village has but little manufacturing, no bank, and but one journal, a weekly. The manufactures of the county consist of a water power saw and grist mill at Peru; a saw and grist mill, and a steam saw mill at Cloverdale; a water power saw and grist mill, and another driven by steam at Boston; a saw mill, a grist mill, and one mill combining both branches at Cedarville; a steam saw and grist mill and a grindstone manufactory at Grafton; a steam saw and grist mill at Matanzas; a steam saw mill at Salt Creek, and a steam saw mill at Elk City. There are 80 organized school districts and 71 school houses, valued inclusively at $32,555. The Baptists have ten organizations, but no church building. There are libraries public and private, 4 and 87, with an aggregate of 5,914 volumes. In this county as in every other, dogs are destructive. Chautauqua was organized at the time of the locust plague, but as part of Howard it was included in the list of sufferers, as that county stands rated at 600 needing rations and 1,500 in want of clothing

Chase County was organized in 1859, and named in honor of the chief justice. The change in administration within the territory is broadly marked between Atchison and Chase. The territory includes 750 square miles, and has a population of 3,116 in 1875, the males preponderating by 412. Three-fourths of the population are engaged in agricultural pursuits, over one-tenth in mining and manufactures. The county seat is located at Cottonwood Falls, 67 miles southwest from Tokepa, as the crow flies. The land is divided into bottom and prairie, 12 and 88; about 5 per cent. is timbered. The valleys of the streams are shut in by bluffs, but otherwise the country is undulating. The timber is good for manufacturing purposes. The principal streams are Cot-

tonwood river, and its tributaries on the north, Buckeye, Peyton, Fox, Diamond, Middle, Silver and French creeks; and on the south Jacobs, Bloody, South Fork, and others much smaller. The county is pretty well supplied with springs, and well water of good quality may be found at about a depth of 25 feet. Coal has been found, but not in quantity. Building stone of excellent quality may be procured in abundance. Magnesian limestone of very choice kinds, raised and quarried in this county, ornaments most of the great cities in the state, and is in great demand. Cottonwood Falls is a depot for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, and, as the name implies, the county seat is located on the banks of the Cottonwood. There is at this point an excellent series of water powers, but little used at present, although there are manufactories, chief among which are two flouring mills run by water power, and stone sawing works. The Chase County Bank is at Cottonwood Falls, and there are two newspapers, the Leader and the Courant, both weekly. There are nine public libraries in this young county, containing an aggregate of 1,252 volumes, and 43 private collections, with a total of 3,816 volumes. There are 36 organized school districts in the county, and 32 school houses, valued inclusive at $31,563. There is one denomination school, Catholic, at Cottonwood Falls. There are three church buildings in the county, valued at $6,800, but there are many more organizations with small memberships. Chase County court house displays the magnificent taste of its projectors. The manufactures of the county have progressed but little up to the present time, but there are valuable works rising into local and general importance, among which are: a flouring mill at Bazaar township; a water power and hand loom; a water power flouring mill at Toledo; a flouring mill at Falls township; a flouring mill at Diamond Creek; a grist mill at Cedar Point; a saw mill at Elmdale; a saw mill and a saw and grist mill at Silver Creek, and a saw and grist mill at Safford. The amount of capital invested in these several works is not large, but the industrial enterprises mentioned pay tolerably well, and will develop with time and population to much greater dimensions. In this county it is a noticeable fact that the dogs are not so destructive among sheep as the wolves. The locust raid did not very severely affect this

county, as only 50 persons required assistance with clothes and rations, and the people helped one another.

Cherokee County was originally named McGee, but was changed in 1868, in consequence of the Indian reservation named being partly included. The organization was first effected in 1855, and McGee was one of the Missouri legislature at Shawnee. The area of the county is 589 square miles, and it contains a population of 12,223, by steady increase since the people became masters of their own government. The preponderance of males in this county is about 700. The population of this county has come mainly from Illinois, Missouri, Iowa and Indiana, in the order in which the states are named, and about 72 per cent. are engaged in agriculture, 10 per cent. in mining and manufactures, and over 11 per cent. in personal and professional services. The county seat is at Columbus, 135 miles southeast from Topeka. This county suffered from the locust raid considerably, but the people were old residents to a large extent and no outside help was accepted. Columbus is a post village as well as capital of the county, and it has a population of 1,279. It is fifty miles south of Fort Scott, and it supports two newspapers, the Journal and the Courier. There is a water power flouring mill here, and many small industries, giving a large aggregate of employment. There are three banks in the county, but the principal is that at Columbus, the house of Hobart & Middaugh. There are two other papers published in the county, at Cherokee and at Baxter Springs, both weeklies, and the manufactures beyond those already enumerated are four water power flouring mills at Lowell township; two water power flouring mills and saw mills at Shawnee township; steam spelter mills at Cherokee; and a cigar factory and a brewery at Baxter Springs. There are 90 organized school districts and 83 school houses, valued inclusive at $64,650. Libraries are not returned in the voluminous records from which we quote, but there are five church edifices and more numerous organizations from which the presence of libraries may be inferred. Butter and cheese are very successful industries in Cherokee county, but sheep farming is robbed of its profits by the ravages of dogs, the loss in that way being valued at $582, while

wolves have only destroyed within the same time to the amount of $37. Nurseries, orchards and vineyards occupy over 4,000 acres in the county, and bees are being every year more highly valued as additions to profit with little outlay or trouble.

CLAY COUNTY was named in honor of the compromise statesman, but for whom the quarrel between north and south might have fallen at a much earlier date when the outcome would probably have been less advantageous for humanity. This county was organized the year after the conclusion of the war in 1866. The territory is 660 square miles, the population 6,672, and the increase continuous from the first organization. Males preponderate by nearly 500. There are 87 per cent. employed in farming, mining, manufactures. Trade and transportation only employ about 8 per cent. Clay Centre, the county seat, is 81 miles from Topeka to the west, and 125 miles west of Leavenworth, on the banks of the Republican river. This village has a station on the Junction City and Fort Kearney Railroad, operated by the Kansas Pacific Company, and one newspaper, the *Dispatch*, an able weekly. The population of Clay Center is 1,134. This county suffered much during the locust plague but only 70 became chargeable upon the general fund for rations and 110 for clothing, when the population was 6,000. There are two steam grist and saw mills at Clay Centre, and a similar mill worked by water power, besides other enterprises on a smaller scale. The Clay County Bank of J. Higginbotham is conducted at the county seat. The number of organized districts is 85; the schools number 63, and the value of buildings inclusive is $29,794. There are four church edifices, but many organizations are not supplied with buildings for worship. There are eleven townships in the county and of these six report 100 libraries with an aggregate of 3,811, all private collections except as to eight volumes. The returns before us are incomplete as to the other manufactures prosecuted in Clay county. The water powers in this district are valuable, but they are not much used so far. There are about 450 acres laid out in orchards, vineyards and nurseries here. Butter is an increasing branch of industry, but cheese decreases in Clay county. The land is good, 11 per cent. being fertile bottom lands,

with an average breadth of three-fourths of a mile. Forest only covers about 4 per cent., but the wood is of good quality. The principal streams are the Republican and a number of creeks including Petes, Five, Timber, Lincoln, Fancy, Otter and others. There are few springs, and wells must be sunk about 30 feet on the bottoms, and on the uplands from 60 to 75 feet.

Cloud County was organized is 1866, and named after Col. Cloud, who distinguished himself as commander of the second Kansas cavalry. The area includes 720 square miles, and the population is 7,170. Males preponderate about 450. About 84 per cent. are employed in farming, and 6 per cent. in mines and manufactories. The county seat is at Concordia, 111 miles from Topeka, northwest, 60 miles from Junction City, on the Republican river. There are two weekly newspapers in Concordia, the Empire and the Expositor. There are no banks in the county. The manufactures of the city and county are in the city, a water power flouring mill, a steam flour mill, a carriage and wagon factory, and a brewery. Some salt springs of great apparent value have been found, and a company formed for the purpose will test the practicability of salt works. There is in Buffalo township one saw mill, and in Lincoln township a steam grist and saw mill; besides these, there are in Meredith and Elk townships two steam saw mills, and in Solomon township a water power flour and saw mill and a steam saw mill. Cloud county suffered considerably from the locust plague, as 775 were in want of rations, and nearly twice that number in want of winter clothing, besides other assistance. There are no railroads in this county. There is about 10 per cent. of bottom land and 3 per cent. of woodland in this county; the remainder is upland prairie, but all cultivable soil. The bottoms of the Republican average four miles across, and of the Solomon, eight miles. The timber only follows the streams in belts of from 10 to 80 rods in breadth. The principal streams are the Republican with its tributaries, Camp, Hay, Salt, Little, Upton and Elk creeks on the north; and Mulberry, Beaver, Elm, Plum, Oak, Lost and Buffalo creeks on the south; the Solomon river with its tributaries, Asher, Fisher, Yockey, Criss, Mortimer and Pipe creeks. Chapman creek, one of the feeders

of the Kansas, rises in this county. There are but few springs, and wells vary from 10 feet to 100. Coal is found under half the county near the surface, from 15 to 30 inches in thickness, but it is little better than lignite. Mines have been worked at about 25 feet below the general surface, running shafts in from the sides of ravines, and the coal can be put in the market for about $2.50 or $3.00 per ton. Stone of poor quality is found, mostly fossiliferous limestone and sandstone. Pottery clay is abundant, and salt springs are also among the advantages possessed by Cloud county. There are very encouraging reports as to the fertility of the soil, and apparently reliable, showing returns of 21 bushels per acre of spring wheat in one case, and 20 in another, the first planting. Another report shows 70 bushels per acre of corn after five crops had been raised; others speak of 33 bushels of barley to the acre on bottom lands, and 23 bushels of spring wheat, 63 lbs to the bushel, and 300 bushels per acre of potatoes. There are many more such reports, which speak volumes for the fertility of Cloud county, which will soon be able to bid defiance to locusts if the settlers can maintain such returns.

COFFEY COUNTY was organized in 1859, being named after a member of the territorial council. The area of the county is 648 square miles, and the population 7,235. Males preponderate to the number of 350. Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Iowa and Missouri, in the order named, sent the largest quotas of population. There are seventy-seven per cent. engaged in farming, five per cent. in trade and transportation, and nine per cent. in mines and manufactures. There is about thirteen per cent. of bottom land, and eight per cent. of forest, the timber being of valuable kinds. Burlington, the county seat, is 59 miles southwest from Topeka, 28 miles southeast of Emporia on the right bank of the Neosho River, on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, which has here a good station. The water power is abundant, and there are two good weekly papers, the Patriot and Independent; a national bank, several mills, and a graded school building which cost $30,000. The mills are, a steam flouring mill with a capital of $20,000, two steam saw mills and a flouring mill, water power, with a capital of $55,000. There are elsewhere in the county a

steam saw mill in Hampden township; a steam flouring mill, a water flouring mill, a steam saw mill and a brewery in Leroy township, and a water power saw mill at Strawn. The water powers of the Neosho have not been one tithe developed. Burlington is a handsome village laid out with great regularity, with unbounded space for expansion. The Neosho is the principal stream in Coffey county, and its tributary creeks are Spring, Long, Wolf, Turkey, Big, Rock, Lebo, Crooked and Crow. The Pottawatomie and other small streams completely drain the area and give abundant water for all purposes. Well water of excellent quality can be found at a depth of about twenty feet. Coal is reported as underlying the whole county with a thickness of about fifteen inches, and at depths varying from the surface to 100 feet below. The quality of the vein is highly praised, but up to this time it has been mainly used in the locality, although some has been shipped by the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad. The quarries of building stone near Burlington are good, and deposits of gypsum abound in the northern part of the county. Cheese and butter are largely manufactured here, and sheep farming would flourish, but the profits go to the dogs. There are over 4,500 acres of land planted in orchards, nurseries and vineyards; bees are much cared for, and the returns are good. School houses to the number of 63 correspond with the number of school districts, and the stated value inclusive is $86,700. There are ten church edifices, but organizations are more numerous; and returns as to libraries show two public and ninety-five private collections of books, amounting to 10,771 volumes. This county suffered considerably from the locusts, but the people bore their own burden and assisted each other, the answer to outside sympathizers being that Coffey county is self supporting.

Cowley County was organized in 1870, being named in honor of an officer in the ninth Kansas cavalry, who died at Little Rock, Arkansas, after the Camden expedition. The area of Cowley is 1,112 square miles, and the population 8,963, males preponderating to the number of 715. There was in 1874 a much larger population before the locust famine overtook the locality, and since the census for 1875 was collected, the number has

increased again very considerably. When the report was prepared in 1874–5, to submit to the legislature of Kansas, there were 475 in want of rations, and 1,400 in want of clothing for winter. Unfortnately, the legislators bickered among themselves, and there was not as much appropriated as would pay for framing the report. Illinois gave the largest quota of population to this county, Missouri next, then Iowa, Indiana and Ohio. Agriculture employs eighty-two per cent. of the population, manufactures and mining seven per cent. and trade and transportation a little over three. Winfield is the county seat of Cowley county. It is 144 miles from Topeka in a southwesterly direction. Bottom lands rise in this county to the average of thirty-three per cent., so that it will be seen that Winfield is the center of a fine agricultural county. Woodlands average six per cent., the timber being of choice varieties, valuable for manufacturing, such as walnut, oak and other such woods. The bottom lands of Arkansas river average five miles, the Walnut two miles, Grouse, Dutch and Rock creek, one mile. The principal streams are the Arkansas river and its tributaries, Walnut and Grouse. The Walnut tributaries are the Rock, Dutch and Timber creeks. The Grouse has one important tributary, Silver creek. This county has good springs, and excellent well water can be procured at depths varying from fifteen to forty feet. The mineral resources of the county are coal and building stone. The quantity of coal is yet unknown, but the quantity and quality of magnesian limestone are both excellent. No railroads have yet been constructed here. Butter is largely manufactured in this county, but cheese is a small product; farm animals thrive and sheep would prosper but for the dogs. The increase of land in cultivation in 1874–5 was over 32,000 acres. The water powers of the Walnut are perfectly reliable except in heat of summer when there is apt to be a failure. Three mills are now depending on this stream. The manufactures of Cowley county are, in brief, in Cresswell township, a steam saw mill and two water power grist mills; in Spring Creek township, a steam lumber and grist mill; in Winfield township a steam saw mill, three water power grist mills and one brewery; in Lazette township, one grist and one saw mill, and in Silverdale township,

one saw mill and one grist mill. There are several banks in Arkansas City, at the confluence of the Arkansas and Walnut. This town commands a large trade, and although it is only three years old it already runs ahead of all competitors. There is a good weekly paper, the *Traveler*, now published on a spot which was an Osage hunting ground three years since. The Indians come back to their old grounds to trade occasionally. The support of Arkansas City is the Texan cattle trade, traffic with the Indians and supplying the fine agricultural country by which it is surrounded. The Arkansas City Bank and the Cowley County Bank in this town transact a considerable business. There are two banking houses in Winfield also, the aggregate capital of the four banks being $51,800. There are three papers published in Winfield. The county has fifty-eight school houses and 108 districts: the value of school property being $63,476. There are four church edifices valued at $11,500. There are seventy private libraries and one public, with an aggregate of 4,631 volumes, but returns only came from six townships out of twenty-two.

Crawford County was organized in 1867, and was named in honor of Gov. Crawford, who commanded the second colored infantry regiment raised in Kansas. The area of this county is 592 square miles; the populatior 9,386; the preponderance of males nearly 700. Illinois contributed a larger quota of population than any other two states, the next largest being Missouri. Farming employs 79 per cent. of the population, manufactures and mining 8 per cent. Girard is the county seat, 114 miles southeast from Topeka, 126 miles south from Kansas City, and the village has a station on the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad. There is quite a considerable trade done at this point among farmers, stock raisers and dairymen, who are the main supporters of the post village and capital of the county. There is a savings bank in the village, two good hotels, a grain elevator, a grist mill five churches, and quite a large array of stores. Two weekly newspapers flourish in this county — the Press and the News — both good. Besides the trade and manufacturing interests in Girard, there are elsewhere in the county: in Lincoln township, two steam flouring mills, one saw and corn mill, and

one steam saw mill; in Sheridan township, one steam grist mill, one steam mill and elevator; in Monmouth township, a steam grist mill; in Crawford township, two flouring mills, and one steam sawmill and elevator; and in Cato, two steam grist and saw mills, and one grist mill. There are no available water-powers in this county. The bottom lands in Crawford county are 15 per cent., and forest 10 per cent., the timber being of good kinds. The bottom lands vary from half a mile to one mile in breadth, and the timber belts are about half a mile wide. The soil is, as might have been anticipated, above the average in fertility. The principal streams are the Lightning, Thunderbolt and Limestone creeks, Big, Little and Middle Cow creeks, Walnut, Drywood, Bone and Cox creeks. The Ozark range runs through this county, dividing the two sets of streams, which run in opposite directions. There but few springs, but well water, at from 10 to 30 feet deep can be relied upon at all seasons. Coal is plentiful, as it underlies the whole county, and the veins vary in thickness from five feet downwards. The quality is good enough to create a demand at a distance, and much is exported, while the consumption at home is general. Sandstone, limestone and slate are found, the two former generally well distributed and the quality excellent. Drywood and Cherokee have stations on the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad, and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad has stations at Hepler and Glenwood, besides flag stations at other points, so that the country is well furnished with facilities for travel and traffic. During the year 1874–5, nearly 31,000 acres were added to the area formerly in cultivation. The reports from all quarters concur in praising the fertility of this county. Butter manufacture is steadily and rapidly increasing. In this county, as in most others, the dogs are very destructive to sheep. Over 3,000 acres of land are devoted to orchards, nurseries and vineyards. There are 98 schoolhouses and 100 districts, the value of school property being $53,544. Three townships have two public libraries with 230 volumes, and twenty-one private collections of books amounting to 1,400 volumes. There are eight church edifices, but the organizations are far more numerous. When the locust plague came down upon Kansas, in 1874, the people of Crawford county, although they

had suffered heavily, supported the burden within their own borders, and were self-supporting.

Davis County was named and organized in 1855, in honor of the president of the confederacy already in the egg, only waiting for time, Pierce and Buchanan to hatch it out. When the county was named, Jefferson Davis was secretary of war and chief director of the conspiracy against the peace and prosperity of Kansas. There are 407 square miles in the area of this county and the population in 1875 was 4,611, showing a decrease of more than 900 in five years. The males preponderate here to the number of 360. More than half of the population, 57 per cent., are occupied in farming, 11 per cent. are employed in mines and manufactures, and 8 per cent. in trade and transportation. Junction City, the county seat, is 62 miles west from Topeka, is situated at the crown of a low bluff, at the confluence of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers, when the Kansas river is formed by their union. This post village has the advantage of two lines of railroad, the Kansas Pacific, and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroads. There are many churches and schools in Junction City, besides which a savings bank, flouring mills, manufactories of various kinds and water powers equal to all demand. Quarries of magnesian limestone abound near Junction City, very easily worked and much used in building. Near the town Clark's creek is crossed by three Howe truss bridges, and the town is a busy centre all the year round. There are two weekly papers, the *Union* and *Tribune*, and those serve the whole county in local matters. The Davis County Savings Bank is located at Junction City. Only two water powers have yet been improved at this point, one on the Smoky Hill and one on Clarke's creek. Two water power flouring mills and a steam flouring mill are busily employed, giving work to great numbers of hands in the county seat; and besides these, there are a cigar factory, two breweries, and factories for the manufacture of furniture, soap and brooms. Agricultural implements and wagons, and all the necessary lines of business requisite for a country trade, are made and supplied in Junction City. The other manufactures in the county are—in Jackson township, a water power flouring mill;

in Milford, a steam grist and saw mill; and in Smoky Hill township, a cheese factory, a water power flouring mill and a salt bore. The number of school districts and school houses agree, both being thirty-four, and the value of the property $39,790. There is a parochial Catholic school also at Junction City. There are seven church edifices in the county, valued at about $43,000, but other buildings are now projected, as the demand is always increasing. There can be no information procured as to libraries. The population of Davis county was much larger before the locust plague fell upon the land, but in the winter of 1874 there were 375 persons reported in want of food and 500 in want of clothing. Many left the locality until the return of spring and had not resumed their avocations when the census was taken in the beginning of March, 1875.

DICKINSON COUNTY was organized in 1857, and named in honor of the senator who first enunciated in the senate of the United States by specific resolutions the doctrine of popular sovereignty. When this county was first named there was a great hope that the Lecompton constitution would be made acceptable to congress and the country. The area of Dickinson county is 851 square miles, its population 6,841, males preponderating about 500. Farming employs 79 per cent. of the population, trade and transportation 5 and mines and manufactures 9 per cent. The county has only 3 per cent of forest, but the wide expanse of bottom lands, fully 20 per cent. of the whole, gives much promise of fertility. The average width of the river bottoms is about two miles. Such timber as there is can be made very useful in manufactures, being too good for fuel and rough purposes. The principal streams are the Smoky Hill river, which has for its tributaries Hollands, Turkey, Deer, Swenson and Lyon's creeks on the south, and the Mud and Chapman creeks on the north. Very near to the boundary of the county the Solomon joins the Smoky Hill. Springs are rare, but well water can be found at from 20 to 60 feet in depth. The mineral resources of the county can hardly be said to include coal, although there are veins, but they are too thin to pay for working, as reached on Chapman's and on Holland creek. That is the dictum of the

authorities. There are fine qualities of limestone in endless profusion at many points along the bluffs and banks of streams, gypsum is also found in the southwest, and near Enterprise there is a very choice description of pottery clay. There are very excellent water powers on the Solomon and the Smoky Hill, as also on Chapman's and Turkey creeks, which although utilized to some extent, could be still largely improved with but slight outlays of capital. Dickinson was in the second group of counties among the sufferers by the locust plague; 200 persons were wanting food, still more wanting seed for their lands, and 450 were without clothes adapted to the requirement of winter, but there was an effort only partly successful to provide for all the wants indicated within the county. Abilene, the county seat, is 84 miles westerly from Topeka, by an air line, but 95 miles by rail. This is a great center in the cattle trade, many thousands being shipped from this point to the east. Abilene has one newspaper weekly, the *Chronicle*, there is another weekly, the *Gazette*, published at Solomon city, the two supplying the whole county. The only bank in the county is the Abilene bank. The manufactures at the county seat are, a water power flouring mill and such minor industries as require little machinery to assist hand labor, as in handicraft employments. The other factories and mills in the county are, a water power flouring mill at Enterprise, and a water power woolen mill, a steam saw mill, a steam sorghum factory, and a steam vinegar factory; at Solomon there is a water power flouring mill and an elevator; at Newburn there is a flouring mill, water power; and at Chapman's creek and on Turkey creek there are three water power flouring mills. School houses number 70, and the school districts 86, the value of property being estimated at $68,500. There are 5 church edifices, and the libraries reported aggregate over 5,000 volumes, the great bulk being of course in private collections. The country about Abilene has some very beautiful spots and the handsome buildings erected indicate the faith of the people in Kansas prosperity.

Doniphan County was organized in 1855, being named in honor of a Missouri colonel of a cavalry regiment who was deeply interested in making Kansas a slave state. The area of the county

is 379 square miles, and the population in 1875, 13,943, males preponderating by nearly 500. Farming employs 67 per cent.; 10 per cent. are engaged in mines and manufactures, and 6 in trade and transportation. One-fourth of the whole area is bottom land, and 16 per cent. forest, so that there are all the physical aids to success in farming and manufactures. The timber is usually excellent. The bottoms average one mile in breadth. The principal streams are Wolf river and its tributaries, running toward the Missouri. Springs are numerous, and well water can be found at from 10 to 60 feet in depth. There is no coal so far as discoveries have been made within the county that will pay for mining. Building stone is said to be good, and pottery clay abundant. Troy is the county seat, 60 miles northeast from Topeka. There are two railroads that make their principal stations at the capital, the St. Joseph and Denver City, which crosses the Missouri at Elwood, having stations at that point, at Wathena and at Severance; and the Atchison and Nebraska, which has other stations at Doniphan, Highland Station, Iowa Point, and White Cloud. The St. Joseph and Topeka Railroad can also be reached from Troy by a brief detour. There are two newspapers in the county, the Kansas Chief, at Troy, and the Reporter, at Wathena. There are two banks in the county, one at Troy, and one at Highland, and the manufactures worthy of note are: a steam saw mill at Iowa township; a furniture factory and flouring mill at White Cloud; a steam flouring mill at Burr Oak township; breweries at Highland and Wathena; a steam flouring mill at Wolf River; a steam flouring mill at Centre township; three steam flouring mills at Washington township, and in Wayne township a steam saw and flouring mill, a steam flouring mill, a wagon and implement factory, two wine pressing factories, and a water power flouring mill. The water powers in the county are limited, but several flouring mills are supplied, and more can be run with little outlay. There are 68 organized school districts, and 71 school houses, valued inclusive at $89,500. The Presbyterian University, at Highland, under the supervision of the Synod of Kansas, is valued at $75,000, and there are Roman Catholic Schools at Doniphan and Severance. Library reports are very few and restricted, only showing about 3,273 volumes.

There are 19 church edifices in Doniphan county, but several organizations and denominations have no church buildings. This county was self supporting during the distress arising from the locust plague.

Douglas County was organized in 1855, and was named in honor of the great Stephen A. Douglas, whose powers were, unfortunately, to a great extent, warped by the influences of party, against the interests of progression. This county is one of the most famous in the history of Kansas, because it was the scene of the Wakarusa war, and of all the troubles that for a long term of years occurred and reoccurred to Lawrence. The population of the county in 1875 was 18,505, and the area is 469 square miles. The population in 1870, in this county, reached higher figures by 2,087 than in the year 1875. The preponderance of males in this county is only 163. Farming only employs 47 per cent. of the population in Douglas county, 13 per cent. being employed in trade and transportation, and 14 per cent in mines and manufactures. Lawrence, the county seat, is 25 miles east from Topeka, the capital of the state. The city is built on both sides of the Kansas river, and ranks only second in the state, both as to population and wealth. In intellectuality and public spirit she has no superior, and the sufferings and losses endured by the citizens of Lawrence on behalf of the state, and of humanity at large, deserve to be commemorated in such a memoir as will endure in the history of the race. The first point settled upon by the free state party on their arrival in the territory was certain to monopolize, or nearly to monopolize, the special hate of the ruffians, and the onslaughts made upon the liberties of the city were borne or repelled, according as wisdom or necessity dictated, with unfailing heroism. In spite of sieges and raids, from the first incursion to the Quantrell outrage, all of the same class and spirit, Lawrence is now one of the most beautiful and enterprising cities in the great northwest. The dam recently constructed across the Kansas river at Lawrence gives nearly 2,000 horse power, which will add materially to the wealth producing power of the city. A flouring mill connected with the work in question is a great success. The other manufactures in and near the city are iron foun-

dries, machine shops, a woolen factory, the largest pork packing establishment in the state, planing and flouring mills, seven wagon and carriage factories, two agricultural implement factories, grist mills, elevators, breweries, a tannery, a soap factory, pottery works, furniture factories, mineral water factories, operated by steam power, a steam foundry, and a brick manufactory. The other manufactures in the county are dwarfed by comparison with such enterprise, and in view of the wealth that must accrue for such labors well directed, Lawrence can well give liberal endowments to promote liberal education and the dissemination of knowledge among all classes in the community. Six railroads center in Lawrence, giving facilities for intercourse with all parts of the world. The Kansas Pacific has here its principal station; the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston makes this city a depot; the St. Louis, Lawrence and Denver, the Lawrence and Southwestern, the Kansas Midland railroad, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe connects itself by means of its junction with the Lawrence and Southwestern at Carbondale. The banking accommodations of the city are provided by four banks, three of which have an aggregate capital of $113,250 and the National Bank has a capital of $100,000. The press of Lawrence is metropolitan in tone and management. The issues are The Republican, Journal, Tribune, Standard, dailies and weeklies, The Spirit of Kansas and the Sentinel, weeklies. The state university is located here, because of the magnificent gift of $100,000 and other sums, already named and particularized in giving a sketch of the institution. The Roman Catholics have parochial schools in this city. There are seventeen churches here, representing all the principal denominations among Christians, and an excellent public library, available to every person desirous to procure information, and willing to protect the excellent property placed at his disposal.

The school system of Douglas county is the same as that of other counties in the state, but the numbers and wealth, no less than the spirit of the people, secure the most liberal administration possible under the law. There are in the county 84 districts and 93 school houses, valued, inclusive of furniture and apparatus, at $196,560. The Baker University, at Baldwin City, under

the supervision of the Methodist Episcopal organization, is a fine establishment, although necessarily denominational, as is the Catholic parochial school at Endora. There are in the county 22 church edifices, valued at $200,000, some of which are very handsome indeed. The public libraries have an aggregate of 5,200 volumes, and 39 private collections in five townships have 2,917 volumes. The business and trades practiced in Lawrence comprise nearly all that can be honestly pursued in any city in the Union. In this county, as in every other, the ravages of dogs among the sheep are expressly named as a cause of loss to a valuable industry, and it is certain that either law or administration fails to terminate or at any rate to reduce the nuisance. The number of acres devoted to nurseries, orchards and vineyards in Douglas county, sums up a total of 5,682. The increase of cultivated land in the county, during the year 1874–5, amounts to 38,779 acres. Coal is supposed to underlie the whole of the county, at a depth of from ten feet below the surface to the unknown extreme, with a thickness of vein varying from 12 to 20 inches, so far as is known, but the quality so far as the seam has been developed is not good. Building stone has been found in limitless supplies and admirable quality in many directions, and recently there have been excellent developments of fire clay and pottery clay on Mount Oread, quite near to Lawrence. The chief railroad stations, besides Lawrence and Baldwin City, are Prairie City, De Soto, Olathe, Carbondale, Topeka, Lecompton and Endora. The principal streams are the Kansas river and the Wakarusa, which are fed by numerous small streams. The county is well supplied with springs, and well water can as a rule be obtained of excellent quality at about 25 feet from the surface. About one-fifth of Douglas county is bottom land with an average breadth of one mile. Forest covers about six per cent. of the soil only and the country is undulating generally. The locust plague struck some parts of Douglas county very heavily and out of its population of 23,262, the largest of any county, except Leavenworth, in the state, there were 800 persons reported to be in need of rations, but the generosity of the country was nobly aroused on that as on many former occasions. It is manifestly impossible in a brief and cursory sketch to do justice to a county

like Douglas, but it is something even to have perceived that fact.

EDWARDS COUNTY was organized in 1874, and is therefore young, but not among the youngest of the counties. The "Massachusetts Colony" made the first settlement in 1873, and the name was given in honor of the Hon. John H. Edwards, of Ellis, Kansas. The area is 972 square miles, and the population, in 1875, 234. Kinsley is the county seat, 216 miles southwest from Topeka, on the Arkansas river, 34 miles east of Fort Dodge, 60 miles north from the salt fields on the boundary of the Indian territory, to which this is the nearest point at which shipments can be effected. Kinsley is a station on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe R. R. The first house was built in Kinsley in 1873, and a paper, the Reporter, a weekly journal, was started soon afterwards. It is edited by a lady, and obtains a large measure of support. When the county was organized, in 1874, there were about 600 inhabitants, but the locust plague considerably reduced the population. The climate and the soil are good, and Edwards county, if it has little history, has fair prospects. The preponderance over females on this small population is still marked, the numbers respectively being 138 and 96. Agriculture employs 67, mining and manufactures, 16. The county has little or no timber; the Arkansas bottom is three miles wide, and the rest is upland rolling prairie. The Arkansas is the chief stream, and Big Coon its tributary. No coal has been found; common limestone can be procured in sufficient quantity, and Kinsley has a station on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe R. R. There are now about 2,000 acres under cultivation. There are no banks, no manufactures and no water powers. There is one school district and one building valued inclusive at $530. The Congregational church has one edifice valued at $2,000, but no libraries are reported, and vacant lands range in value from $1.50 to $5.00 per acre.

ELK COUNTY is still younger, having been organized in 1875 by the subdivision of Howard county. Elk river gives the name. The area is 651 square miles, the population 6,215, in which the

males preponderate 291. Farms employ 83 per cent., and manufactures and mines, 9 per cent. The increase of cultivation is large, and reports indicate great fruitfulness, as 44 and even 45 bushels to the acre of Mediterranean wheat have been certified; as also 60 bushels of corn. Potatoes yielded 366 bushels to the acre. Butter is increasing rapidly as a staple. There are some mills and factories, including a water power grist mill at Union Centre, and a broom factory; a wagon factory in Howard, and a steam grist mill at Paw Paw. There are three newspapers, the Courant, at Longton, and the Journal and the Ledger, at Elk Falls. Howard city, the county seat, is 113 miles southwest from Topeka, but the banking business of the county is transacted at Elk Falls. There are 74 districts and 59 school houses valued inclusive at $20,907. Libraries in four townships give a total of 1,739 volumes. Howard, the parent county, suffered from the locusts; this county was organized afterwards.

Ellis County, named in honor of an officer killed at Jenkins' Ferry, when Gen. Steele was retreating from Camden to Little Rock, Ark., was organized in 1867. It has an area of 900 square miles, and a population of 940, having decreased about 400 in five years, in consequence of stock raising and grazing having become the chief pursuit. Males preponderate by 116; mines and manufactures employ 23 per cent., and a like proportion prevails in agriculture; trade and transportation employ nineteen per cent. Bottom lands average 15 per cent. of the area, and forest one only. The principal streams are the Smoky Hill, the Saline and Big creeks. There are but four springs, but well water is found at depths varying from twenty to sixty feet. Coal has been found, but the vein is thin and poor so that it is little used. Magnesian limestone abounds. The Kansas Pacific has main stations at Hays City, the county seat, and at Ellis; that is the only railroad in the county at the present time. Hays City is 196 miles westerly from Topeka, half a mile from Fort Hays, and 289 miles west from Kansas City. The architectural embellishments consist of a county court house and a large school house. The population of Hays City is 320, and the *Sentinel* is published weekly here. There is a bank at the county seat. There are no manu-

factures reported; the Saline and Big Creek give good water powers, but they are not utilized. There are two organized school districts and three school buildings, valued inclusive at $10,280. Church organizations show an aggregate property of over $2,000. Ellis suffered from the locust plague considerably.

ELLSWORTH COUNTY was organized in 1867, and named in honor of Col. Ellsworth, who was slain at Alexandria, Va., in 1861, after lowering a rebel flag. The fact of the naming has been disputed, and another sponsor found in an officer of an Iowa regiment, once employed on the frontier. The area of the county is 720 square miles, the population 1,758, in which males preponderate 250. Farms employ fifty-six per cent., trade and transportation eight, and mines and manufactures sixteen per cent. of the small aggregate of population. The area contains eight per cent. of bottom land, and one per cent. of forest, the rest is upland and prairie. Smoky Hill River, and its tributaries, Mule Bluff, Turkey, Thomson, Ash, and other creeks, drain and water the county, which is well supplied with springs and gives good well water at from twenty to sixty feet deep. The Kansas Pacific Railroad follows the line of the Smoky Hill River, and has its principal station at Ellsworth, the county seat. Coal has been found in different townships in the southwest, but it is a poor kind of lignite from twenty to thirty inches in thickness, and although near the surface, very little has been mined. Magnesian limestone of poor quality is found, and hydraulic cement, mineral paint, fire clay and pottery clay are reported in different localities. Good yields are reported wherever good husbandry gives the soil an opportunity to do its best. The herd law is in operation in this county, under which owners of stock are obliged to keep their cattle of all kinds out of their neighbors' crops; but reports from the several counties vary as to its operation, the preponderance being in its favor, as it certainly is in Ellsworth county. The post village capital of the county is 223 miles from Kansas City, and 415 from Denver, Col. It is one of the main points of distribution for Texas cattle, as many as 150,000 head being handled every year. The village is prosperous, and it has a fine brick school house which cost $20,000. There are in the town-

ship five excellent hotels, a bank and a newspaper, the weekly *Reporter*. The surrounding country is excellent for grazing purposes, which is a desideratum in the chief pursuit upon which Ellsworth is growing rich. There is one saw mill in Ellsworth, and there is a cheese factory at Fort Harker. There are in the county eighteen school districts and seven school houses valued at $18,080. Church edifices are not numerous, but organizations include almost the whole community. This county suffered much from the locusts, as about one-eighth of the population required rations and clothing in the winter of 1874.

Ford County was organized in 1873, being named in honor of Brig. Gen. Ford. The area is 1,008 square miles; population in 1875, 813, with a preponderance of males as of 626 to 187. Dodge City, the county seat, is in one sense the county also. There are no banks, no libraries, no newspaper, no church edifices, and one school building, valued with all appurtenances at $1,525. There is only one tannery at Dodge City to represent manufactures in the county. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad has a station at Dodge City. The county seat is 251 miles southwest from Topeka, and the whole population of Ford county is centered in that township. One-fifth of the county is bottom land, and there is only one per cent. of forest. The principal streams are the Arkansas river, Mulberry, Duck, Sawlog, Crooked, and other unnamed creeks. Springs and well water abound. Coal is indicated, but no great discoveries have been made. Good limestone is found near Fort Dodge. The county received no help after the locust plague.

Franklin County was among the earliest organizations in 1855; its area is 576 square miles; its population 10,108 in 1875, the greatest population at one point being in the city of Ottawa, 2,595. Farming employs 67 per cent. of the population; trade and transportation 8, and mines and manufactures 11 per cent. The bottom lands in this county amount to 17 per cent., and forests 8 per cent. The principal streams are the Marais des Cygnes, Middle Creek, Ottawa, Pottawatomie, Mud, Coal and Appanoose creeks. Springs and well water are plentiful. Coal underlies

one-fifth of the area, with an average thickness of two feet, ranging from the surface to twenty feet deep; the quality is good and the coal much used by local manufacturers. Limestone and sandstone are well distributed. Ottawa City is the station of the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston Railroad, and a line operated by the same company runs to Kansas City. The distance from Topeka is 37 miles south east. The manufactures of the county are in the county seat; a soap factory, cigar factory, oil mill, two steam grist mills, one foundry, one steam furniture factory, a steam saw mill, and a steam wagon factory. There is a cheese factory in Stanton, a steam saw mill in Centropolis and in Lane, a steam flouring mill, steam saw mill, and a cabinet factory at Appanoose; two steam saw mills and a cheese factory in Cutler township; a steam silk manufactory, and a steam grist mill at Williamsburg; and in Peoria township a steam saw mill. There is good reason for believing that silk culture will flourish in Kansas; as in Europe, the best regions are the lower slopes of the mountains, from 500 to 1,500 feet in altitude. The mulberry tree thrives in Kansas, and that is the best food for the silkworm, which prospers best in a dry and windy climate. The superior vigor of the silkworm in this state is an ascertained fact, and that results in larger cocoons being spun. The works at Silkville are carried on by M. De Bossierre, a talented Frenchman, who has given much scientific and practical attention to the subject. There are good water powers on the Marais des Cygnes, but none have been improved. In this county wolves are more destructive to sheep than the dogs are. That fact is rare in Kansas history. There are two newspapers in Ottawa, the Republic and the Triumph, both weekly. There are three banks in that city, the First National, People's National, and the Ottawa Bank and Savings Institution. There are 88 districts organized, and 81 school houses erected, valued, inclusive of furniture and apparatus, at $84,250; besides which the Ottawa University, controlled by the Baptists, is largely used by other denominations. There are four public and 241 private collections of books in the country, aggregating 17,768 volumes. There are fifteen church edifices, with an aggregate value of $38,000. Franklin was self-supporting at the time of the locust plague.

Greenwood County was organized in 1862 and named after an agent who made treaties with the Sacs and Foxes, and other tribes of Indians in southern Kansas. The area is 1,155 square miles; the population in 1875 was 6,483. Males predominate to the extent of about 300. Farming occupies 80 per cent. of the population; mines and manufactures 9 per cent. The county seat is Eureka, 91 miles southwest from Topeka, in the center of a fine grazing country; the town has fine county buildings, an excellent school house, and five good church edifices; the population of the township is 1,040. There are two weekly newspapers, the *Herald* and *Censorial*. Eureka has a steam flouring mill and a steam flour and saw mill, and two banks. The other manufactures in the county are steam saw mills in Lane township; several portable saw mills; a saw mill at Janesville; a saw mill at Madison; a water power flouring mill at Twin Falls; two steam saw mills at Kenton; and in Quincy a steam saw mill and one driven by water power. Reports as to the fertility of this county include returns showing yields of corn 170 bushels; of potatoes 480 bushels, and St. Charles white corn, 117 bushels to the acre. The water powers on Fall river and on Willow and Otter creeks are good, and they have been partially improved, but there is still room. There are in the county 74 school districts and 67 school houses, valued inclusive at $78,620. One public library and 111 private collections make a total of 6,320 volumes in seven townships. There are six churches with an aggregate value of $8,400. Greenwood was self supporting at the time of the locust raid.

Harvey County was organized in 1872, and was named in honor of the governor of the state, who is now representing Kansas in the United States senate. The area is 540 square miles, and the population in 1875, 5,506, in which males preponderate to the number of 500. The Mennonites have come into this county in considerable numbers; they are found very desirable colonists. Some of them prefer hooks and eyes instead of buttons, many of them wash their feet, but they are not worse citizens on that account. They baptize by sprinkling and abjure immersion, but the main reason for their persecution in Russia in

modern times has been their tenet under which they refused to serve in the army. They conscientiously object to swearing, fighting and capital punishments. Some of their sect were invited to Pennsylvania by the Quaker founder of that colony in 1683 and in that year they formed the nucleus of a considerable and worthy colony. The foundation of the sect dates from the time of Martin Luther, when Menno was a follower of the great reformer. The sect suffered terrible persecutions, and until the days of Frederick the Great, found no asylum in Europe. They first settled in Russia in 1790 during the reign of the Emperor Paul who was assassinated under arrangements made by his own family. During 1874–5, the Mennonites came into Kansas to the number of nearly 5,000 and the tide still flows in this direction. They are honest, simple and industrious, and they assist each other in procuring the very best breeds of animals for stock raising purposes, hence their cattle were highly valued in Russia and would bring large prices in excess of the stock raised by their neighbors.

When the Mennonites concluded to migrate from Russia and other parts of Europe, they sent authorized agents to examine this county and report upon the best locations; when the action of the delegations had determined the main body in favor of Kansas, representatives were sent to make arrangements, such as buying or securing land in localities best suited. All the proceedings were wise, liberal and economical. The settlements include village lots, but no person is allowed to sell intoxicating liquors nor tobacco within their locations. The social needs of the community as to schools, churches, stores and public halls, approach communism, but the communistic idea does not remove responsibility from the individual to render all the help possible by his own brain and hands. After worship every Sunday there is an assembly to resolve upon the matters of common interest, and all the affairs of this peculiar people are carried out with much decorum. Shade trees, fences and such works are determined by votes of majorities, and all churches and schools are erected by the common labor of the mass. The government of the colony is arranged by agents appointed for the purpose, but every question is determined in the popular assembly named.

Their church affairs are settled in the same primitive way, and all their officers in every capacity serve as a duty without remuneration of any kind. Every church has a preacher, and over the whole of the churches and colonies in Kansas there is a bishop; but neither preacher nor bishop is a salaried officer. Children must attend school from five to fourteen years of age, when they they are supposed to know enough to entitle them to be baptized into the church if they can pass an examination. They appoint their own teachers, but of course they are paid. Schooling includes tuition in mechanic arts, and the result is seen in the readiness with which the Mennonites accommodate themselves to all circumstances. When a boy is exempted from attendance at school, he may pursue such studies as he sees fit, but he is ready for practical work also. The poor are aided as they may require, but there is no pauperism, as every man pays back in labor as he can all such assistance. Three counties in Kansas, Marion, McPherson and Harvey, have been located upon by Mennonites, the three colonies joining in situation, but independent in rule. Should any member of the community commit crime — a rare occurrence — he is handed over to the state authorities. The colonists are quite well pleased with their location, and they are good neighbors. The blooded stock required for the whole community is possessed in common. Most of the land held by them was purchased of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe R. R. Company.

Returning now to Harvey county, and its affairs more particularly, seventy-three per cent. of the population is engaged in farming, and about nine per cent. in mines and manufactures. Newton, the county seat, is 118 miles southwest from Topeka. Forty per cent. of the county is fertile bottom land, but there is hardly any timber. The Little Arkansas river, Jester creek and White Water, are the principal streams in Harvey county. There are fine springs, but the main dependence is well water at a depth of twenty-five feet. No coal has been developed, but there is some building stone and large quantities gypsum. The railroad communications of the county are supplied by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe line, which has stations at Walton, Newton, Halstead and Benton. From Newton a branch

runs to Wichita in Sedgwick county. Winter wheat is said to have given returns of thirty bushels per acre, and sixty-four pounds to the bushel, in this county, at a cost of $7.50 per acre. The herd law is highly approved in Harvey county, and has been in operation long enough to test its applicability well. The Little Arkansas gives good water powers, but they are little used. The manufactures of the county are in Halstead township, a water power flouring mill; in Sedgwick, a steam flouring mill; in Newton, a wagon and carriage factory; and in Alto township, a water power flour mill. There are two banks with a capital combined of $10,000 in Newton, and in Sedgwick City. There are two papers in the county, both published in Newton, the *Newton Kansan* and the *Harvey County News*. There are sixty-seven school districts and thirty-nine school houses valued at $43,397, with furniture and apparatus. There are more organizations than churches, the edifices numbering only three, with a valuation of $8,600 in all. There are 118 libraries, public and private, with 5,022 volumes. Harvey county suffered heavily under the locust plague, as 1,109 persons were reported in want of rations, and 662 in want of clothes.

JACKSON COUNTY was organized in 1857, and named in honor of Gen. Jackson, the seventh president. The county had been established and named in honor of John C. Calhoun in 1855 with the first batch of organizations. The area is 658 square miles; the population in 1875 was 6,681. Males predominate to the extent of over 300. Farming occupies seventy-nine per cent. of the population, mining and manufactures six per cent. Bottom lands make up thirteen per cent. of the area, and forest five per cent. The streams in the county are, the Muddy, Walnut, Little and Big Straight creeks, Elk and Bill's creeks, North and South Cedars, East and West Muddy, Little and Big Soldier, Cross and Little Cross creeks. There are numerous springs and well water at from ten to sixty feet deep. Thin veins of coal have been found but none of any value, and wood is the fuel chiefly used. Building stone is plentiful and good, and mineral plenty; pottery clay and gypsum are said to be abundant. In Jefferson township a salt vein was bored through recently in sinking a well,

and that may lead to developments. There are railroads running through the county, the Kansas Central, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroads.

Holton, the county seat, is 29 miles north from Topeka, and 56 miles west from Leavenworth, with a station of the Kansas Central. There are two banks in the city, five churches, an excellent high school, a steam flouring mill, and a weekly newspaper, the Express and News. The region is noteworthy for fruit and for stock raising. There are but few factories, and those on a small scale. There are many water powers, but they are not utilized to any considerable extent. Several mills are now being erected in different parts of the county. The manufactures in the county of Jackson, generally, are: in Franklin township, a steam flouring mill and two water power flouring mills; in Straight Creek township, a water power grist mill; in Cedar township, a steam saw mill; in Jefferson township, a steam saw mill; in Soldier township, a steam saw and flouring mill. There are 63 school districts and 48 school houses, valued, inclusive, at $52,837. There are six church edifices in the county, valued at $15,900.

Jefferson County was organized in 1855, and named in honor of Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States. Its area is 665 miles, and its population in 1875, 11,716, having decreased 810 in five years. Males preponderate by 532. Farming occupies 80 per cent., and mines and manufactures 8 per cent. Fifteen per cent. of the area is bottom land and 5 per cent. forest. The county seat is at Oskaloosa, 22 miles northeast from Topeka.. The Grasshopper river, Rock creek and several smaller streams flow in and through the county; springs are abundant, and well water of good quality can be obtained at from 20 to 40 feet. Coal has been found in three places at from 5 feet to 20, and the quality is tolerable; nearly 2,000 tons were mined in 1874, and it sells readily at $4 per ton. Good building stone is found in many places. There are three lines of railroad in the county: the Kansas Central (narrow gauge), the Kansas Pacific, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe; Winchester and Grasshopper Falls are the stations on the first; Perry and Medina on

the second. Grasshopper Falls is the main station in this county of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe line. There are striking testimonies as to the fertility of the soil in Jefferson county. There are good water powers on the Grasshopper, and some mills have already been established. The manufactures in the county are, two steam saw mills in Union township, three grist mills and a woolen factory water power in Grasshopper township, a water power grist mill in Ozawkie, water power grist and saw mill in Kentucky township, steam saw mill and steam grist mill in Rural township, cheese factory in Medina and another in Valley Falls, and in Winchester, one steam saw mill. There are four banks, two at Valley Falls and two at Oskaloosa, with an aggregate capital of $91,881. There are three weekly papers, one at Valley Falls and the others at Oskaloosa. There are 89 school districts, and the same number of school houses valued at $128,529; besides these, there are two Catholic parochial schools at Newman and at Valley Falls. There are 13 church buildings valued at $32,000. The aggregate of books in five townships was 6,250 volumes, of which all but 300 were in private collections. Jefferson county was self-supporting in the locust era.

JEWELL COUNTY was organized in 1870, and named in honor of a lieutenant colonel who died of wounds received in the engagement at Cane Hill in November, 1862. The area of the county is 900 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 7,651. Males preponderate about 600. Farming occupies about ninety per cent. of the population. Bottom lands amount to six per cent. of the area, and forest about three per cent. The Republican River runs about ten miles along the northern boundary, and the other principal streams are White Rock creek, Johns, Big Timber, Porcupine, Smith, Montana, Walnut, Burr Oak, Buffalo, Limestone, and numerous smaller creeks and streams. Springs are numerous, and well water is found at depths varying from six to one hundred feet; but the average is about twenty-five. Good coal has been much sought here, but only a poor lignite discovered about twenty inches in thickness. Magnesian limestone is found in many places, and sandstone is also found occasionally. In the southeast corner of the county is a salt marsh, but it has not been

developed. There are no railroads in this county. Jewell Centre, the county seat, is 144 miles northwest from Topeka; it is built on a beautiful plain, and has a weekly paper, a large school house, churches and nurseries. There are no water powers available, and manufactures are represented by one steam saw mill at White Mound township. Jewell city publishes a weekly paper. There are no banks in the county. There are 118 districts and 44 school houses valued at $26,259. There is only one church, built by the Methodists at a cost of $800. Jewell county suffered much from the locusts, as 1,500 persons were reported wanting rations.

Johnson County was organized in 1855, and named in honor of a Methodist missionary among the Shawnees from 1829 until the territory was settled. The area is 480 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 14,580. Males preponderate to the number of 564. Farming engages the attention of seventy-two per cent. of the population, and eight per cent. are employed in mines and manufactures. The county seat is at Olathe, 48 miles east from Topeka. Bottom lands make up ten per cent. of the surface, and there is about sixteen per cent. of forest. The streams are Indian, Blue, Turkey, Mill, Cedar, Clear, Captain's, Bull and Kill creeks. The creeks run from near the center of the county. Springs are numerous, and well water is found at from ten to forty feet deep. Coal has been found at several places, but the vein is only seven inches thick. It is claimed that a seam of bituminous coal three feet six inches thick can be obtained by sinking 530 feet. Building stone is plentiful, and it is said that hydraulic cement, red ochre, fire and pottery clay are also to be had in considerable quantities. The county has excellent railroad facilities, as the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston; the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf; the St. Louis, Lawrence and Denver, via Pleasant Hill; and the Kansas Midland railroads, are competitors for the favors of the public. There are no water powers worth naming in the county, and but few manufactures. Among the principal may be mentioned a steam grist mill at Spring Hill, and similar works at Olathe, De Soto and McCamish townships; at Shawnee there is a saw and grist mill, as also at Monticello, and Olathe has besides a steam factory for making

spring beds, and a cigar factory; cheese factories have been established in some few places on a small scale only.

There are three banks in the county, one being located at Olathe, the county seat, where also there are two weekly papers published. There are 90 districts, and 80 school houses valued at $65,851. The Catholics have three parochial schools, at Shawnee, Edgerton and at Aubrey. There are 20 church edifices in the county, valued at $44,700. Books, mostly in private collections, are reported to the extent of about 6,000 volumes. There are unsold lands in Johnson county. This county was self supporting at the time of the locust plague, because there was no opening for new settlers unless they could buy out their predecessors.

LABETTE COUNTY was organized in 1867, and was named in honor of the river. The area is 649 square miles. The population in 1875 was 14,574, males preponderating by just 900. There are about 64 per cent. engaged in farming, 9 per cent. in trade and transportation, and 10 per cent. in mines and manufactures. Bottom lands are about one-fifth of the whole area, and there is 10 per cent of forest. The woods are of good varieties. The Neosho river runs along the east line of the county, and the other streams are the Labette, Hackberry creek, Deer, Pumpkin, Turkey and Snow creeks, besides many smaller streams. Springs are few, but well water is found at from 20 to 40 feet in depth. Coal has been found underlying 75 per cent. of two townships, and from ten inches to two feet in thickness, varying in depth from two to twelve feet. The quality is good, and large shipments are effected. Limestone and sandstone are plentiful and of good quality. Pottery clay and gypsum are also found. The railroad facilities of the county are supplied by the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, and the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston, the principal stations being at Parsons, Labette, Oswego and Chetopa. Oswego is the county seat, 131 miles south from Topeka, and the river makes a horse shoe bend at this point, which would give a fall of nine feet should a race of one mile be cut, consequently the time cannot be distant when the water power of the Neosho will be utilized largely. The works now prosecuted in Oswego are a brewery, steam flouring mill, broom factory, cabinet factory,

brick factory and a cheese factory. The other manufactures of the county are, in Richland, a steam furniture factory and two steam flouring mills; at Neosho, a steam saw mill; at Liberty, a steam flouring mill; in the city of Parsons, a foundry and machine shop, a pottery and drain tile factory, a brewery and a steam furniture factory; in Montana, a flour mill and saw mill, and in Chetopa a steam foundry. There are four banks in Labette county; two in the city of Parsons and two in Oswego, the county seat. The newspapers published in the county are five in number; one at Chetopa, two in Oswego and two in the city of Parsons, all weekly. There are 95 school districts and 86 schools, valued at $118,270. The churches number 15, some of them very fine, and the estimated value is set down at $53,000. Libraries are reported to the extent of 12,230 volumes. Labette was self supporting at the time of the locust plague.

Leavenworth County was organized in 1855, being named by its contiguity to Fort Leavenworth, so called for the general who selected the site for a fort in 1827, when it was the farthest outpost of the United States. The area of the county is 455 square miles, and its population in 1875 showed a decrease upon the returns of 1870, of 4,746. The enumeration in 1875 was 27,698, in which the two sexes were nearly balanced, but males slightly preponderated. Missouri gave to this county 6,344, while Illinois, the next largest contributor, gave less than 1,500. This was the strongest Missourian settlement in the territory. Farms employ only 40 per cent. of the population in this county, 13 per cent. being engaged in trade and transportation, and over 22 per cent. in mines and manufactures. Twenty per cent. of the area is bottom land, and ten per cent. forest, the timber being generally of very valuable kinds. The Missouri is the great river, of course, the lesser streams being the Kansas river, Big Stranger, Little Stranger and Nine Mile creeks, with numerous streams not yet named. Springs are numerous and well water unfailing. Coal underlies about seven per cent. of the area, thickness 28 inches and depth varying from 50 to 700 feet, the quality good and much in demand. A shaft put down at Leavenworth City, 710 feet, has reached a seam of 30 inches, which is

now being mined. Good flint blue limestone underlies the whole county. The railroad connections of Leavenworth include the Kansas Pacific with stations at Stranger, Reno and Tonganoxie; the Missouri Pacific, with stations at Leavenworth, Fort Leavenworth and Kickapoo; the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific has one of its termini at Leavenworth City, crossing the Missouri river on the superb iron bridge at that point; the Kansas City, St. Joseph and Council Bluffs, with a station at East Leavenworth; and the Kansas Central Narrow Gauge, which starts from Leavenworth, running to Valley Falls and Holton. Leavenworth, the county seat, is 43 miles northeast from Topeka, 39 miles from Kansas City, Missouri, on the west bank of the Missouri river, 312 miles, by land, above St. Louis, Missouri. The city is one of the handsomest in Kansas, and as seen from Pilot Knob, is picturesque in the extreme. There are in the city 27 churches, nine commodious school buildings, several private seminaries, a state normal school, the St. Mary's academy, two orphan asylums, four daily and six weekly newspapers, four monthly periodicals, two insurance companies, six banks, a paid fire department, and four miles of street railroad. The state penitentiary is four miles south of the city, and Fort Leavenworth, which joins the city, has a military prison. Manufactures are numerous and extensive in the city, including carpets, furniture, stoves, engines, mining machinery and iron bridges. This is the largest city in Kansas and from the earliest days of the territory it has carried on quite an extensive trade over the plains. The elegant residences and beautifully shaded thoroughfares of Leavenworth are topics commonly adverted to by all visitors. All the railroads that enter the county make Leavenworth their terminus or their most important station. The bridge over the Missouri is a very handsome structure. There are other manufactures outside Leavenworth City, but they are small by comparison, although in themselves considerable. There are numerous water powers, but they are not utilized, because steam is more constant and more rapid in operation. The chief industries in other parts of the county are, in Easton township, a water power flouring mill and a steam saw mill; in Stranger township, a steam saw mill; in Tonganoxie township, a steam cheese factory and a steam

flouring mill; and in Alexander township, a steam grist and saw mill. Among recent additions to the industries of Leavenworth City are soap factories, cigar factories, breweries, brick factories, cooper shops, and beef and pork packing houses on a large scale. There are 74 school districts and 82 school houses, valued at $310,210, three Catholic parochial schools, the state normal school, St. Mary's academy, Catholic and Maple Leaf seminary, and at Fort Leavenworth, a Catholic parochial school. The churches of the county comprise 27 edifices, all commodious and some truly grand, valued in all at $451,300. There are 24 church organizations in the city of Leavenworth alone. The libraries of this county, chiefly in private collections, amount to more than 19,000 volumes. Leavenworth county was self supporting during and after the locust plague, the community being the oldest and most numerous in the state of Kansas, as well as having been saved by circumstances from many of the afflictions that have befallen the city of Lawrence. The reign of terror, after the nomination of Gov. Geary and prior to his assumption of control, was the worst misfortune that ever befel the city of Leavenworth, and that did not destroy the city itself.

Lincoln County, named in honor of the great president, was organized in 1870; its area is 720 square miles; its population, in 1875, 2,493, in which males predominate to the number of 230. Farms employ 92 per cent. of the inhabitants. The county seat is Lincoln Centre, 132 miles west from Topeka. Bottom lands make up 15 per cent. of the area, but forests are very small in Lincoln county. The Saline is the principal stream, the creeks and tributaries being Table Rock, Elkhorn, Owl, Brush, Bullfoot, Oak, East and West Twin, Twelve Mile, Beaver, Yauger, Lost, Spillman and Wolf creeks. Springs and good well water abound. Coal crops out on banks and ravines, but it is not good, and little use is made of it at present. Some of the veins are from 10 to 20 inches thick. Building stone of the white magnesian order, and of beautiful quality, is inexhaustible in quantity. Salt springs and marshes have been found, but not yet properly developed. There are no railroads here. There are good water powers on the Saline, and some mills are already in operation. The manufac-

tures in the county most noticeable are, the steam saw mill in Grant township; saw and grist mill and saw mill in Indiana township; and a water power saw and grist mill at Rocky Hill. The only newspaper is the Farmer, published weekly at Lincoln Centre. There are no banks here. The number of school districts organized is 32, and of school houses 17, valued at $12,149. Religious organizations are many, but only $1,500 has been invested in church buildings, and there are no libraries reported. Lincoln suffered very severely in the locust plague, as there were 750 persons reported wanting rations, and 600 in want of clothing, or more than one-fourth of the whole population.

LINN COUNTY was organized in 1855, being named after a Missouri senator. The area of the county is 637 square miles, and the population, in 1875, 11,546. There had been a decrease during the preceding five years. The preponderance of males is nearly 400. Agriculture engages the attention of 71 per cent. of the settlers, and 9 per cent. are occupied in mining and manufactures. There are two claimants for the honor of being considered the county seat, Pleasanton and Mound City, the first named 80 miles southeast from Topeka, the latter 78 miles. There is 20 per cent. of bottom land in Linn county, and 10 per cent. of forest, the timber being of excellent qualiity. The streams are Marais des Cygnes, Middle Creek, Big and Little Sugar, East, Middle, Lost, and Mill creeks. Springs are numerous, and good well water can be found at an average of 20 feet. Coal is plentiful in the eastern portion of the county, and nearly all the hills and streams have outcropping seams. The shaft at Barnard has penetrated a 3 feet 6 inch vein at 90 feet, and the coal pays well. The Barnard sandstone is in good demand, and building stone generally is excellent in Linn county. The railroads have not neglected this region, as the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad has stations at La Cygne, Barnard, and Pleasanton. There are several mills in operation, and the water powers available are first class. Among the works most noticeable in the county are the factories in Scott township, comprising a furniture factory, soap factory, wind power grist and saw mill, hoop factory and two steam saw mills; in Valley township, two water power

saw and grist mills; in Mound City, a furniture factory, planing mill, cheese factory, wagon and carriage factory, and a grist mill, and in Pleasanton, two grist mills and a grist and saw mill. There are three banks at Pleasanton and La Cygne, and three newspapers, weekly, published respectively at Mound City, La Cygne, and Pleasanton. There are 95 school districts, and 88 school houses, valued at $85,583. Libraries are reported with a total of 5,357 volumes. There are 11 churches, with a valuation of $21,500. Linn was self-supporting at the time of the locust plague.

Lyon County was organized in 1858, and named Breckinridge, but when the vice president had gone to the bad with Jefferson Davis, the name was changed in honor of Gen. Lyon, who fell nobly fighting against great odds at Wilson's creek, Missouri. The change was made in 1862. The area of the county is 858 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 9,542, males predominating about 430. There are 67 per cent. engaged in farming, 8 per cent. in trade and transportation, and 10 in mines and manufactures. Emporia, the county seat, is 52 miles southwest from Topeka, between the Neosho and Cottonwood rivers, six miles above their junction, in a fine stock raising, agricultural region. A large trade is done in Emporia, and it is one of the best built towns in the state, a center of railroad traffic, as the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe crosses the Missouri, Kansas and Texas line at this point. The name will be familiar to our readers as the site of a State Normal School. The court house and normal school, with which is associated a fine graded school, are architectural ornaments. There are three banks, two newspapers, flouring mills and factories in the city, including two flouring mills (water power), and one steam flouring mill, two water power saw mills, and two steam saw mills, a steam power foundry, a water power furniture factory, a steam soap factory, a carriage factory, a cigar factory, a brick factory and a brewery. The other manufactures demanding notice are, at Americus, where a cheese factory and a steam flouring and saw mill give extensive employment; Center township, steam saw mill; Elmendare township, steam saw mill, steam saw and flouring mill, water power flouring mill; Jackson township, two water power

flouring mills, and wind power flouring mill and carding machine; Pike township, water power flouring mill, steam saw mill, and a steam saw mill at Waterloo. There are 76 school districts, and 80 school houses, valued at $74,669. Libraries sum up a total of 18,470 volumes. Churches are numerous, and some of them very handsome. Lyon was heavily visited by the locusts, and 930 persons were found in want of rations and clothing in 1874–5.

Marion County was organized in 1865, being named after the revolutionary general. The county was established in 1855, but changed afterwards. The area is 954 square miles, and the population in 1860 was 74 only; in the year 1875, it had a population of 5,907. Males preponderate about 500. Seventy-nine per cent. are farmers, and 11 per cent. are engaged in mines and manufactures. Marion Center, the county seat, is 87 miles southwest from Topeka. Bottom lands make up 16 per cent of the county, but there is little timber. The streams of this county are the Cottonwood, Doyle, South Fork, French, Clear, Middle, Brunot, Martin, Muddy and many minor creeks and streams. Coal indications are numerous, but no considerable finds have been made. Building stone of many descriptions and good quality abounds, including magnesian limestone (white and cream colored), and hydraulic cement, mineral paint, fire and pottery clay, and gypsum have been found, so that the mineral resources of Marion county are various and great. Railroad connections are made by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe line, which has stations at Florence and Peabody. The returns show that the soil is very fertile, indeed it would be more correct to say prolific. The herd law, much blamed in some localities, is said to operate well in Marion county, enhancing prosperity. There are many excellent water powers on the Cottonwood, Muddy and Doyle creeks; but, with the exception of two mills on the Cottonwood, the powers are not used. The noticeable manufactures in the county are, in Peabody township, a steam flouring mill; in Doyle township, a water power flouring mill; in Center township, a water power flouring mill; in Clear Creek township, a saw mill; in Marion Center, a furniture factory and a cheese factory. There are two banks in the county at Florence and at Peabody, and two news-

papers, one at Marion Center, and one at Peabody, both weekly. There are 74 districts and 65 school houses valued at $84,415. Libraries are reported with about 6,000 volumes, and the churches number 5, with a valuation of about $9,000. Marion county was one of the locust plague sufferers. Over 200 persons being in want of rations and clothes in 1874–5.

Marshall County was organized in 1855, being named in honor of Gen. Marshall, who was distinguished for his services in the days of the gold rush to California, and was identified afterwards with the Lecompton constitution. The area of the county is 900 square miles. The population, in 1875, was 10,822, in which males preponderate by 680. Farming employs 72 per cent.; mines and manufactures 10, and trade and transportation 5 per cent. of the residents. Marysville is the county seat, 76 miles northwest from Topeka. The land shows 20 per cent. of river bottom and 8 per cent. of forest. The streams are the Big Blue river, with tributaries, Little Blue, Black, Vermillion, Elm, Irish, Spring, Game Fork, Horseshoe and other creeks. Good springs, and well water at from 20 to 40 feet deep. No coal yet developed, but building stone, inexhaustible in quantity, including magnesian limestone. Fire clay and gypsum are found in large quantities, and some pottery clay is also being worked. The railroad connections of Marshall county are by the St. Joseph and Denver City line, with its principal station at Marysville, the county seat, and the central branch of the Union Pacific, with stations at Barrett's, Irving and Blue Rapids. There are excellent water powers on the Big Blue river, and many mills have been established to utilize that stream, as will be seen by glancing through the industries prospering in this county, which include two water power flouring mills at Marysville, a cigar manufactory, steam furniture factory, vinegar factory and a pottery; in Waterville township, two water power flouring mills, a soap factory and a cigar factory; in Blue Rapids township, two water power flouring mills, water power woolen mill, water power paper mill, and a water power gypsum manufactory; in Vermillion township, two flouring mills, one steam and the other water power. Besides the industries named, there are in the county four cheese

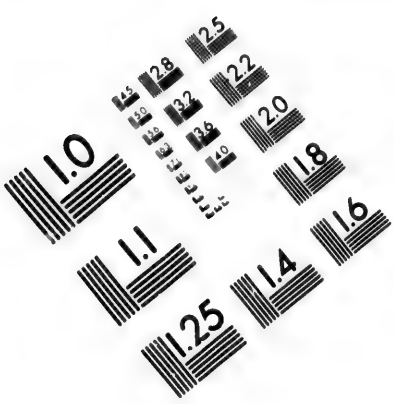
factories and two cigar factories; a brewery at Marysville, a flour and saw mill at Barrett, a flouring mill at Okelo, and a broom factory at Irving. There are three banks at Waterville, Marysville and Blue Rapids, and four newspapers, weekly, at Blue Rapids, Waterville, Marysville and Irving. There are 87 school districts and 80 school houses, valued at $89,704. Libraries are reported, private and public, to the extent of 8,000 volumes. Church edifices number 13, with an aggregate value of $35,350. The paper mill at Blue Rapids deserves special notice. Marshall was self supporting at the time of the locust visitation, and is altogether in a prosperous condition.

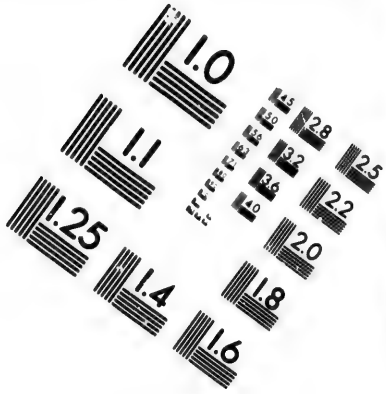
MCPHERSON COUNTY was organized in 1870, being named in honor of a major general who was killed at Atlanta, on Sherman's expedition to Georgia in 1864. The area of the county is 900 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 6,205, in which males preponderate by 563. The largest quota of the population came from Illinois. Farming is the pursuit of 92 per cent. of the population. The county seat is at McPherson, 117 miles south west from Topeka. There is only five per cent. of bottom land and one per cent. of forest in this county. Smoky Hill river and the Little Arkansas, with their tributaries, are the streams of this region. Coal has been found, but not in great quantity nor of special value. Limestone and sandstone, of fair quality, have been worked, and pottery clay is known to exist; gypsum of good quality is abundant, and mineral paint, but the quality is doubtful. Salt springs are reported, but no saline works have been established. There are no railroads in the county. Water powers are available, but have not been improved. The manufactures in operation are a windmill in Superior township, a water power flouring mill and saw mill at Marquette, and a similar work at Lundsburg. There are no banks here, and only one newspaper, published at McPherson, weekly. There are 76 school districts, but only 20 school houses, valued at $7,661. There are religious organizations, but no church buildings. Libraries report only an aggregate of 1,250 volumes. McPherson was a great sufferer in the locust invasion, as there were 600 persons reported wanting rations, and 675 lacking clothes for the winter of 1874–5.

Miami County was organized in 1856, and named Lykens after a missionary among the Miami Indians, but changed to the present appellation in 1861. The area consists of 588 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 12,667, in which males preponderate about 500. Farming employs 78 per cent. of the population, mines and manufactures occupy 8, and trade and transportation 4 per cent. of the population. Paola, the county seat, is 54 miles southeast from Topeka. Twenty per cent. of the surface is bottom land, and ten per cent. forest. The principal streams are the Marias des Cygnes, Bull creek, Wea, Middle, Sugar, Walnut and Pottawatomie creeks. Springs are numerous and well water can be found at from 12 to 30 feet deep. Fully one-quarter of the country is underlaid with coal, but the vein is thin and poor, and although easily reached is seldom used. Building stone abounds in all parts, the Fontana marble being the most noticeable. Some of the wells give salt water, but there are no salt marshes, and no salt springs have been found. The railroad connections of the county are supplied by the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf line, having stations at Paola and Fontana, and the Paola and Holden line, which is operated by the Missouri, Kansas and Texas company, and joins the Missouri Pacific at Holden, Mo. There are excellent powers on the Marais des Cygnes, but only two have been utilized. There are three steam grist mills, two steam grist and saw mills, one steam saw mill, one water power saw mill, one wind power grist and saw mill, one cigar factory, three wagon factories, a brewery, a carriage factory, a cheese factory, furniture factory and match factory at Paola. In Osage township there is a grist mill; in Wea township, two grist and saw mills, a wind power grist and saw mill and a cheese factory; in Stanton township, a wind power grist mill; in New Lancaster township, a wind power grist mill; in Osawatomie township, a saw and grist mill; and in Middle Creek township, two saw and grist mills. There is only one bank, and that is at Paola, the county seat, where two weekly newspapers are published. There are 89 school districts with a school for each, valued at $22,364, besides a Catholic parochial school at Paola. The church edifices number 11, valued at $27,500. Libraries aggregate 9,541 volumes. Miami county was self supporting during the locust famine.

MITCHELL COUNTY was organized in 1870, and named for Capt. Mitchell killed at Monroe Cross Roads, N. C., in 1865, just before the close of the war. The area of the county is 720 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 5,370, in which number females preponderated to the number of 46. Farming occupies 84 per cent., and mines and manufactures 7 per cent. of the settlers. Beloit is the county seat, 134 miles northwest from Topeka, on the south bank of the Solomon river. There is a paper published in the county seat, the Beloit Gazette, and an active trade is transacted here. An iron bridge over the Solomon is one of the architectural features of Beloit, and there are important mills and manufactures actively supported by the surrounding country. The manufactures of the county are, in Glen Elder township, a water power grist and saw mill; in Cawker township, a steam saw mill; in Beloit township, two water power grist and saw mills; in Asherville township, a water power grtst and saw mill, and a feed mill, also water power; two breweries in Waconda and Beloit; a water power flouring mill at Turkey Creek, and two grist mills in other locations. There are many fine powers unimproved on the Solomon. There is only one bank, and that is at Beloit; there are three papers, one in Beloit, and two at Cawker City, all weekly. Bottom lands form 20 per cent. of the surface, and there is about 2 per cent. of forest, the principal streams are the Salt creek, Solomon river with its tributaries, Oak, Granite, Limestone, Brown's, Mulberry, Plum, Asher, Car, Walnut, Turkey, Laben and Third creeks. Springs are scarce, but good well water is found at from 10 to 20 feet deep. Lignite worth $2 per ton has been found from 15 to 30 inches in thickness, but the supply is limited. White magnesian limestone is quite plentiful. There are good salt springs. The county has no railroads yet. There are 73 school districts, 50 of which have schools valued at $39,357. Church edifices number only 4, valued at $5,300. Mitchell suffered much in the locust visitation.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY was organized in 1869 and named in honor of the gallant officer that fell in the attack on Quebec in December, 1775. The area of the county is 636 square miles;





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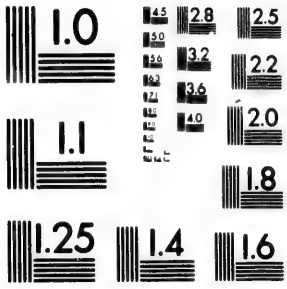

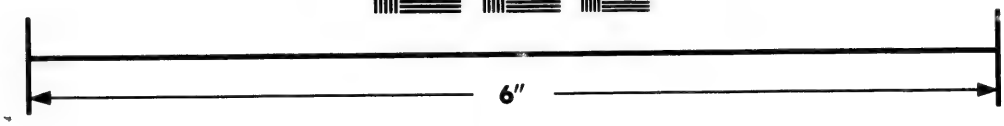

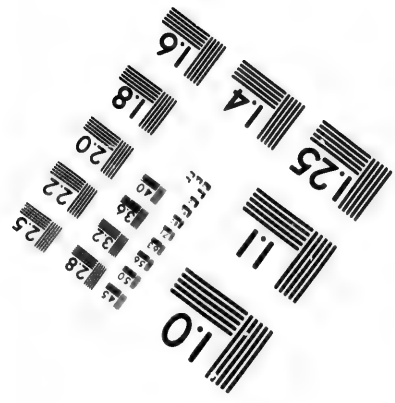

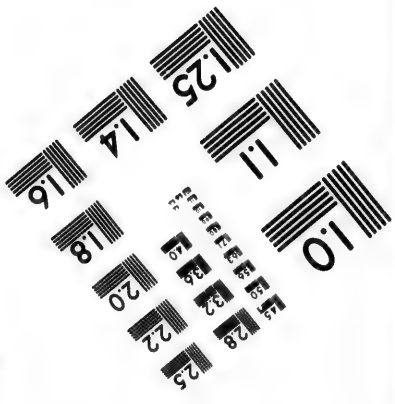

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its population in 1875 was 13,017, of which number there were 6,888 males. Illinois gave the largest quota of population, Missouri coming next. Farming employs 69 per cent. of the population and mines and manufactures 15 per cent. The county seat is Independence, 125 miles south from Topeka. One fourth of the soil is bottom land, and there is 10 per cent. of forest. The streams are Verdigris river, Elk river, Onion, Drum, Duck, Sycamore, and Big Hill creeks. Springs are rare, but well water is found at an average depth of 25 feet. Coal underlies about one-third of the county. The quality not first class and thickness varying from 12 to 24 inches. Limestone and flagstone are abundant for all purposes. There will be salt works at Elk City, as salt water of good quality can be procured by digging. There are no salt marshes. The railroad connections are by the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston line which has stations at Cherry Vale, Liberty and Coffeyville; with a branch from Cherry Vale to the county seat, Independence. Fifty-four bushels of winter wheat to the acre are said to have been raised at Sycamore in this county, at a cost per acre of $2.84. There are splendid water powers not improved in the Verdigris and Elk rivers. The manufactures of the county are in Louisburg township, a steam grist mill; in Parker two steam saw mills; in Independence, a cigar factory, a cheese factory and vinegar factory, and on the Verdigris and Elk rivers, two water power flouring mills; in Cherokee, a steam saw mill; in Liberty, a steam saw and water power grist mill; in Parker, one mill water and steam and one steam, both grist mills; and in Sycamore, one water power grist and one saw mill. The county seat is 134 miles by rail from the city of Lawrence on the banks of the Verdigris. The place was founded in 1870, and has one daily and three weekly papers, five churches, three banks, and a very thriving business. There are 100 districts and 96 school houses valued at $107,846; church edifices number seven with a valuation of $23,100; libraries are reported to the extent of 1,337 volumes. Montgomery was self supporting in the locust raid.

Morris County was organized in 1858 and was named in honor of an anti-slavery leader. This appellation marks the

earliest legislative victories of the free state party. The region had been named previously in honor of a Virginian senator with opposite predilections. The area of the county is 700 square miles and the population in 1875, was 4,597, in which the preponderance of males was 379. Farming engages 60 per cent. of the settlers, trade and transportation 6, and mines and manufactures over 11. Council Grove is the county seat 52 miles southwest from Topeka on the Neosho river, 22 miles from Emporie, with a station on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroad. There are in the county seat two newspapers, two churches, three schools, a national bank and a coal mine, but the product is not considerable. There is a good mill here and another being erected on the Kaw reserve. The water powers are excellent. The manufactures of the county are in Elm township, two steam grist mills a water power grist mill and a cheese factory; in Neosho two saw mills; in Valley township, four saw mills, one water power and three steam; in Parker, a steam saw and grist mill; besides a brick yard, lime kiln, salt well, one water power and one steam grist mill in Council Grove township. This is a fine agricultural county; 15 per cent. of the surface is bottom land and 5 per cent. forest; the streams are the Neosho river and its tributaries, Munkres, Little John, Big John, Rock, Elm, Four Mile and Kahola creeks. There are two other noteworthy creeks, Clark and Diamond. The springs of this county are numerous, including the famous Diamond and Hill springs, and well water has been always found within 10 to 40 feet. Fine magnesian limestone is plentiful; red ochre of excellent quality abounds. Fire and pottery clay are abundant, and gypsum in limited quantities but mixed and impure. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad traverses the county with stations at Skiddy, Parkerville and Council Grove. There are 44 districts and 40 school houses valued at $52,000. Libraries are reported with 3,393 volumes, and churches number one only valued at $4,500. Morris suffered severely from the locusts as there were 1,090 reported wanting rations and about the same number wanting clothes in a population of only 4,036.

NEMAHA COUNTY was organized in 1855, and named for the

river. Its area is 720 square miles; its population, in 1875, was 7,104, in which males preponderate 290. Farming employs 81 per cent of the settlers, mines and manufactures about 8 per cent. The county seat is at Seneca, 59 miles north from Topeka. Ten per cent. of the area is bottom land, and 3 per cent. forest. The Nemaha is the principal stream, with tributaries Deer, Harris, Illinois, Grasshopper, Pony, Rock, Vermilion, French and Turkey creeks. Springs are plentiful, and wells average from 35 to 40 feet deep. Coal is found in small quantities along the Nemaha and creeks from six to twenty feet below the surface, ranging from four to thirteen inches in thickness; but little has been mined, and the quality being only moderate, the consumption is exclusively local. Two railroads serve this county, the St. Joseph and Denver City having its principal station at Seneca, and the Central Branch of the Union Pacific, at Wetmore, Corning and Centralia. There are three banks at Seneca, and water powers are limited. The noticeable manufactures of the county are a steam saw mill at Nemaha township; a steam flouring mill at Richmond; a steam flouring mill at Home township; a brewery at Seneca; a steam grist mill at Rock Creek; a steam flouring mill at Neufchatel township, and a cheese factory. There are two weekly papers at Sabetha and Seneca. There are 77 districts and 74 school houses valued at $70,553, besides a Catholic parochial school at Seneca. There are nine church buildings valued at $34,900. Nemaha was severely visited by the locusts, as 1,000 persons were in want of clothing and 250 in want of rations in the winter of 1874–5.

Neosho County, named for the river, was organized in 1864; its area is 576 square miles, and its population, in 1875, was 11,076, in which males preponderated nearly 700. Agriculture engages 72 per cent. of the settlers, manufactures and mines, 9, and trade and transportation, 6 per cent. The county seat is Erie, 103 miles from Topeka. The county has 20 per cent. of bottom lands, and 9 per cent of forest. The Neosho is the main stream, its tributaries being the Vegetarian, Big, Canville, Four Mile, Flat Rock, Walnut, Village, Turkey, Elk and Augustus creeks. There are, besides, the Labette, Chetopa and Big Hill

creeks. Springs are scarce, but well water plentiful at 20 feet deep. Coal has been found under 10 per cent. of the area, and the quality is good, with an average thickness of 18 inches. Mines are worked near Thayer with much success. Blue and yellow limestone and sandstone of good quality have been found in every township; and traces of lead, but no deposit that would pay for working. The railroads serving the county are the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, with a branch of the same road running from Parsons to Sedalia, Mo., via Fort Scott; the stations being at Chanute, Urbana, Galesburgh, Ladore and Osage Mission; and the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston, with stations at Chanute, Earlton and Thayer. There are good water powers on the Neosho, but they are not fully availed of; one dam has been constructed, and another is in progress. The factories of the county include a water power flouring mill at Canville; a brewery and two steam saw mills at Chanute; a cheese factory at Mission; a water power flouring mill at Centreville; a steam flouring and saw mill and a steam saw mill at Lincoln; a flouring mill at Tioga; and two flouring mills, a flouring and saw mill, a saw mill and a shingle factory, at Erie township. There are three banks in the county, at Osage Mission, Thayer and Chanute; and three weekly papers, at Chanute, Thayer and Osage Mission. Ninety-three school districts have ninety school houses valued at $86,234, besides which there are Catholic parochial schools at Ladore and Osage Mission; an industrial school under the same management for boys at Osage Mission, and a parish school for girls. There are seven churches valued at $34,600, and the libraries in seven townships give a total of 6,120 volumes. Neosho was a heavy sufferer from the locusts, but was self-supporting.

NORTON COUNTY was organized in 1872, and named in honor of a cavalry officer slain at Cane Hill, Ark., in the engagement of the 11th of November, 1864. The area is 900 square miles; the population in 1875 was 899, in which males preponderated 150. Iowa, Illinois and Nebraska contributed the bulk of the population of the county. Ninety-four per cent. are engaged in farming; there is but one per cent. of forest and eight per cent of bottom land in Norton county. The streams are Solomon river,

Prairie Dog and Sappho creeks. Springs are moderately supplied, and wells range from ten to seventy-five feet. Coal has been mined for local use, but it is limited to a few townships. Limestone and sandstone are found nearly all over the county. There are no railroads here. The county seat is Norton, 230 miles northwest from Topeka; but there are no banks, no manufactures of note, and no newspapers in the county. There are seventeen districts, but only two school houses; no churches, no libraries. There are good water powers on the Solomon, but they are not yet turned to account. A dam is now being constructed on that river. The locusts almost ruined the whole of the settlers, as there were 600 reduced to want in the winter of 1874–5, in a population of less than 900.

Osage County was organized in 1859, being named for the river. The first name was Weller, in honor of a governor of California. The area is 720 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 10,268, in which males preponderated by 640. Farming employs sixty-four per cent. of the settlers, and over twenty per cent. are engaged in mines and manufactures. Burlingame, the county seat, is twenty-four miles south southwest from Topeka, on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe line, which has a good station here. Clay of fine quality is found here, and coal is abundant. There are four churches and a fine brick school house in Burlingame, which has a beautiful climate, healthful position, and fertile surrounding country to recommend it. There is one newspaper published here, the Osage County Chronicle. Coal underlies twenty-five per cent. of the whole county, in veins of from fourteen to eighteen inches, in depths varying with position from five to fifty feet, and the quality is good. An average of forty car loads per day is shipped during the whole year, and it is used by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, as well as for local purposes. The face of the county shows ten per cent. of bottom land, and eight per cent. of forest; the streams are the Marais des Cygnes, Coal, Long, Rock, Cherry, and other creeks its tributaries; Salt, Dragoon, and one hundred and ten creeks with a number of petty streams. Springs are scarce, but wells range only from fifteen to forty feet in depth, and the water is

good. Limestone is found everywhere, yellow ochre is abundant, and clays, both fire and pottery, are plentiful. There are two railroads in the county, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, with stations at Carbondale, Burlingame and Osage city; and the Lawrence and Southwestern, connecting the city with Carbondale. Reports from this county certify that 94 bushels of corn per acre, and 250 bushels of potatoes per acre have been harvested near Burlingame. There are no water powers. The manufactures of the county include two grist mills, a cheese factory, and a pottery at Burlingame; a grist mill and two saw mills at Osage City, a grist mill at Lyndon; a grist mill at Ridgeway; a steam saw mill and two cheese factories at Melvern; two steam saw mills and a cheese factory at Arvonia; and two steam saw mills at Agency township. There are two banks in the county, one at Burlingame and one at Osage City. Three newspapers, one each at Lyndon, Osage City and Burlingame. There are 86 districts and 74 school houses, valued at $127,683, besides parochial schools at Osage City. There are 13 church buildings valued at $33,200, and the libraries show a total of nearly 6,000 volumes. Osage suffered terribly from the locusts, as we find that in the winter of 1874–5 there were 875 in want of rations, and 1,350 wanting clothes.

OSBORNE COUNTY was organized in 1871, and named for a private in the Second Kansas cavalry, who lost a leg on the Arkansas river, in January, 1865. The area of the county is 900 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 3,467, in which males preponderate to the extent of 300. Iowa has supplied nearly a third of the population of Osborne county. Eighty-three per cent. of the settlers are engaged in farming and 11 per cent. in mines and manufactures. Twenty per cent. of the area is bottom land, but only two per cent. forest. The streams are the north and south forks of the Solomon, with their tributary creeks, Twin, Covert and Kill. There are some springs, and good wells range from seven to thirty-eight feet in depth. Coal has been found, but is not plentiful; good limestone abounds. There are no railroads yet in the county. The county seat is at Osborne City, 163 miles northwest from Topeka. There are good water powers on the two forks of the Solomon and four mills are

already in operation, but the powers are not nearly developed. The main manufactures are a grist mill, a saw mill, a grist and saw mill, and a furniture factory, at Penn township; a grist mill at Sumner, and two others at Bethany and at Liberty townships. There are no banks in the county, but there are two newspapers, weekly, published in Osborne. There 49 districts, but only 16 school houses, valued at $6,666. There are several organizations but no church buildings, and the libraries in four townships showed a total of 3,549 volumes. This county suffered terribly from the locusts, as nearly half of the population was destitute of rations and clothing in consequence of their ravages.

Ottawa County was organized in 1866. Its area is 720 square miles, and its population in 1875 was 4,429, in which total males preponderate nearly 300. Farming is the pursuit of 89 per cent. of the population. The county seat is Minneapolis, 109 miles west from Topeka. One-fourth of the area is bottom land, but there is but very little timber. The streams are the Solomon and Saline rivers, and Coal, Saw, Lindsay, Salt, Pipe, Yockey, Henry, Mortimer and Chapman creeks. Springs are abundant and wells average about thirty feet deep. No coal has been found, but sandstone and limestone of poor quality are plentiful. Mineral paint and pottery clay are abundant. There are no railroads yet in Ottawa county. The Solomon and Sabine rivers afford excellent water powers, but only five mills have yet been built, and the powers are scarcely touched. The industries developed in the county, include at present two water power grist mills, two water power and one steam saw mill and furniture factory at Centre township; two mills, grist and saw, both water power, at Sheridan; and a water power saw mill at Culver. There are no banks in the county, but the amount of business transacted will soon require such accommodation. Minneapolis has a flouring mill, a lumber factory, a wagon factory and tin ware and stove factory; Delphos has a flouring mill and a lumber factory; Bennington has a lumber factory; and Culver has two factories for lumber and pottery. There are two weekly papers at Minneapolis. There are 57 districts, and 36 school houses valued at $23,457. There are three churches, and one parsonage

with a valuation of $4,050, and the libraries show an aggregate of 1,613 volumes. Ottawa was one of the sufferers from the locusts, as there were 400 persons reported in want of rations and 550 in want of clothing in the winter of 1874–5.

PAWNEE COUNTY was organized in 1872, and named for the nation upon whose hunting grounds Kansas is being built up. The area is 756 square miles. The population in 1875 was 1,003, in which total males preponderate by 86. Farming employs 67 per cent. of the settlers, 8 are engaged in trade and transportation and 10 per cent. in mines and manufactures. Larned is the county seat, 197 miles southwest from Topeka, on the Arkansas river and on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, which has here an excellent station. This is the station for Fort Larned. There is a weekly paper published here, the Larned *Press*. One-fourth of the area is bottom land, but there is very little timber. The Arkansas river and its tributary, the Pawnee Fork, are the streams. Springs are numerous and wells vary from 6 to 24 feet. No coal has been found, but good sandstone is abundant, and fire and pottery clay have been discovered. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad has a station at Garfield, as well as at Larned. Manufactures are in their infancy, but there are good water powers available on Pawnee Fork. There are no banks, and only one school house, valued at $650, but there 11 organized districts. Pawnee suffered from the locusts to the extent of having one-fourth of its population reduced to destitution in 1874–5.

PHILLIPS COUNTY was organized in 1872, and named in honor of a free state lawyer, resident at Leavenworth, who was first lynched and afterwards murdered by ruffians in that city, in September, 1856. The area is 900 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 2,813, in which males preponderate by 280. Farming prevails to the extent of eighty-six per cent., and about six per cent. of the settlers are employed in mines and manufactures. The county seat is Phillipsburg, 200 miles northwest from Topeka. The soil has fifteen per cent. of bottom land, but little timber, and the principal streams are the North fork of the

Solomon, and Deer Creek, about thirty-five miles long, with many tributaries. There are many springs on hill sides and well water can be obtained by deep sinking. There is no coal discovered, but good limestone is found in all parts of the county. Pottery clay is found on Deer creek and its tributaries. There are no railroads. Water powers are excellent on the North fork of the Solomon and on Prairie Dog creek. But two mills only have been erected, at Kirwin a flouring mill and at Logan a saw mill. Besides those mills there are at Kirwin, a water power grist mill and a steam saw and grist mill; at Phillipsburg, a steam flouring mill, and at Logan, a water power saw and grist mill. There are no banks and but one newspaper, the *Kirwin Chief*, at Kirwin. There are forty-three districts and twenty school houses valued at $8,326. There are no church buildings and no libraries. One-half of the population were left destitute by the locust plague in Phillips county.

Pottawatomie County was organized in 1856. The name tells its own story. The area is 848 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 10,344, in which males preponderate 442. Seventy-four per cent. of the settlers are engaged in farming, and eight per cent. in mines and manufactures. The county seat is Louisville, thirty-seven miles west from Topeka. One-fourth of the area is bottom land and four per cent. is forest. The principal streams are the Kansas river, Big Blue river, and their tributaries, Black Jack, Pleasant Run, Rock, Spring, Shannon, Carnahan, McIntyre and Cedar creek. Springs are numerous and well water can be found at from ten to forty feet. Coal has been found of good quality in veins of ten inches in several townships, and some mining has been prosecuted. Limestone is abundant except in the valley of the Kansas river. The Kansas Pacific runs through the Kansas valley, consequently there is sufficient facility for travel and traffic at present. There are excellent water powers on the Big Blue, Rock creek, Red Vermilion and Darnell creek. The manufactures of the county include a water power saw and flouring mill in Rock Creek township; a water power saw mill and a steam saw mill, and a lime kiln at Mill creek; a steam flouring mill at St. Mary's;

two steam saw mills and water power flouring mill at Center; flouring mills, water power, on the Blue; a water power flouring mill at Louisville; a steam saw mill at Wamego; a steam grist mill at Belle Vue; a cigar factory in the city of Wamego; and a steam saw mill and water power grist mill in Pottawatomie township. There is one bank in the county at Wamego. There are three weekly papers published in the county, at Wamego, St. Mary's and Louisville. There are eighty-seven districts and seventy-nine school houses, valued at $43,126, besides which there are other educational establishments, including St. Mary's college, under the care of the Jesuit fathers, and an academy and parochial school for young ladies, and a parochial school for boys, all at St. Mary's mission. There are eight church buildings, valued at $31,400; and in four townships the libraries contain 3,220 volumes. There were nearly a thousand persons rendered destitute in this county by the locust plague.

RENO COUNTY was organized in 1872, and named in honor of Capt. Reno, major general of volunteers, who was killed at South Mountain, Md., in September, 1862. The area of the county is 1,260 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 5,112, of which number 2,794 were males. Farming employs 70 per cent. of the settlers, trade and transportation, 7, and mines and manufactures 9 per cent. The county seat is Hutchinson, 141 miles southeast from Topeka. The surface has 15 per cent. bottom land, but very little timber. The main streams are Great and Little Arkansas, Cow creek, Minnescah and Salt creeks. Springs are numerous, and wells range from 10 to 50 feet. There is apparently no coal, but other mineral treasures abound — good limestone and an excellent quality of cement. Salt springs and marshes, which give a very fine quality of salt, have been found in the western part of the county. The principal station of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad is at Hutchinson, the county seat, on the Arkansas river. This town was founded in 1871, and already it has a court house, schools, churches and a bank that ornaments the locality. There are two weekly papers. The region is salubrious and fertile in a high degree. There are good water powers on the Cow creek, near Hutchinson,

but manufactures are only represented in the county at present by two brick factories in Reno township. There are 72 districts and 60 school houses, valued at $51,808. There is only one church building — the Presbyterian — valued at $3,000, but there are many organizations. Libraries are reported in private hands, containing 1,795 volumes, in four townships. Reno suffered terribly from the locusts, as 1,862 persons were destitute of food, and 1,200 destitute of winter clothing.

Republic County was organized in 1868, taking the name of the river, and it would be difficult to find a purer source on earth. The Pawnee Indians had a republican form of government, and the river was named from their institutions. The area of the county is 720 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 8,048, of which number, 4,290 were males. Farming employs 84 per cent. of the settlers, mines and manufactures about 11 per cent. Belleville, the county seat, is 117 miles northwest from Topeka, in a rich mining district, and has two weekly newspapers. Bottom lands make up one-tenth of the area, and forests cover 8 per cent. The principal streams are, the Republican river, Mill, Rose, White Rock, Beaver, West and Elk creeks, besides nameless streams in abundance. There are many springs, and wells average about 30 feet in depth. The southern third of the area is underlaid with coal in veins of from 15 to 30 inches thick. It is mined extensively for local use, and is a superior lignite, worth $3 per ton at the mines. Limestone, various in quality, is very plentiful. Several salt springs, and a salt marsh of several thousand acres have been found in Grant township, and other discoveries of the same kind have been made in Beaver township. There are no railroads yet. Water powers are not very numerous, but with outlay some could be made available. The manufactures of the county include a steam flouring mill at Scandia township, a steam grist mill and a steam grist and saw mill in Grant township, besides the salt works at the marsh and springs, which turn out good salt in great quantity. There are no banks. There are 79 school houses, valued at $39,497, and 101 districts. There are six church buildings, valued at $9,500. The libraries in three townships amount to 1,092 volumes. The

locust plague struck Republic county very heavily, as there were 1,000 persons reported destitute of food, and 2,200 in want of winter clothing in 1874–5.

RICE COUNTY was organized in 1871, and named for Brig. Gen. Rice, who was slain at Jenkins Ferry, Ark., on the return to Little Rock from Camden, after the failure of Gen. Banks' expedition. The area of the county is 720 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 2,453, of which number 1,339 were males. Farming employs 87 per cent. of the settlers, mines and manufactures 6 per cent. Atlanta, the county seat, is 145 miles from Topeka, to the southwest. There is very little timber in this county, but 15 per cent. of the area is bottom land. The principal streams of this region are, the Arkansas, Little Arkansas, Cow, Little Cow, Plum, and other creeks not yet named. Springs are very numerous, and wells average 25 feet in depth. Limestone and sandstone abound, but no coal has been discovered so far. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad runs through this county, with principal stations at Raymond and Peace. Wheat is spoken of near Atlanta giving 30 bushels to the acre. There are some good water powers, but none improved. Manufactures are yet to be inaugurated here, with the exception of a steam flouring mill at Sterling township. There are no banks, and only one newspaper (the Rice County Herald), published weekly at Peace. There are 20 school houses, valued at $18,546, and 41 districts. There is only one church edifice valued at $3,000, but there are many organizations. Libraries reported a total of 1,914 volumes. Eight hundred and seventy-five persons were in want of food, and 600 wanted clothing here after the locust plague in 1874–5.

RILEY COUNTY was organized in 1855, and was named for its contiguity to Fort Riley. Its population in 1875 was 7,065, of which number 3,748 were males. Farming employs 68 per cent. of the settlers, mining and manufactures 11 per cent. Manhattan, the county seat, is 50 miles west from Topeka. One-fifth of the county is bottom land, and 4 per cent. is forest. The chief streams are the Kansas river, the Big Blue flows by the boundary

line to the east, and the Republican river also enters the county. The minor streams are the Fancy, Mill, Wild Cat, Seven Mile, Madison, Timber, Three Mile, McDowell, Deep and School creeks. Springs are numerous and copious, and wells range from 26 to 80 feet in depth. Coal has not been found, but an excellent quality of magnesian limestone, in layers of from two to six inches, supply an admirable building stone to all parts of the county. The county has good railroad connections, as the Kansas Pacific has principal stations at Manhattan and at Ogden; and the Manhattan and Northwestern will soon complete connections with the central branch of the Union Pacific at Irving, and with the St. Joseph and Denver City Railroad at Marysville. Water powers could be made available at small cost in several places, but little has been effected in that way. Fancy creek has been dammed, and at Rocky Ford there is a dam across the Big Blue, which furnishes 2,000 horse power to a flouring mill. The manufactures of the county include a water power grist and saw mill, two wagon and carriage factories, a boot and shoe factory, and a cigar factory at Manhattan; a brewery at Ogden; a steam saw mill and a cheese factory at Grant; two saw Mills at Jackson; and a grist mill at Mayday township. There are three banks operating at Manhattan. The city of Manhattan has two newspapers, published weekly, and is a lively town, full of business. There are 25 school houses, valued at $48,605, and 67 districts organized. There are nine churches, valued at $31,600. Riley had 150 persons wanting food and 350 wanting clothing to provide for the winter of 1874–5, after the locust visitation.

Rush County was organized in 1874, and named for Capt. Rush, of the second colored infantry, killed gallantly fighting at Jenkins' Ferry, on the retreat to Little Rock from Camden, under Gen. Steele, April 3, 1864. The population in 1875 was 451, of which number 263 were males. Farming employs 89 per cent. of this population. Rush Centre is the county seat, 200 miles southwest from Topeka. There are no railroads here yet. The soil is said to be very fertile, 32 bushels per acre of wheat being harvested as a first crop near Alexander. There are as yet no banks nor manufactures, nor newspapers; but there are 6

school districts, and 3 buildings erected for school purposes. No churches yet, but eight private libraries give a total of 625 volumes.

Russell County was organized in 1872, and named in honor of Capt. Russell of the second Kansas Cavalry, who died of wounds received in the battle of Prairie Grove, Arkansas. The area of the county is 900 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 1,052, of which number 590 were males. Eighty per cent. of the residents are farming, and 10 per cent engaged in mining and manufactures. Russell, the county seat, is 172 miles west from Topeka. One-fifth of the area is bottom land, and only one per cent. prairie. Smoky Hill river is the great stream, next to that the Saline, and Paradise creek, with numerous smaller streams drain and irrigate the county completely. Springs are not very numerous. Wells range from 10 to 40 feet on the low lands, and from 20 to 200 feet on the uplands. Coal, or more properly lignite, in seams of from 30 to 40 inches thick, has been found, but the quality is poor. There has been some mining. Sandstone of poor quality is abundant, and some limestone of a better quality has been found. Salt springs, mineral paint, and pottery clay are reported in considerable quantity, but the quality is not yet determined. The Kansas Pacific Railway has principal stations at Bunker Hill and Russell. There are water powers, but they have not been realized, as manufactures have only made a small beginning with a grist mill at Centre township. There are no banks in the county, but there are two papers published weekly at Russell, the county seat. There are 8 school houses, valued at $15,029, and 14 districts. There are several organizations, but only one church building, valued at $4,500. The locust plague reduced nearly one-half of the population to absolute want in the winter of 1874–5.

Rooks County is not yet organized, although the population numbered about 500 in 1875. The whole population was reduced to the verge of starvation by the locust raid, as the returns showed 517 in want of rations, and upwards of 400 in want of clothing in the winter of 1874–5.

Saline County was organized in 1859, and named for the

river. The population in 1875 was 6,560, of whom 3,389 were males. Agriculture employs 70 per cent. of the settlers, and 18 per cent. are evenly divided between trade and transportation and mines and manufactures. Salina, the county seat, is 105 miles west from Topeka. Thirty per cent. of the county is bottom land, but there is very little timber. No coal worth naming has been found. The chief streams are the Saline, Smoky Hill, Solomon, Gypsum creek, Spring creek and Mulberry. There are but few springs. Wells range from 30 to 60 feet. Sandstone, of good quality, is found everywhere in this county, as also fire clay and gypsum. Salt springs and works at the mouth of the Solomon supply a very excellent salt, almost pure chloride of sodium. The Kansas Pacific has principal stations at Salina and at Brookville, the latter being a terminus. There are good water powers, but few of which have yet been utilized. The manufactures of the county include a wind power mill and a brick manufactory at Smoky Hill township; a cigar factory in the city of Salina, a cheese factory in Ohio township, a broom factory in Falem township, two salt manufactories in Solomon, and three water power flouring mills. There is only one bank, which is located at Salina, the county seat. There are three newspapers published weekly at Salina. There are 48 school houses, valued at $71,964, and 59 organized school districts. There are 7 churches, valued at $24,300, and private libraries reported show a total of 1,360 volumes in three townships. Salina suffered little by comparison with its neighbors from the locust visitation.

Sedgwick County was organized in 1870, and named in honor of Gen. Sedgwick, who was slain fighting for the union in the battle of Spottsylvania, May 9, 1864. The population of the county in 1875 was 8,310, of which number 4,567 were males. Farming is the pursuit of 59 per cent. of the settlers; 21 per cent. are engaged in mines and manufactures, and 8 per cent. in trade and transportation. Wichita, the county seat is 129 miles southwest from Topeka. There is but little timber in the county, but one half the area is bottom land and very fertile. The principal streams are the Arkansas, Little Arkansas, Minnescah, Cowskin and Wildcat creeks, with many nameless streams. But few

springs are found, but well water is reached without fail at from 10 to 50 feet. Coal has been found, but not in such quantity as to warrant mining. Gypsum underlies nearly the whole area, but building stone is somewhat scarce. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad runs through the county to Wichita. Water powers are limited, but some have been improved, and two flouring mills have been established. The manufactures of the county include two grist mills, a soda water factory, a wagon factory, a cigar factory and a brewery at Wichita; two water power grist mills at Salem, and one water power grist mill at Waco township. There are four banks in the county, of which two operate at Wichita, the county seat, where there are two weekly newspapers published. There are 57 school houses, valued at $107,167, and there are 80 districts. There is a Catholic parochial school at Wichita. There are four church edifices in the county, and church property is valued at $11,700. Sedgwick was a heavy loser by the locust plague, as 1,175 persons were reported in want of food, and 3,000 were unable to procure winter clothing in 1874-5.

SHAWNEE COUNTY was organized in 1855; the name gives its own explanation. The area is 558 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 15,417, of which number 8,027 were males. Farming employs 40 per cent. of the settlers, mines and manufactures engage 21 per cent., trade and transportation 13 per cent. Topeka, the capital of the state, is the county seat. Forests cover eight per cent. of the county, and 31 per cent. is bottom land. The principal streams are the Kansas river and its tributaries, Banbien, Cross, Soldier, Indian, Little Soldier, Half Moccasin, Half Day, Vesser, Mission, Shungununga, Deer, Stinson, Tecumseh, Haskell, Blacksmith and other creeks; the Wakarusa and its tributaries, Six Mile, Lime, Towhead and Berry Creeks. Springs are not numerous in this county, but some of them are very fine, and good well water can be found, generally at depths varying from 18 to 40 feet. Coal has been found, but there is no estimate of the area occupied by this valuable deposit. The veins found vary from 14 to 20 inches at a depth of from 15 to 20 feet. Many of the ravines have coal cropping out on their sides and the qual-

ity is quite good. Considerable quantities are mined for local use in domestic and manufacturing operations. Limestone of good quality is found in all parts of the county. Fire clay overlies the coal measure, but the quality of that deposit has not been fully tested. This portion of Kansas is well cared for by railroad companies. The Kansas Pacific has stations at Topeka, Silver Lake and Rossville; the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe has stations at Topeka and Wakarusa, and the Kansas Midland runs east from Topeka along the south bank of the Kansas to Lawrence and Kansas City, having a station at Tecumseh. There are numerous water powers of great value, but the reliability and speed associated with steam have prevented their utilization to any considerable extent. The manufactures in the county include the Shawnee steam flouring mill in Topeka, the North Topeka steam mills, the Topeka rolling mills, the Farmers flouring mills, the foundry and planing mill, the machine shops of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe company, and of the Kansas Midland, four cigar factories, two breweries, two cheese factories, two wagon and carriage factories, one cracker factory and the gas works. Rossville township has a steam flouring mill, a saw mill, an agricultural implement and furniture factory, a water power flouring mill on Cross creek, north of Rossville, and other works. Auburn township has a cheese factory, and Tecumseh a steam saw mill. The lion's share of the business of the county as well as that of the business of the state is transacted in Topeka, and the beauty of the city keeps step with its prosperity. The banks of the city include the Topeka National, the State Bank of Topeka, the Citizens' Bank, the Topeka Bank and Savings Institution, the Banking house of Guildford Dudley, and that of John D. Knox & Co., all centering in Topeka, but their operations extending all over and beyond the state. The press of Topeka is metropolitan, including the Commonwealth, daily and weekly; the Blade, daily evening; the Times, daily evening and weekly; the Kansas Farmer and the Democrat, both weekly. Naturally, the papers published in the capital are read with avidity all over the state, and are sought for the sake of local intelligence by directors of the press all over the United States. There are 79 districts and 81 school houses, valued, inclusive of appurtenances, at $199,000.

There are other educational establishments in the capital, including Washburn College, under the control of the Congregational church; the college of the Sisters of Bethany, an Episcopal establishment; with a theological institute, similarly directed, and a parochial school under the management of the Sisters of Charity. Churches are magnificently cared for in this city and county, as we find no less than 20 churches, some of them superb, and all commodious, estimated by their cost at $117,150. Four public libraries contain 17,150 volumes, and 218 private collections aggregate 33,788 volumes in seven townships only. Shawnee county was self supporting in the time of the locust plague and the worst ravages were effected before the locusts arrived at this point.

SMITH COUNTY was organized in 1872, and named in honor of Maj. Nathan Smith of the second Colorado volunteers, slain in action at Little Blue, Missouri, in October, 1864. The area of Smith County is 900 square miles, and its population in 1875 was 3,876, in which total the males number 2,130. Ninety per cent. depend on farming, and 5 per cent. on mines and manufactures, a wide definition that covers almost every handicraft. Smith Centre the county seat, is 173 miles northwest from Topeka. There is but little timber in this area, but 15 per cent. is bottom land of very fertile quality. The principal streams are the Solomon river and its tributaries, Cedar, East Cedar, Beaver and other creeks. Wells range from 10 to 100 feet, and springs are moderately plentiful. Little coal has been found. Limestone abounds and is of good quality. Sandstone is plentiful, but inferior. Gypsum in small quantities, but of fine quality, has been found. There are some salt springs, but their value has not been ascertained. There are no railroads here yet. Several valuable water powers only want for improvement, one dam has been constructed on the Solomon river. The manufactures of Smith county include a steam saw mill in Centre township; a steam saw mill, water power grist mill, and water power grist and saw mill in Houston township. There are no banks in the county, and only one paper published weekly in Smith Centre, the *Pioneer*. There are 43 school houses valued at $10,850, and 70 organized

school districts. There are several church organizations, but no edifices. More than one-fourth of the settlers in Smith county were reduced to destitution by the locust raid, as 1,500 of the people were in want of food, and 1,150 were unable to procure winter clothing.

Sumner County was organized in 1871, and named in honor of the great senator, one of the truest friends of Kansas, worthy to stand beside Abraham Lincoln. The area of the county is 1,188 square miles, and its population in 1875 was 4,925, of which number 2,667 were males. Eighty-three per cent. depend on farming, and 6 per cent. on mines and manufactures. Wellington, the county seat, is 154 miles southwest from Topeka. Forest in this county is only 3 per cent., but bottom lands comprise 20 per cent., one-fifth of the whole area. The principal streams are the Arkansas and Ninnescah rivers, and the Slate, Chicaspia, Fall, Bluff and Cowskin creeks. Springs are rare, but wells range from 10 to 40 feet. Borings have been made to find coal, and indications are favorable, but no discoveries have yet been made, and the search is still being prosecuted at Remanto. Building stone of different kinds and excellent quality is being found in every township. Fire clay abounds, and gypsum is also found, both of excellent quality. Salt springs of great value have been found, one company producing from their salines 1,000 pounds per day. There are no railroads in the county. There are good water powers, but undeveloped. There is one saw mill on the Cowskin creek, and the other manufactures of the county include a steam saw mill in Caldwell township; a steam saw mill at Belle Plaine; a water power flouring mill and a horse power flouring mill at Oxford; a steam saw mill and salt works at Walton township. There is one bank in the county, at Wellington, and one weekly newspaper. There are 39 school houses valued at $36,248, and 73 districts. There are many church organizations, but only one edifice, valued at $3,000. Five townships report 21 private libraries, consisting of 1,698 volumes. The locust plague fell with almost crushing effect upon this county, as 2,000 persons were unable to procure winter clothing and 1,500 lacked food; but the people are bravely making headway once more.

Wabaunsee County was organized in 1859, and named after a war chief of the Pottawatomies. The area of the county is 804 square miles, and the population, in 1875, was 4,648, of which number, males register 2,494. Farming employs 82 per cent. of the settlers, and mines and manufactures, 7 per cent. Alma, the county seat, is 33 miles west from Topeka and 65 miles west of Lawrence, at the crossing of the Manhattan, Alma and Burlingame, and the Mill Creek Valley and Council Grove railroads. The town has several stores, wagon and other factories, a flouring mill and a saw mill with water power. The town is well situated for water power, being at the junction of four creeks. Geological experts say that coal will be found at this point at a depth of from 350 to 400 feet, and borings are being made in that interest. The town increases very rapidly and is prosperous. One excellent weekly paper, the News, is published at Alma; and many important mail routes converge at that point. The borings for coal have descended 500 feet, but no paying veins were found, possibly from some fault in the earth's crust, not in the geological prospects. There is coal under about one-fourth of the area of the county at an average of fifteen feet deep, cropping out in the ravines at many places; but the quality is inferior, and the seams about fourteen inches thick. Some of the veins have been mined and abandoned because the quantity and quality would not pay for labor and outlay. Blue and white limestone of excellent quality are found in every township, and fire clay has been found in many places at various depths, from the surface or near it to 370 feet below. An artesian well bore was made at Alma, and at a depth of 174 feet very strong salt brine was discovered; the bore was continued, and at 378 feet the brine was much stronger; when the bore ceased, at 585 feet, the water was impregnated with chloride of sodium almost equal in strength to that of the Syracuse salt works, and there were hardly any impurities to be removed. The product of the well is now being prepared for the market by natural evaporation as well as by artificial heat. The face of the country gives only 4 per cent. of forest, 15 per cent. of bottom land, and is very fertile. The principal streams are Mission, Dragoon, Rock and Mill creeks; the last named creek is 36 miles long, draining into the Kansas river. Springs are rare, but

excellent when they occur, and good wells range from 20 to 50 feet. There are no railroads in the county. Water powers are good, but not utilized for want of capital. The manufactures of the county include, besides the works at Alma, a water power saw mill at Maple Hill; a cheese factory at Wabaunsee; two cheese factories and a knitted goods factory at Mission Creek; and steam saw mills at Washington and Berlina townships. There are two banks at Alma. There are 43 school houses valued at $41,279, and 53 school districts. Three church edifices have been erected at a cost of $4,800. Two townships report libraries to the number of 1,730 volumes. One thousand persons were in want of food, and 575 had not sufficient clothing for winter in consequence of the locust visitation of 1874–5; but the crops of the latter year came near making good all deficiencies.

Washington County was organized in 1860, and no American needs to be told for whom the county is named. The area of the county is 900 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 8,621, of which 4,566 were males. Farming employs eighty-six per cent. of the settlers, and manufactures and mining six per cent. Washington, the county seat, is ninety miles northwest from Topeka. Timber is very light in this county, and bottom land only eight per cent., but the prairies are fertile in good hands. The principal streams are the Little Blue, Mill, Coon, Pete's, Parson's, and other creeks tributaries of the Little Blue and the Republican rivers. Coal has been found, but in inconsiderable seams and of poor quality; still the search has not been abandoned, and indications are favorable. Building stone, pottery clay and gypsum are found in different parts of the county. Limestone quarries have been opened at several points, and the pottery clay is being utilized at Hanover. The St. Joseph and Denver City Railroad has a principal station at Hanover. The Little Blue affords excellent water powers, but they have not been worked. Mill creek is fully employed three-fifths of the year. The manufactures of the county include a water power flouring mill, pottery, brewery and brick factory at Hanover; a water power flouring mill at Hollenberg; a water power grist mill at Mill Creek; two water power saw mills, a steam saw mill, a cheese

factory, furniture factory, two water power flouring mills, and water and steam power flouring mill at Washington; and a wind grist mill at Strawberry township. There is one bank in Washington. There are two papers, both weekly, published one at Washington and the other at Hanover. Eighty-six school houses have been erected and furnished at a cost of $57,970, and there are in all 108 school districts. There are three church edifices and other properties valued at $4,600, and libraries in two townships give a total of 590 volumes. After the locust plague, this county had 1,600 people in want of clothing, and 600 unable to procure food for themselves.

WILSON COUNTY was organized in 1865 at the close of the war, and was named for Col. Wilson of Fort Scott. The area of Wilson county is 576 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 9,749, of which number 5,097 were males. Eighty-two per cent. are employed in farming, and seven per cent. in mines and manufactures. Fredonia, the county seat, is 102 miles south from Topeka, near Fall river, in a fine farming country, and on the M. and N. R. R. The village has three churches, two banks, two schools, a weekly newspaper, the Journal, three hotels, a mill and other works. There are fine water powers on Fall river and the Verdigris, but they are only partially employed by two mills on each stream. The manufactures of the county include a steam flouring mill, a steam saw and planing mill, and a water power flouring mill in Neodesha township; two water power and two steam power flouring and saw mills in Cedar; a steam saw mill and two steam saw and flouring mills at Fall River; a steam and water power flouring and saw mill at Guilford; a steam power flouring and saw mill at Verdigris; a steam power saw mill at Clifton, and two water power flouring mills at Centre township. There are three banks in the county, two at Fredonia and one at Neodesha, with an aggregate capital of $49,738. Besides the paper mentioned as published at Fredonia, there is a paper published at Neodesha, the Free Press. There is in this county twenty per cent. of bottom land, and eight per cent. of forest. The principal streams are the Verdigris and Fall rivers, with their tributaries, Cedar, Sandy, Duck and Buffalo creeks, with numerous smaller

streams. Springs are numerous, and good wells range from twelve to thirty feet in depth. Coal is supposed to underlie the whole area, varying in thickness from six inches to thirty-six, and the quality good. The seam comes to the surface toward the east of the county and dips to the west. Local consumption for domestic and manufacturing purposes is considerable. Limestone and sandstone are found in large quantities of good quality all over the county, and fire clay is also found in the vicinity of Fall and Verdigris rivers. There are salt springs and marshes near Fredonia, which are being utilized. There are eighty-six school houses valued at $64,850, and ninety-one school districts. Seven churches have been built at a cost of $15,000. There are twenty-six private libraries in four townships, with 1,213 volumes. Wilson county was self supporting in 1874–5, at the time of the locust visitation, although there was much suffering among the poorer settlers in that region.

Woodson County was one of the first organized in 1855, having been named in honor of the secretary of the territory and several times acting governor. The area comprises 504 square miles, and the population in 1875 was 4,476, of which number 2,396 were males. Farming employs 80 per cent. of the settlers, miners and manufacturers engage 8 per cent. Defiance, the county seat, is 82 miles south from Topeka. The area offers a favorable compromise as to surface and soil, as there is 6 per cent. of forest and 10 per cent. of bottom land of great fertility, and the wood is of good descriptions for manufacturing purposes. The principal streams are the Neosho and the Verdigris rivers, with their tributaries, Owl, Cherry and Big Sandy creeks, with many smaller streams. Springs are few but good well water is found at from 20 to 40 feet. Coal has been found, but not enough to pay for mining in a systematic way. Building stone abounds in all parts of the county. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad follows the valley of the Neosho, so that the region is joined to the railroad system of the continent. Dogs are more destructive than wolves to sheep farmers, but that experience is common to most counties in Kansas. There are fine water powers on the Neosho river at Neosho Falls, and a dam has prepared the way

for complete utilization of the stream. The manufactures of the county include a water power flouring and saw mill, a water power woolen mill, a steam saw mill, a wagon and implement factory, and a water power furniture factory at Neosho Falls; a grist and saw mill, and a furniture factory at Toronto; a grist and saw mill at Centre; and a steam saw mill at Owl Creek township. There are no banking houses in the county, and only one weekly paper, the Woodson *Post*, published at the business centre, Neosho Falls. There are 54 districts, and 53 school houses, valued at $36,905; two churches valued at $5,400, and libraries in five townships, numbering, in public and private collections, 4,695 volumes. The locusts fell lightly on this county, as we find only 325 persons in want in the winter of 1874–5.

WYANDOTTE COUNTY was organized in 1859, named for the tribe of Indians indicated; the area is only 153 square miles, and the population, in 1875, was 12,362, of which number 6,398 were males. Fifty-one per cent., little more than half of the settlers rely on farming, 9 per cent. on trade and transportation, and 16 on mines and manufactures. Professional and personal services engross 22 per cent. The county seat is Wyandotte, almost a part of Kansas City, to which it is joined by bridge and railroads; being on the state line, 57 miles east from Topeka. The county is well conditioned for agriculture, manufactures and residence, as it possesses, in its limited area, 25 per cent. of forest and 20 of bottom land. The Missouri and the Kansas rivers are the great streams, and there are many of small dimensions all over Wyandotte county. Beautiful springs abound as usual in well timbered country, and excellent wells range from 20 to 50 feet. A bore put down near Wyandotte to determine as to the practicability of coal mining has given curious results. The bore is only 4 1-2 inches; there are many greater bores in society, but few so interesting. At a depth of 250 feet, illuminating gas of fine quality was struck, and has ever since been ascending in great volume, so that the engine is supplied with no other fuel than it affords, to continue the work, and a small two inch pipe carries to the house of Mr. Wilderman enough to furnish fuel and light. The estimate made is that 240,000 cubic feet of gas escape every 24

hours, enough to outbid the average of gas companies in volume, purity and cheapness. The stream has continued since last May. Soon after reaching the stratum of gas, salt water was reached, which is driven into the air from twelve to fifteen feet. The water is charged with salt, almost pure chloride of sodium, to the extent of 4 1-4 ounces per gallon; but coal has not been found, although the bore has now descended considerably more than 500 feet. The roar of the gas as it escapes, driving the water before it, resembles the noise of the escape pipe of an engine, and occasionally at night when, for the sake of experiment, the fluid has been ignited, the flame, several feet in diameter, has ascended forty feet. There is no sulphurous smell, so that the gas cannot come from the region cursorily referred to by *Hamlet*, the Royal Dane. The flame is strong, clear and white, and in the face of such an unpardonable waste of the manufactured article, one is compelled to enquire why the material is not used to illuminate Wyandotte, Kansas City, Weston and the suburbs. Such an export would be unique, as well as profitable, and it would not be the first enlightenment contributed by Kansas to its elder sister. Coal may be found, and the other mineral resources of Wyandotte county are fine quarries of magnesian limestone, which give beauty to the banks of the Kansas river for miles, as well in *situ* as when made useful in arts and architecture. Blue limestone is also found good for building. The piers and abutments of the bridges constructed by the Kansas Pacific railroad company near Wyandotte have been built of this stone, at once handsome and durable. The railroad facilities of Wyandotte are second to none of the cities in the union, as nearly all the great lines are within easy reach, if they do not come to the doors of the citizens to invite them to mount and ride. The Kansas Pacific comes first, having principal stations at Wyandotte, Armstrong and Edwardsville; the Missouri river, extension of the Missouri Pacific, follows the south bank of the great river to Leavenworth and Atchison, having principal stations at Wyandotte, Quindaro, Pomeroy, Barkers Tank and Connor. Reports, as to the fertility of Wyandotte, mention 325 bushels of potatoes and 90 bushels of corn per acre.

The manufactures of Wyandotte county include four steam

packing houses of considerable extent, the capital invested in two of them being $120,000 and $30,000; a steam saw mill and a steam grease factory in Shawnee township; a steam flouring mill at Quindaro; a steam saw mill and a rope factory at Prairie; the machine shops of the Kansas Pacific at Armstrong; and near the same place a steam flouring mill; a steam flouring mill at Edwardsville; a steam flouring mill at Pomeroy; and in Wyandotte City three steam flouring mills, the capital of two of which amount, to $23,000; a wagon and carriage factory, tin, copper and sheet iron works, two cigar factories, and the repair shops of the Kansas, Pacific Railroad. There are three banks in Wyandotte City, and two weekly papers, the *Herald* and *Gazette*. The county has 39 districts and 42 school houses, valued inclusive of appurtenances at $89,513, besides which, there is a Catholic parochial school at Wyandotte. The churches in Wyandotte county number six and the value is stated at $22,500, but several organizations have no church buildings. One public library contains 800 volumes and 174 private collections amount to 20,245 volumes. The losses falling upon Wyandotte county from the locust plague were heavy but the county was self-supporting.

GRAHAM COUNTY is one of the unorganized, the first ground having been broken in May, 1872, and in 1875, there was only a population of 96. The post offices for the county are at Graham and Houston. There is but little wood, but bottom lands range as high as 20 per cent. The chief streams are the south fork of the Solomon, which has many tributaries, and Bow Creek. The forest lands of the county all border the streams, and Bow Creek is heavily timbered in some parts. No coal has been discovered but the search has not been exhaustive. There is good limestone generally for building purposes and for making lime, and on Coon Creek there are several beds of very handsome magnesian limestone, which will pay well for quarrying. There are no railroads in the county or it would go ahead rapidly. The school accommodation consists of one day school and one Sunday school. There are no church buildings but several organizations.

HAMILTON COUNTY is not organized; the first settlement of

thirty families was made in 1873, and other families, to the number of sixty, came prior to July, 1874, but the drouth, followed by the locust plague discouraged great numbers, and there are now only about twenty families remaining, unless there has been an increase since 1875. The principal towns are Syracuse and Sargent. Syracuse is on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, 14 miles east of the state line, 12 miles east of Sargent, and one mile from the Arkansas river. There were twelve families in the town on the 13th of March, 1875, and no families in the suburbs within six miles. Sargent is still smaller, as numerous families moved to Granada with the extending road. There is bottom land from half a mile to 7 miles wide, with an average of two miles. The Arkansas river is divided by islands at this point. The ravines which abound in springs are very broad and fertile. The country is fine and rolling, beautiful to the eye and exceedingly fertile, an eligible site for settlement. There are about 200 acres of woodland, mostly skirting the Arkansas, some of the cottonwood trees are very large, one near Syracuse is eight feet in diameter. Wild plums and grapes abound here. The Arkansas is the great stream with many tributaries. Limestone, both blue and magnesian, are plentiful. The principal stations of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe line are at Aubrey, Syracuse and Sargent.

CHAPTER XXVII.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

General Halderman. — Among the men who have distinguished themselves and conferred honor on the state of Kansas, from the days of the first settlement, the name of Gen. Halderman will occur first to every reader conversant with the affairs of this region. Commencing his carreer as a democrat, and being from a very early day private secretary to Gov. Reeder, he was conversant with the difficulties that crowded many democrats

over the republican line, but whether in peace or at war, Gen. Halderman has won the good word of every class of citizens, without abandoning for one moment the high position of a man of principle, resolute in what he believed to be the right path. A brief retrospect of the career of Gen. Halderman will be acceptable to our readers and instructive to youth. The state of Missouri was his place of nativity, and in that state and in Kentucky he continued to reside until 1854, when at the age of 21 he removed to Kansas, and was one of the first to settle in the newly recognized territory. His Kentucky experiences made him familiar with work in every line, as he figured there sometimes on a farm, occasionally clerking and teaching school until he had amassed means sufficient to procure an academic course of instruction. McKendra college, Illinois, and St. Xavier, Ohio, were jointly his *alma mater*, and he has done honor to his training. Subsequently the youth read law in the office of Col. C. C. Rogers at Lexington, Ky., where he became conversant with the routine of the United States district attorney, and was admitted to the bar at Louisville after attending the university in that city. After this course of preparation Mr. Halderman moved into Kansas and became one of its pioneers. His rare qualifications and high personal character procured him in succession appointments, after serving as Gov. Reeder's secretary, as secretary of the first territorial council, probate judge of Leavenworth county, major of the first Kansas volunteers, major general of the northern division of the state forces, the last two appointments being made by Gov. Robinson, mayor of Leavenworth for two terms, regent of the state university, member of the house of representatives and state senator. The honor last named is still enjoyed by Gen. Halderman, and his escutcheon has no "bend sinister."

Gen. Halderman was by birth and training a democrat of the Thomas Jefferson school, but opposed to the extension of slavery, hence, although he generally acted with his party, he fought against the Lecompton constitution at all hazards with vote, voice, influence and purse. Co-operating with Gov. Walker after the retirement of Gov. Geary, Gen. Halderman with others bought the Leavenworth *Journal*, and used it effectively against the proslavery Lecompton movement. Could the active and un-

compromising opponent have been silenced, there is good reason for believing that he would have been nominated first governor of the state, under the constitution which he materially assisted to defeat. The General preferred the honor of trying to establish a free state, better than governing a state that carried the stain of human servitude. When Martin F. Conway was elected by the republicans as representative of the state in congress, Gen. Halderman, nominated by the democrats, ran a long way ahead of his ticket. When the national convention of his party assembled in Charleston, S. C., in 1860, and afterwards adjourned to Baltimore, Md., the General was one of the few wise democratic representatives that worked heartily for Stephen A. Douglas, and his faith in "The Little Giant" has never abated to this hour. Unfortunately for the party, the Breckinridge schism was irremediable. Like Stephen A. Douglas, when the war supervened, Gen. Halderman gave his best services to his country and upheld the union. Unhappily Mr. Douglas died at the early age of 48. Gen. Halderman was then 20 years his junior, and his energy found expression in the field. He was one of the first volunteers in this state, and was nominated major of the first regiment, participating with honor in the battles of Dug Springs and at Wilson's Creek, where Gen. Lyon fell. The services of the major were mentioned as gallant and meritorious in the official records. Gov Robinson appointed him major general of the northern division of the forces of the state in 1862, and in that position his duties were onerous in the extreme. His division was efficiently organized on a war basis, to repel the incursions of rebels and prevent Indian depredations, besides which it devolved upon the major general to procure arms for the state generally.

Later in his career we find Gen. Halderman in the house of representatives, in 1870, earnestly sustaining the XVth amendment. He was the author of the General Amnesty Bill, and also of a bill to abolish capital punishment in the state of Kansas; such measures mark the intellectual and moral status of the man. When the general retired, in 1872, from his second term in the mayorality of Leavenworth City, the press was encomiastic in the highest degree, praising him as "mayor of the people and not of a party. * * * One of the best, if not *the* best, ablest and

purest chief magistrate that Leavenworth has ever had." Seeking relaxation in foreign travel, after a long course of active public life, Gen. Halderman was in London on the 4th of July, 1862, and was chosen to preside over the annual American banquet in that city in honor of the Declaration of Independence. In his opening remarks on that occasion, the general strongly urged the re-election of President Grant, a question at that time much in debate, among persons of democratic proclivities more especially. The liberal training enjoyed in his young manhood enabled Gen. Halderman to appreciate European travel, and to reap from it all the advantages procurable in a brief respite from active work. The principal cities of the old world were visited by him in succession, accompanied by his family; and when that tour had been completed, he resolved upon more extensive travel. His wife and daughter remaining in Germany, where the younger lady enjoyed the best facilities for education, the general had the satisfaction of comparing modern Greece with the country represented to him by the classic writers of antiquity. From that point he traveled through Turkey, seeing Abdul Aziz in "his manner as he lives," surrounded by dead and dying institutions, and vainly striving to emulate a higher civilization. Syria, Egypt and Palestine became in turn his abiding places, until he had penetrated the recesses of eastern life, a design but seldom entertained by travelers who hurry over a stretch of desert, see the pyramids, quote Napoleon, and return in time to save the post, thinking that they have liberalized their ideas by foreign travel and experience. The region of the Khedive, his improvements and designs, the sacred spots in the Holy Land, the Nile itself, and its identification with the mysteries of our religion, gave to this period of his life a peculiar charm for the traveled scholar, and when Gen. Halderman returned to his native land after only fifteen months spent in distant countries, he was better than ever able to appreciate the blessings within his reach. The brief holiday was followed by a speedy call to higher duties in his adopted home. Kansas could not afford to allow her worthy pioneers to "step down and out," so, immediately after the general had begun to realize the pleasures of home life he was elected in November, 1874, to the Kansas state senate. The canvass on that occasion

produced many comments on the character and career of the candidate, and it might be expected that an "unreconstructed" democratic organ, published in Platte City, Mo., would have something to say about a native Missourian identified with the labors that made Kansas a free state. Contrary to many expectations, the criticism was a complete eulogy of Judge Halderman, whose military services could not be named nor adverted to without wounding the *amour propre* of the readers of the Platte City paper, but they yet served to round a period in a well penned article. The editor said: "This distinguished gentleman is a candidate for the state senate in our neighboring state of Kansas. His election would give great satisfaction to the people of Platte county, who, to a great extent, have identical interests with those of Leavenworth. He was in the army 'during our late unpleasantness,' and came out of it with distinction. He has filled many public offices, among which was that of mayor of Leavenworth, from which he retired without spot or stain. * * * He is a republican, and as such, might not be acceptable to our people, but he is one of the few honest ones in that party. * * * Should Judge Halderman be selected by the people across the Missouri to assist in making their laws, we should feel assured they are willing to meet us at least half way in bridging the 'bloody chasm.'" The general is chairman of the committee on education in the senate, and in his career has favored among other measures, biennial sessions of the legislature; rigid economy in the public service; adjustment and equalization of all taxes; encouragement of agriculture and manufactures; free trade in money, and repeal of iniquitous and unwise usury laws; abolition of the death penalty; a general herd law; and an amendment of the constitution to prohibit counties, cities and towns, subscribing stock and voting bonds to railways or other corporations. The general is not a mere theorist; he has assisted materially to establish the two leading life and fire insurance companies in the state, located at Leavenworth, to which he gives all the attention compatible with a regard for his large landed interests. The Episcopal church is the choice of his mature life, and he has passed through all the degrees of Free Masonry to the high degree of Knight Templar. His generosity is of the broad

Catholic order that knows no distinction of cast and creed. His home is a *bijou* of books, pictures and good taste, improved by travel and converse with leading minds in many lands, from many of which he has elegant *souvenirs;* and he is surrounded by the highest culture in Kansas. Gen. Halderman has escaped calumny in a censorious age when few are quite untouched. His sound sense and practical sagacity are beyond question, his integrity is admitted even by his antagonists, he can hardly be said to have enemies; and to him has been aptly applied the sentence, first penned in honor of Pierre Du Terrail, the famous Chevalier Bayard, "*le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.*"

The life of the General is yet hardly realizing its prime, he is only forty-three years of age, and it would be hard to believe that a man who has served so well and truly, in answer to every call up to the present hour, will be permitted to retire into the elegancy of private culture, surrounded by his family and friends. That indulgence belongs to advanced age, and the general must be the servant of the public for many years, until he is entitled to say:

——"My way of life,
Is fallen into the sear, the yellow leaf."

Then it will be his good fortune to find the blessings so eloquently depicted by the immortal bard, as

"That which should accompany old age,—
As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends."

It is not often permitted to men so young to have won an education, a valuable property, and the reputation of great service to the state and to the union, without such devotion to Pluto as must dissociate the mind from all that is elegant and most amiable; but truly, in the language of Sallust: "Every man is the architect of his own fortune," and the lines that have fallen to Gen. Halderman, have permitted him to construct a life to which Plutarch might have rendered full justice, had not his series of medallions been long since closed for all time.

GOV. OSBORNE wears honors which have been nobly and worthily won. He was born at Meadville, Pennsylvania, on the 26th

of October, 1836, consequently he is now forty years of age. He received a common school education until he was 15 years old, when he entered a compositors office to procure the means of livelihood. Thrown upon his own resources, his first step in a long career of usefulness was carrying newspapers for the office in which he served a full apprenticeship. Master of the art of Gutenberg, he attended Allegheny College and supported himself by his labors "at case" during vacations. When twenty years of age, he read law with Judge Derrickson of Meadville, but removed to Michigan in the following year, 1857, when in the fall, he was admitted to the bar. He arrived in Lawrence, Kansas, in the month of November, 1857, and being without capital, went to work as a compositor in the office of the *Herald of Freedom*, of which he became foreman, remaining until the spring of 1858. Elwood, in Doniphan county, was the scene of his first professional labors in this territory, and he continued there for some time after his removal from Lawrence. He found in Doniphan county, and more especially in Elwood, some of the finest specimens of manhood and ability then to be admired in Kansas, and circumstances had conspired to bring to this region the picked population of many states. Intercourse with men of first-class capacity could not fail to develop the best qualities in an active and well trained mind, and there can be no doubt that Gov. Osborne oftentimes looks back to the associations of that time with considerable interest. He was thrown into contact in his social and professional career, with the Hon. J. B. Chaffee, now of Colorado, and delegate in congress for that territory prior to its admission as a state; Gen. Albert L. Lee, since then distinguised as a brilliant cavalry officer; the Hon. D. W. Wilder, the present state auditor; the Hon. W. H. Smallwood, since secretary of state; and the Hon. Edward Russell, for sometime superintendent of insurance. Elwood was then as it is now a good place for a young man of parts and ambition, and Mr. Osborne soon found himself in the front ranks in the political agitation of the time. Free state views and ardent republicanism determined the young lawyer as to his position on the great questions of the day. He was chosen to represent Doniphan county in the first senate elected in 1859, under the state constitution, and when that became law he

took his seat in 1861. Later in his legislative career, when the senate met in 1862, to try Gov. Robinson and other state officers who had been impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, the Lieut. Governor being at that time absent on military service, it became necessary for the senate to choose a president *pro tem.* from among its members. The contest for the position was between Mr. Ingalls, now the United States senator and Mr. Osborne, and it was not until the fourteenth ballot that a conclusion was arrived at, the present governor carrying off the honor. The competition between the same parties was very spirited in the republican convention of that year for the office of lieutenant governor, but Mr. Ingalls was once more the unsuccessful candidate. Having failed to secure the regular nomination, Mr. Ingalls permitted himself to be put forward by an independant party, and the public were thus enabled to prononnce upon the merits of the parties, the result being that Mr. Osborne became lieutenant governor by a very respectable majority. Perhaps there may have been a desire on the part of the people to pronounce on independent tickets, as well as upon the parties concerned, in the ballot then cast.

In the year 1864, President Lincoln tendered to the lieutenant governor the position of United States marshal in Kansas, and the post was occupied by him until the year 1867, when President Johnson concluded upon decapitating the officer appointed by his predecessor. He had the honor to undergo the process in good company, and there was no discredit attached to the operation, so far as the ex-marshal was concerned. The office had appeared to require a residence nearer to the center of population than Elwood, and when the sword of Damocles had fallen, the present governor was a resident in the city of Leavenworth, where he continued afterwards.

In the fall of 1872, the nomination as governor was offered to Mr. Osborne, by the republican state convention, and was of course accepted, the election following by an exemplary majority, 34,000, certainly very much larger than had ever been given by the state for any other candidate. The majority given to President Grant in the first candidature in this state was only 17,058, and on the reëlection in 1872, only amounted to 34,078, so that it is evident he brought out the whole strength of the

republican party. When Senator Caldwell was obliged to resign his position as United States senator the name of Gov. Osborne was mooted, but ex-Gov. Harvey's friends secured him the nomination and election. The political canvass of 1873–4 was bitter and personal beyond precedent, mainly because of animosities aroused during the senatorial trouble, but the republican convention gave Gov. Osborne a renomination, and he was once more chosen by the people to fill the gubernatorial office. His term will expire on the second Monday in January, 1877. Times of great distress have fallen within his terms of office, and his measures have always been prompt and effective so far as his means would permit. The Hon. Thos. A. Osborne will finish his course with honor to himself and with profit to the state.

Hon. Hiram Griswold is one of the veterans in legal practice in Kansas, as he was born in 1807, on the 5th of July, just too late to take part in the celebration of the never to be forgotten Fourth. He remained in Colebrook, Conn., his native place, until 1826, when he removed to Hudson, Ohio, in which city he read law with Judge Van R. Humphrey, and was admitted to the bar in August, 1829. The town of Canton, Ohio, was the place chosen by him for commencing the practice of his profession, and he continued there, enjoying a fair measure of success, until the end of 1851. Circumstances then invited him to change his *locale* to Cleveland, Ohio, where he remained actively engaged in professional affairs until his removal to the city of Leavenworth, in 1863, where he has resided ever since. Soon after Mr. Griswold took up his abode in Leavenworth, he won recognition as one of the leading members of the bar in the state of Kansas, a reputation which time can only enhance, because it is founded upon consummate ability and sound judgment. During the portion of his lifetime passed in Ohio, Mr. Griswold was an active and influential politician, looked for in the front rank of his party, and accepted largely by the mass of nonpartisan politicians as a leader whom it was safe to follow, because of the vigor combined with moderation that tempered his action on all occasions. The Jackson democrats were in an overwhelming degree masters of the situation in Ohio, where Mr. Griswold resided, before the

days of the republican party, and he would have consulted his own interests materially, by smothering his political convictions, but he had long before given in his adhesion to whig principles, and on every proper occasion he was found ranged under the old banner. The movements of the free soil party made antislavery an element in political life, and Mr. Griswold was known in Ohio as an antislavery whig, until it became evident that the whig party could not expand itself to the dimensions required by the time. The formation of the republican party was hailed by millions as the only possible solution of the difficulty, and all the leading whigs, intellectually speaking, were engrossed in the new organization; Mr. Griswold was one of that number. A mere office seeker would of course have identified himself with the strongest party, locally considered; Mr. Griswold enrolled himself with the weaker side, but in 1846, when it was necessary to make a nomination that would command respect, although it was known that an election could not be hoped, he permitted his name to be used, and did all that was possible to assist the ticket. The party majority of the democrats was at that time 800, but upon his nomination for state senator Mr. Griswold ran so far ahead of his ticket that he was only beaten by 8 votes. Such a defeat was as glorious and almost as satisfactory as victory. In the year 1850, he was once more put upon the ticket by his party, as delegate to the constitutional convention. Much of his time was taken up by an appointment made by the legislature of Ohio in 1844–5, requiring him to report the decisions of the supreme court, and so well was the duty performed that in 1847–8 the appointment was reaffirmed. This office entailed upon him onerous labors for six years, such as only professional men in considerable practice can adequately understand. Six volumes of reports were prepared and published by him, and they might be reprinted now without a single line of errata.

At the session of 1850–1, Mr. Griswold was a candidate for the position of United States senator, but the canvass was left entirely in the hands of his friends. Many candidates sought the nomination, but eventually the contest was narrowed until the rival claimants were himself and the Hon. Henry Stanberry, ex-attorney general of the state, and later, attorney general of the United

States. Mr. Griswold received the nomination of the whig caucus. The times were peculiar; President Fillmore had just detached himself from the whigs, and he had a following in the legislature of Ohio of only four votes. The free soilers numbered ten, and most of those were of whig antecedents. The whigs only lacked four votes of a majority over democrats and free soilers combined. The well known opinions of Mr. Griswold secured him some votes among the free soil party, enough to ensure his election, provided the Fillmore whigs were loyal to the party; but just before this time the candidate had given expression to his views concerning the acting president's proslavery policy, and in so doing had roused the ill feeling of his supporters. The ballot continued for some time, and Mr. Griswold was repeatedly within four votes of success, but the Fillmore whigs could not be induced to cast a ballot for a man so strong on the antislavery ticket, and so pronounced in his denunciation of Fillmore. Eventually seeing that there was personal feeling against himself which should not be allowed to cost the party a success, which might be secured with another candidate, Mr. Griswold caused his name to be withdrawn, and the ballot went on for several days longer. The whigs nominated in his stead such men as Ewing and Corwin, but without beneficial result, although all the men put forward were prominent and worthy, until the Hon. Benj. Wade procured the vote at last. Mr. Wade was just as determined an antislavery man as Mr. Griswold, but his predilections were not so well known, hence the Fillmore faction gave him their votes, and he was elected; a result which was only made possible by the self denial evidenced and exercised by his predecessor in the candidature. Soon after Mr. Griswold had removed to Cleveland which was then as a district favorable to antislavery principles and strongly whig, he was elected a member of the state senate, and that body conferred upon him the high distinction of chairman of its judiciary committee. The John Brown raid on Harper's Ferry occurred while Mr. Griswold was residing in Cleveland, and the trial at Charlestown, Va., followed speedily. The old man had been abandoned by the counsel assigned to him by the court, and stood there almost as it seemed without a friend, at the mercy of a jury wild with rage, absolutely frenzied with passionate hate against him.

There was no probability of success attending anything that could be done or said for him, in such a court, before such a jury, and the trial was already half over in form, and all determined in spirit, before counsel for the defense threw up their briefs. It is probable that in the event of an acquittal having been obtained, the result would have been the same as in the September massacre in the streets of Paris during the first revolution, when the men, said to be acquitted and discharged from the prisons, were met at the gateways by a lurid mob, with blood to their shoulders, who slew hundreds of men to gratify an insane lust for death. John Brown would have been murdered by the mob in all human probability, if there had not been a fragment of the same body then in the jury box to pronounce his condemnation according to law. Mr. Griswold accepted the responsibility of taking part in the defense, not without some peril even for himself, as men of the class indicated are not good at discriminating between the offender and the defender, and his action has been the cause of many thousands inquiring, who was that lawyer that volunteered to defend John Brown? It was difficult even to procure an observance of the forms of law upon that trial. There were abundant provocations to repeat the often quoted lines of the poet:

> "Right, for ever on the scaffold,
> Wrong, for ever on the throne."

The event was, as everybody knew it must be, death, and an immortality of fame, but it was something to have cheered the heart of the brave old man, strong in the knowledge of the absolute right for which he was contending, heedless of suffering on his account; and to have breathed words of sympathy to a soul naturally tender and childlike, when not kindled into holy indignation by the fires of oppression. This event linked the name of Mr. Griswold with a cardinal fact in the history of the culmination and decline of the slave power. The wisdom of the movement made by John Brown need not be discussed from any standpoint, save among men who can see that self sacrifice is a power among human beings. Those who can see that one died for us all, when there seemed to be no earthly purpose served by the crucifixion, save to afford the rabble a chance to cry, "Not

this man but Barrabbas," can alone comprehend the more than chivalric feeling which prompted John Brown to his seemingly desperate endeavor. He made known to the whole world, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness," and the path has been made straight in a manner that few in his day thought possible. Mr. Griswold was just as chivalric in assuming the defense of John Brown, as the old man and his followers had been in capturing Harper's Ferry, but men do not stop to take counsel of their fears when brave deeds are to be done. Mr. Griswold came into Kansas to practice his profession, but he retained his old taste for politics, and his skill in reading character generally brought him to conclusions long before the people surrounding him were prepared to follow. Senator Lane was the controling spirit of the republican party in Kansas at that time, and his skill as an organizer was beyond question, but the wary advocate saw in him a person whose integrity could not be relied upon. Mr. Griswold claimed on one occasion publicly, that Senator Lane came to this territory pledged to assist in the establishment of slavery on the soil of Kansas, and further he asserted, that although he had been wise enough to abandon a hopeless cause, he had never cast himself into the struggle on the other side without a reservation, such as every acute observer must perceive, whether he could understand it thoroughly or not. Entertaining those sentiments concerning Senator Lane, it was very natural that the man who had not hesitated to take up the cause of John Brown, should have no hesitation in the case of Senator Lane at the proper time—

> "To beard the lion in his den,
> The Douglas in his hall."

The time arrived when Mr. Griswold was convinced that Senator Lane came to the state in 1866 to bring over the politicians of Kansas to the support of the policy of President Johnson. He was convinced that the senator was acting as the emissary of the president, and whether right or wrong, he had the courage to avow his opinions frankly and often. The ground taken in opposition to the senator was well chosen and strong, possibly his mind had already lost some of its force before he

permitted himself to take action in which he seemed to be compromised, at any rate, the opposition with which he was now met at every point was more than he could bear; possibly, this frustration of a cherished scheme, on which much may have depended, had some influence on his mind, leading toward the terrible act of self destruction on the 11th of July, 1866; but also, it is possible, that his suicide was but a part of a more general aberration, under which his political life had already been compromised. When the senator stood for re-election in 1864, there was a strong party in opposition to him, duly organized and ready with a ticket which would have commanded favor from the public, but it is no part of our work to reveal the particulars of the movement, further than to say, that Mr. Griswold was then a candidate for the office of attorney general. Possibly that fact had some influence in directing a more subtle and searching scrutiny to the subsequent acts of Mr. Lane, but in any event, he was very closely shadowed in the later years of life, and the procedure of President Johnson made it natural that every republican associated with him should be looked upon with suspicion. Those who were bitterly opposed to Senator Lane asserted that he believed and had promised that he would turn Kansas completely round in the interests of the president, and that when he failed to do so, had realized in fact that he had committed a blunder, worse almost than a crime, as Fouche said to Napoleon; he, unable to endure the loss of confidence which must necessarily follow, took his own life in a fit of despondency.

Mr. Griswold was nominated register of the state of Kansas under the bankrupt act, by Chief Justice Chase, immediately upon the law coming into force, and for many years was the only register in the state. It was very fit that a nomination, in every way so just and salutary, should be made by the chief justice, as Mr. Griswold had been identified with him in advocacy of the same advanced views many years before there seemed to be any probability that abolition would become the law of the land, or that any of those who committed themselves before the public to the expression of such opinions would be called to fill high offices and assist to shape the policy of the nation. Mr. Griswold still holds the office of register in Kansas. The neces-

sity for the bankrupt act inquisition, or for any such, it does not fall within the province of this book to discuss. There may be provisions which could be wisely dispensed with; perhaps the register himself would be an excellent authority to suggest how and in what way it should be amended. As to all that matter, we profess to know nothing, not being on the stand where we might be bound to tell "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth" on that particular question; but there is one point on which there is no dispute, and that is as to the fitness of the officer for his position. It is universally conceded by all classes, and most readily by those who know most on the subject, that Mr. Griswold has been painstaking, conscientious and laborious in the discharge of the duties devolving upon him as register, and it is also a fortunate fact for the public concerned in the fitness as well as in the integrity of public officers, that he brought to the fulfillment of his trust the ripe experience of many years spent in midnight vigils over the pandects, codes and laws of all civilized nations, and in contact with the most polished intellects of his age, employed in determining the weight of custom, the legitimate meaning of words, and the eternal fitness of things, which, more even than legislation itself, tends to govern mankind in society as by an unwritten law. Mr. Griswold's labors are honorable to the appointing power, as well as to himself, and it is satisfactory to see that he is still in the enjoyment of a green old age.

Governor Crawford claims our notice as one more of the noble army of self-made men, with which this country is made rich, beyond all that could be conferred by the priceless mines of Golconda. Samuel J. Crawford was born in Lawrence county, Indiana, on April 15, 1835. The experiences of a farm and the training of a common school furnished him with the rudiments of all that he has since attained and achieved. He is now 41 years of age, and has commanded troops in the field, guided the councils of a state, expounded the laws of a nation, and might be called upon at any moment to resume the onerous duties that have before now been so ably discharged. Mr. Crawford read law at an early age, in the office of the Hon. G. W. Short, of

Bedford, Indiana, and was admitted to the bar in 1856, when only 21 years of age. Not content with his own attainments the young lawyer pursued his studies diligently, as we find him, in 1858, entered as a student in the law school of Cincinnati college, Ohio, from which institution he graduated in 1858 and came to Kansas in the following year, establishing himself in the practice of his profession at Garnett City, in the county of Anderson. When the first state legislature was convened at Topeka, after the admission of Kansas to the union, in March, 1861, Mr. Crawford was a member of that body and served until the 5th of May, a term of rather less than six weeks; as at that time he resigned his seat to volunteer for service in the field. Returning to Garnett City, he organized a company of volunteers and was commissioned as their captain. The air was full of rumors, and it was already certain that there would be work for the manhood of the union, on many a bloody field, before the quarrel could be ended. Within nine days from his resignation at Topeka, Capt. Crawford had been assigned to the second Kansas volunteer infantry, and it will be remembered that his regiment won distinction almost immediately after its organization. The record of the regiment is a muster roll of heroes. The campaign under Gen. Lyon in Missouri was participated in by the Kansas second, and they fought like veterans at Wilson's Creek, where Lyon fell mortally wounded on the 10th of August, 1861. The regiment was mustered out and reorganized as cavalry, in which arm of the service Capt. Crawford was assigned to the command of a battalion and took part in the battles fought against the rebels by Gens. Blount and Schofield in Missouri, Arkansas and Indian Territory. The command of the second regiment devolved on Col. Crawford in 1863, and immediately afterwards the secretary of war commissioned him as colonel of a colored regiment attached to the seventh army corps under Gen. Steele. The expedition into southern Arkansas was partly made up of our Kansas contingent as readers of our war record will bear in mind, and Col. Crawford's men, like their leader, behaved well. The expedition from Fort Smith through Indian territory was led by Col. Crawford in July, 1864, and in October we find the same officer commended for gallantry in the campaign in Missouri against Gen. Price.

The month following that raid saw Col. Crawford elected governor of Kansas, and resigning his commission in December, he returned home to be inaugurated in January, 1865, the year of the end of the war. Two years of office being near their expiration, Gov. Crawford was reëlected in the fall of 1866 and served a second term of office with profit to the state. In the fall of 1868 a band of marauding Indians having swooped down upon the frontier of the state and carried away captive a number of white women and children, the governor at once organized a company of cavalry and pursued the redskins, a compound of Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Kiowas and Comanchés into their own country, through the western portion of Indian territory and into northwestern Texas. The expedition was vigorous and successful, but the whole of the winter and spring were occupied in the chase before the governor had the felicity to secure the object of his search. It is satisfactory to know that the Indians were made so completely aware of their defeat that they surrendered all their prisoners, and have not since ventured upon any such raid in this state. The joy of the relatives and friends who waited and watched for the return of the captives cannot be described and may not be easily imagined. Relieved at length from a succession of public duties, Gov. Crawford resumed the practice of his profession in Emporia, the capital of Lyon county, in a neighborhood which abounds with society of the type best fitted to appreciate his good qualities, and where trade, manufactures, mining and agriculture prosperously combined, afford him an excellent field for the development of his ability as an advocate. There is no difficulty in placing a man of such steadfastness as Gov. Crawford. The republican party was just beginning to command attention when he attained his majority, and he has fought under the same banner all his life, voting for Fremont when there seemed little probability that a republican would ever be president of the United States, then twice for Abraham Lincoln, and afterwards for Gen. Grant. With all the multiplicity of engagements with friends, and with the enemy, during the busy and eventful career just hurriedly sketched, it is satisfactory to find that the governor found time for an engagement still more engrossing than all the others, one that will probably only end with

his life: He was married on the 27th of November, 1866, to Miss Belle Chase, of Topeka, the capital of Kansas.

HON. ORRIN T. WELCH, superintendent of insurance for the state of Kansas, was born in December, 1835, in the town of Orleans, Jefferson Co., N. Y. His father was a farmer in comfortable circumstances, but not wealthy. The father was the first white boy born in that county north of Black river, and is still hale and hearty, farming his own land in the county of his birth. The grandparents of Mr. Welch were from Connecticut, and could tell in their day of some stirring scenes among the heroes of '76. The boy received his early training in the common schools of his native county, where the seminaries as a rule are equal to the best that can be found in the United States, and at the early age of 15 years began his career as a teacher, combining that pursuit in the winter with farm work in the summer, until he was twenty years of age, when he "went west" to the state of Michigan, and taught school several terms, reading law all the time to prepare himself for admission to bar practice. This design was consummated when he had attained the ripe maturity of 22, and in the same year he was fortunate enough to marry a very estimable lady, Miss Abbie E. Simmons, daughter of George Simmons, one of the early settlers in Galesburgh, near Kalamazoo, the intellectual centre of Michigan. Mr. Welch was elected justice of the peace in the thriving village of Decatur, Van Buren county, in the year of his marriage, holding that position and several minor offices during the next four years. In the year 1861, Mr. Welch was chosen to represent the board of supervisors of Van Buren county before the board of equalization, and in 1863, President Lincoln appointed him commissioner of the board of enrollment for the second district of Michigan, with quarters at Kalamazoo. This position was held by him until the close of the war, having drafted over 4,000 men for the war during his term of office from the seven counties composing that congressional district. In the fall of 1865, soon after the war had ended, Mr. Welch located in Topeka, where, in connection with J. M. Spinner, he entered into the law, real estate and insurance business, which he continued to follow with much success, sometimes without, and sometimes

with a partner, until March, 1875, at which time he entered upon the duties of his present office as superintendent of insurance for the state of Kansas, a position of vast importance, such as should be filled only by first class men, fully acquainted with the subject in every state in the Union, and in every country in the world. In the month of July, 1866, Mr. Welch published the first paper ever issued in Kansas, devoted entirely to real estate interests. In the year 1868, Mr. Welch was chosen mayor of Topeka, and the people of the city appreciating in a high degreee the practical ability displayed by him in that office, re-elected him in 1871, and again in 1872. There could be no better evidence of the popularity earned by his executive capacity than is found in the fact that three-fourths of the votes cast at each of those elections for the office named, were polled for him. When the locust plague fell upon Kansas in 1874, and the people were completely broken down by their troubles, Mr. Welch with four other members of the executive of the Kansas Central Relief Committee, gave the whole of his time for several months to the relief of the suffering poor. Mr. Welch, was the purchasing and shipping agent, and that committee, with arduous and multifarious duties, rising into mammoth proportions, did its work so well and systematically that no person in Kansas suggests an idea of fraud or mismanagement in its operations. Mr. Welch has been for more than six years president of the board of trade in the city of Topeka. This brief record will suffice to show that Mr. Welch is well adapted for the office filled by him.

Hon. James Hanway is one of the best authorities now living as to the record of old John Brown in Kansas, and it will be regretted hereafter if there should not be an effert made now to embody his recollections in veritable history. The first rumors of every event are, customarily, exaggeration, then the facts gradually become known through continuous siftings, until the true grain remains at last. We shall try, in a brief way, to note a few of Mr. Hanway's facts, for which we are under great obligations to him, in these pages. Senator James Hanway represents the generation of thinkers to whom we are indebted for the republican party as it was before the crowd of camp followers came in

to bring suspicion on the great principles represented. He was a delegate in the Pittsburgh convention that nominated John P. Hale for the presidency, and Geo. W. Julian, vice president, and he assisted at the organization of the republican party in Columbus, Ohio. In the spring of 1856, he moved to Kansas, and located on the Pottawatomie, where he now resides. When the county was organized, Mr. Hanway was made county superintendent, and initiated the school system there. He was a member of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, in 1859, and of the territorial legislature in 1860; being also sent to the state legislature in 1864 and 1869. He was one of the commission that located the asylum for the insane at Osawatomie, acting as one of the trustees until within the last two years. Having thus briefly adverted to the services of Mr. Hanway, it would be gratifying to narrate some facts concerning his beneficent life, but to do so would abridge our limited space for noting the facts above mentioned. Capt. Montgomery's name and exploits have been referred to at some length, but too briefly, in our territorial history. One item in his career has not yet been mentioned in the press, and for it we are indebted to Mr. Hanway: A man named Russ Hinds was put to death during the troubles in Kansas, and the captain was suspected of knowing the facts, because he was for a long time an army of defense, almost alone, in a wide district from which free settlers had been warned away. One day, Mr. Hanway met Capt. Montgomery, long after the troubles and shortly before the death of the daring leader; he asked him for particulars concerning Hinds, and the answer was written on a page of the senator's memorandum book, while the cars were moving. It reads as follows: "Russ Hinds. Hung on the 16th Nov., 1860, for man stealing. He was a drunken 'Border Ruffian,' worth a good deal to hang, but good for nothing else. He had caught a fugitive slave and carried him back to Missouri for the sake of a reward. He was condemned by a jury of twelve men. The law found in the 16th v., 21st chapter of Exodus, which reads, 'And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to death.'" The law is clear; the execution was speedy. The Pottawatomie massacre, in which Wilkerson, the Doyles and

Sherman were put to death, is frequently, indeed gen erally, mentioned as an event of which Capt. Brown was not aware until afterwards, but it is usually stated that he indorsed the action of his party after the event. Mr. Hanway, who knew John Brown as intimately as any man, gives it as his opinion, contrary to the received versions, that John Brown was the commander on the expedition out of which the massacre grew. It was immediately after the sack of Lawrence, and that he was present at the time, and gave the orders necessary for the execution of those men. The description given by Mrs. Wilkerson of the peculiar costume and appearance of the person that took her husband away from his own house, a prisoner, exactly corresponds with the known dress and appearance of old John Brown, and when speaking of the executions of the men named, Brown said: "If it was murder, I am not innocent." Other statements from the Puritan leader, and from men who accompanied him, all point in the same direction. Looking back on the events that transpire in a season of war, it is not easy to realize the frame of mind out of which they arise, after the nation has returned to a peaceful condition, and the motive makes the deed innocent or sinful in many cases. The men slain were proslavery leaders and very obnoxious; they were, at the time of their arrest and execution, prosecuting a system of evictions and destruction against free settlers, who were warned and were being driven from the country; the only question was who should strike first. John Brown was not likely to send his followers to do a deed in which he would not participate. The breaking up of Judge Cato's court is sometimes mentioned as an irruption of 150 men into the court house in which Judge Cato was trying causes. The facts seem to have been that Judge Cato was sitting as judge in a duly constituted court, when some citizens, thirty in number, who were members of the Pottawatomie company, went, as they were entitled to do, into an open court to learn whether the judge was administering common law and the statutes of the United States, or the bogus laws of the Shawnee legislature. Young John Brown and Senator Hanway were among the visitors. The log cabin would not hold many, and the judge was addressing the jury, many of them boys and under age; but enough was gathered from the remarks of the

judge to leave it doubtful, after the visit came to an end, whether the objectionable statutes were or were not being administered. Young John Brown was clear that they were. Senator Hanway was clear that there was no evidence on the subject in anything said by Judge Cato. The other members of the company had not heard enough to determine, so it was concluded, after a brief meeting of the company, to return to the court, and plainly submit the question to the judge. The question was submitted in writing, young Capt. Brown being the scribe, as it was desired to avoid disturbing the peace of the tribunal. Cato, much agitated, flung the paper to the sheriff, and hurriedly replied that he could not be troubled about outside matters. Brown, standing, said, in a tone that could be heard by his friends without, "The company will muster on the parade ground." The military incursion had no more solid basis. The company did so muster, but the court had evaporated yet more speedily, and there was never afterwards an attempt at Pottawatomie to hold a court for the enforcement of the Shawnee mission statutes. The memoirs of Mr. Hanway as to the famine that was caused among the settlers by robberies continually carried on under the name of impressment on the public roads by proslavery volunteers, have the ring of verity in them, and there is an element of probability in the statement that, after the settlers came to the conclusion to quarter on the enemy by appropriating the beeves of their Missouri neighbors, the stealings of the other side were very considerably checked.

Mr. Hanway's latch string was always out when Montgomery, John Brown and their friends were around, and when eleven slaves had been rescued from Missouri in one raid by John Brown, the party would certainly have been captured but for the ready coöperation of Senator Hanway and a few other stockholders in the underground railroad, who, with some risk for their own homesteads, concealed the fugitives for many days until Brown was ready for his flight to Canada. It would be interesting to make further memoranda from the material kindly supplied for the purpose from Senator Hanway's valuable memoranda, but want of space is an inexorable master, and the corroborative testimonies that sustain the several statements and conclusions must be omit-

ted. They certainly seem to be conclusive as to the fact that Capt. Brown, sen., or old John Brown, gave the order for the execution of the Pottawatomie prisoners, and believed that he was therein doing the best thing possible in the interests of humanity. Senator Hanway is now in his sixty-seventh year, and he writes with the grace and vigor of young manhood, to which he has added the wisdom and moderation that does not always come with advancing years. He was for many years a newspaper correspondent, which of course has kept his pen in continual practice, and his identification with the political life of the country for nearly half a century renders his references to Clay, Polk, Webster, Hale, Julian, and Salmon P. Chase peculiarly refreshing. The earliest movements of abolition sentiment in this country found in him and in John Brown the various material from which the public feeling and war policy of President Lincoln's time became possible, and in that relation it is like actual contact with both men to find the senator relating how John Brown, hiding then with him, received the news that President Buchanan had offered a reward for his arrest, by saying that he would give $2 for the arrest of President Buchanan.

Hon. Thos. H. Cavanaugh, secretary of state for Kansas, was born in Vincennes, Knox county, Indiana, on the 18th of March, 1843, and is consequently now 33 years of age. His parents were natives of Chester county, Pennsylvania, but removed from that state and took up their location in the west in 1835. Three years before the troubles of this world dawned upon the present secretary of state, his father was the publisher of the Vincennes Gazette, which continued to supply him with all the "pi" required by a small family, until 1845, when the Cavanaughs removed to St. Louis, Mo. The fates were not propitious, apparently, in the great city, as there was another removal in 1851, to Jacksonville, Illinois, and a return to St. Louis once more in 1856. The proverb says that "a rolling stone gathers no moss," and another wise saying retorts that: "a standing post gains no knowledge," so that the probability is that there was more information than worldly gear collected by the little household, who would still find comfort in the suggestion that "knowledge is power."

Working at case was the employment of Mr. Cavanaugh, Jr., in Chicago, in the year 1855, when a youth more favored by fortune would still have been at school, but "necessity," which "knows no law," according to the Latin, is exceedingly glad to know printing in plain English. Next to school, of course, a printer's office is the best place on earth, perhaps, for a boy, although it does look very much like condemnation to the "galleys" for life. From 1856, for three years, Mr. Cavanaugh was in St. Louis with his parents, variously engaged, and here for the first time in his life, the advantages of schooling were within his reach, for rather less than two years, at an age when he could appreciate the privilege to an extent not universal among boys. Returning to Illinois, in 1860, he became interested in a farm, but did not continue in that avocation, as soon after the election of that year he was employed in the office of Gov. Yates, and when the army auditor's office was established, found adequate employment there. In the year 1861, after the outbreak of the war, Mr. Cavanaugh was assigned to duty at Camp Butler, and was made regiment adjutant of the 6th Illinois cavalry, Col. Grierson in command. His services extended through the different departments of the west, to the Gulf and to Texas before the close of the war. When the rebellion had been crushed, Mr. Cavanaugh located himself in St. Louis once more, in 1865, and in November of that year, was solaced for all the perils and hardships of camp life by marriage with Miss Holmes, of Richland, Sangamon county, Illinois. In the year 1866, he removed to Carrollton, Ills., and engaged in mercantile business for three years, until in the year 1869, he concluded to remove to Kansas and take up a preëmption claim in Saline county, making this state his permanent home. In the year 1872, the republicans of Saline county ran Mr. Cavanaugh for clerk of the district court, but they were not able to carry the election. He became assistant clerk in the house of representatives the same year, and entered on a broader field of usefulness, becoming assistant secretary of the senate in the year 1873, and in 1874, secretary of that body. In August, 1874, the republicans nominated him as secretary of state, and with the success of their ticket, he assumed the position now held by him with a fair promise of continuance and usefulness. His republicanism has

been constant and outspoken at all times, and his wide spread experience has given him broad views of men and things, so that he is likely to prove an acquisition in an office that requires much tact and skill, as well as liberal views. His republicanism seems to have been ingrained, as his father always trained with the whigs until the republican party was formed out of the best elements of that organization. Mr. Cavanaugh is a man eminently qualified to conciliate the good opinions of the people with whom he is brought in contact, his manners are genial, the outcome of a generous nature, and the interest which naturally expresses itself in his daily conversation, in all advanced movements, springs from habits of thought which have been acquired in the printing office rather than in the school, and made ready and practical by travel in a military life spread over much of this continent.

Hon. Daniel W. Wilder, auditor of state, has for many years figured in the political life of Kansas, and a full record of his experiences would supply a background to many of the pictures that form themselves in the history of the time. He was born in the Old Bay State at Blackstone, Massachuetts, in 1832, and is the seventh son of a very worthy father, Dr. Abel Wilder. The public Latin school at Boston gave him such rudiments of training as could not be quite so conveniently afforded at home, where, however, he was surrounded by such influences as make culture a delight. The Franklin medal and many other prizes, won during the academic course, proved the lad worthy of his position in the Hub of the Universe, and justified the hopes entertained by his friends. When his academic course had been completed, the young man was sent to Harvard college, where he graduated with honors, carrying off the Boylston prize as a very honorable trophy, as well as many other prizes only inferior to the gold medal already named.

Mr. Wilder was admitted to the bar in Boston in 1857, when he was twenty-five years of age, having chosen the legal profession for his career as perhaps the best of all adapted in this age to procure for a young man the *entre* into public and social life in all parts of the great republic. He came to Kansas in the same year and made his location at Elwood, where he formed one of a

brilliant society of young men, many of whom have since become distinguished in their several pursuits in the field, in the councils of the nation and other ways. The activities of Mr. Wilder's mind found expression in the management of a newspaper, or rather it may be said, of many papers, as he commenced with the Elwood *Free Press*, and prospering in that venture as editor and publisher, he afterwards assumed control of the *Free Democrat*, in the city of St. Joseph, Missouri; thence returning to Kansas, he took the management of the Leavenworth *Conservative*, then the *Times* published in the same city; after which he became editor of the Fort Scott *Monitor*. The attempt to establish a republican paper in St. Joseph, Missouri, at that time, a very hot-bed of the proslavery democrats, was a little Quixotic of course, but the courage of the movement commanded attention if not favor. Missouri was then a slave state, and had not completely abandoned the idea that the south would be able to make her own terms for the peculiar domestic institution, so that in a commercial and social aspect there was much more risk than promise in the venture. If the *Free Democrat* had been allowed to continue on its course unchallenged by the dominant party, there would have been reason for believing that it was not very Free in its remarks on current events, or in the discussion of the topics of the day; but it was in the hands of young men of spirit, with one Wilder at their head, and whatever else resulted for all concerned, it was not on the cards that the paper could pass unnoticed. Many publications have been drowned in the Missouri by king mob for less caustic articles than continued in every issue to blister the sensitive skin of the proslavery party, until then entirely unaccustomed to the criticisms of a republican journal published at their own doors. The result that might have been looked for from the first, if nothing worse happened, was reached in the indictment of the *Free Democrat* as an "incendiary sheet," Mr. Wilder and his associates of course having little to hope for from a jury in any part of Missouri. It was in this way that Mr. Wilder was driven back into Kansas and became identified with the Leavenworth *Conservative*. His ability as a writer had commanded attention and respect even among those who feared the drift of his genius; among the republicans he was welcomed as a valuable

ally. President Lincoln recognized the courage and ability of his consistent and fearless supporter, in the year 1863, by appointing him surveyor general for Kansas and Nebraska, the duties of which responsible office were admirably executed, but Mr. Wilder did not abandon his old love, the press, as in addition to his occasional lucubrations in the dailies published in Kansas, he has become an author quoted all over this continent for his "Annals of Kansas," a book of nearly 700 pages published in 1875; the subject and the ability of the writer combining to make a truly interesting volume. In the year 1872, Mr. Wilder's name appeared on the republican ticket for the office now held by him, that of auditor of state, to which he was called by a large majority of his fellow citizens, and in 1874 he was re-elected. Kansas has many bright and able men, worthy to be called to high offices in the union, but taken for all in all, there are few that surpass the Hon. Dan. W. Wilder.

Dr. A. M. Eidson illustrates another type of the infinite variety of men and pursuits that unite to form a state and the average tone of modern society. He was born at Peru, Indiana, in April, 1846, and is consequently now thirty years of age. His father, Wm. D. Eidson, was a miller, and was known as "the honest miller," in the locality where his oldest son, the subject of this sketch and many other children were born. The fact that honesty was a rare phenomenon among millers is, we trust, confined to Indiana. The child was fond of books from an early age, and was permitted to enjoy all the scholastic privileges of his native town. In the year 1858 he was removed from the district school at Peru, to a more advanced institute at Valparaiso, in the same state, where he went through a complete classical course, remaining in that institution until 1861, when at the early age of fifteen he became a soldier, responding to the call of the president for men to defend the union against its enemies. The courage and patriotism of the boy deserves praise, and it must not be forgotten that in 1861, boys from many districts were the readiest to volunteer to serve in the ranks, leaving their bones to whiten on the battle fields of their country, or

> "By the wayside fell and perished,
> Weary with the march of life."

Fifteen months in the ranks of the Second Indiana cavalry brought the boy up to a sturdy young manhood, and developed in him a decided taste for surgery and medicine, not in the sense of losing limbs or taking drugs, but in the study and practice of the healing art in all its various features. An appointment as assistant surgeon was the consequence of his frequently noticed avidity for medical books and clinical practice, and for two years he was employed alternately in field and hospital, discharging all the duties of an army surgeon, until the regiment was mustered out and the men honorably discharged in the fall of 1864. After a brief recreation, Dr. Eidson entered the offices of Drs. Schultz and Taylor, in Logansport, Ind., to complete his studies, enjoying at the same time and afterwards two full terms of lectures at the Eclectic Medical Institute at Cincinnati, Ohio, where he graduated in February, 1868. Studies and application such as his, following upon extensive and continuous army practice, made the young doctor an acquisition to the ranks of medicine, and after a brief term in Delphi, Ind., his native state, he took up his abode in Topeka, where his practice is extensive and in every way profitable to patient and practitioner. Surgical and chronic cases may be said to be his specialty, and many come to him from great distances in this and neighboring states, attracted by his reputation. The Topeka Medical and Surgical Institute is fortunate in possessing the services of so able and experienced an organizer as Dr. A. M. Eidson for principal and secretary. Dr. Eidson was one of the prime movers in the establishment of the Kansas Eclectic Medical Association, a body bound by the main features of its organization to select from all systems of medical treatment the best features to be applied in the interests of suffering humanity. The association was chartered in 1871, mainly through the exertions and influence of this gentleman, who has since that time been one of its chief supporters as a means for the direction of the studies of young men, being its active and useful secretary. The association holds its annual meetings in Topeka on the second Tuesday in February and following days, while the legislature is in session, and the attendance is usually large. There are more than two hundred members of this branch of medical practice in Kansas at the present time, and many of the

papers read during the annual assemblies are of such a character as to command lengthened notices in the press. The doctor is a benedict, having won that high privilege in May, 1873, in consequence of the merciful consideration of Miss Ryan, daughter of the famous excursionist, whose pamphlet on Kansas has been so extensively circulated. His practice has been so far profitable that he has perhaps as large investments in real estate as any professional man in Kansas, by whose ultimate success he would persistently swear, in spite of drouth and locust, but for the fact that his early Sunday school training and his later identification with the Methodist Episcopal church forbids any such carnal indulgence. Dr. Eidson is an enthusiast in the study and practice of eclectic medicine and surgery.

Hon. Samuel Seward Benedict, of Guilford, Wilson county, is sufficiently known in connection with his services in the legislature of this state, to render some few particulars of his career in life interesting to our readers. He is a "Green Mountain Boy," having first seen the light at Manchester, Bennington county, Vermont, in November, 1843, so that he is now at an age when he may be considered as only commencing his career of usefulness. Born of old Connecticut stock, and reared in New England, he enjoyed educational advantages not excelled in the world. He was prepared for his collegiate course at Burr seminary, Manchester, Vt., going thence to Williams college, Mass., when 16 years of age. Mr. Benedict graduated in the class of 1865, when 21 years old, and two years later came west to settle where he now resides. His first intention was to practice law as a profession, but upon his arrival in Kansas in 1867, he found the advantages offered by this country for stock raising so far in advance of any other pursuit that he wisely turned all his attention to the calling of a ranchero. He is the owner of a first class farm, and enjoys the profits of that business in a manner that would justify nature in still greater liberality. Mr. Benedict was one of the earliest settlers in Wilson county, where there were only 27 inhabitants in 1860, and in 1865, only just as many as would permit of organization, but so rapid has been its extension since that time, that in 1870 there were 6,694, and at present there

are more than 10,000 people. Having come west to identify himself with the country, Mr. Benedict was a laborer in most of the good works connected with the development of society, and his breadth of culture gave him an entire freedom from narrow conventionalities such as can seldom be found even in the United States, except in the new states. The activity and intelligence with which he entered into or mooted successive improvements, early marked the Green Mountain Boy for legislative honors, and he has carried *vim* into legislation on many occasions of importance to his adopted county and state. He was elected a member of the legislature in 1871, and in 1874 was again returned, giving so much satisfaction to his constitutents that his nomination was all but unanimous in the several caucuses last held. His record is of a character that will not bar his continuance in public life, nor impede his ascent to higher honors with ripening years. Wealth is not in this country, and should not be anywhere a *sine qua non* among men required to devote time and service to legislation, but it is and ought to be a recommendation to a man among his fellows when seeking any representative position, if he has been so fortunate as to have proved his capacity to serve the public by first honestly and effectively attending to his own interests. Mr. Benedict is so placed as that every circumstance favoring the development of Kansas will necessarily better his condition.

HON. HANNIBAL CICERO ST. CLAIR, state senator from the 25th senatorial district, is a fair specimen of a Kansas settler; his home is in Belle Plaine, Sumner county, Kansas, and he is surrounded by the rewards of his own industry and enterprise, prosecuted under many disadvantages with limited means; yet so won as that he has retained the good will and respect of his neighbors. He was born in Essex county, N. Y., in July, 1825, consequently he is now 51 years of age. His grandparents came from Scotland to Canada soon after that colony had been annexed by the mother country, but the instincts of liberalism were so strong in the sturdy Scotchman that, upon the breaking out of the war of the revolution, his grandfather moved into the revolting colonies to serve under Gen. Washington in the cause of free-

dom. He was at Lexington, Bunker Hill, Monmouth, Brandywine Creek, Valley Forge, and was present when Burgoyne surrendered. When Arnold's treason was frustrated by the capture of Major Andre, grandfather St. Clair was at West Point, and he had before that time assisted in the unsuccessful attack on Quebec, where brave Montgomery was slain, and Arnold might have been with honor. Mr. St. Clair's father moved from New York to Ohio in 1831, and in 1833 to Sangamon county, Illinois, where the more advanced youth of his son was spent on a farm and in a woolen factory. His educational advantages were just such as a common school can afford; and, in 1849, when the reports from Sacramento Valley spread the gold fever all over the United States, the young man, then 24 years old, went overland to California, and remained there until 1852. Upon his return to Illinois, he had amassed enough capital to commence business as a merchant; but an inability to say "no," to people wanting credit, consumed his substance in ten years. In the year 1862, Mr. St. Clair entered the army as lieutenant in the 35th Illinois infantry, being afterwards promoted and attached to the quartermaster department, in which he served until 1865. The interval between the time of his honorable discharge in that year and his arrival in Kansas, in 1871, was spent in mercantile pursuits in Illinois. The county seat of Sumner was not located on his arrival at Belle Plaine, and there were three towns with an aggregate population of only 160 people, all wanting the county seat in their own special localities. Mr. St. Clair assisted in procuring a solution of the difficulty, filled numerous minor offices in the county with honor to himself, and with so much satisfaction to his constituents that he was chosen, three years after his arrival in the county, for the important position now filled by him. Senator St. Clair is a member of the M. E. Church and a Free Mason in good standing, whose word is known to be his bond. His services during the winters of suffering that followed the drouth and the locust plague will not readily be forgotten; they were earnest, effective and untiring efforts in the cause of humanity; such as have not failed to make an enduring favorable impression on the minds of the people of Sumner county.

HON. COLUMBUS G. BRIDGES, senator for the first senatorial district in Kansas, is a man of acknowledged merit, concerning whom we append a few brief particulars. He was born in Marion county Ind., in June, 1834, and is now 42 years of age. When five years old his father moved into Iowa, and he was educated in the common schools of that state, attending high school and procuring such efficiency as enabled him to teach school for several terms. In 1857, when 23 years old, Mr. Bridges married Miss McMeckan, daughter of a well to do farmer in Decatur county, and upon the outbreak of the war, became a lieutenant in a cavalry regiment, in which he served with honor. In the year 1860, Mr. Bridges had been admitted to the bar in Iowa, and in 1862, was chosen a member of the senate in that state, in which capacity he served four years. In October, 1868, he moved to Kansas and established the Doniphan County *Republican*, a paper that rendered good service to the party. After quitting that business, he entered into mercantile pursuits for nearly three years, identifying himself naturally with all improvements that seemed feasible, such as railroads, public buildings, the organization of agricultural societies and such works. The public school system has had in him a consistent and able supporter, qualified to pronounce on many questions "caviare to the general." The public school building in Troy, which cost $15,000, and is the admitted ornament of a very beautiful town, was largely indebted to his exertions for its erection. In the fall of 1874, the senator was chosen for the honorable position now filled by him, by a large majority, and there is every indication that his services are satisfactory to his constituents. He is thoroughly republican in his views and general action, but he preserves his independence on all questions, conceiving that he can in that way best promote the interests of his party. He is not a rich man, but his reputation for honesty is a bank that stands him in good stead always. He is a fast friend, and an enemy that can be relied upon to be always where his antagonists don't want him. He has the faculty, invaluable to a politician, of making friends readily and retaining them afterwards. His newspaper experiences have given him a wide range of information, which he can use to considerable advantage in debate. His char-

acter has always been above reproach, and he is connected with the order of Free Masons, having risen to the degree of royal arch, but although religiously disposed, he has never become a church member. He is identified with the order of Odd Fellows, and has taken considerable interest in the promotion of the organization known as Sovereigns of Industry. Hon. Columbus G. Bridges is on the whole a valuable member of society, and his labors in Doniphan county have in no inconsiderable degree helped to build up the prosperity and good order by which the community in which he resides has long been made conspicuous among counties mostly noted for good order and industry.

HON. WM. LUDLEY PARKINSON, senator from Franklin county, and resident in Ottawa, a lawyer of considerable repute in the state of Kansas, was born in Rock Lick, Marshall county, Virginia, in June, 1843, consequently he is now 33 years old. His father was a sterling liberal and antislavery man, in Western Virginia, when to hold such views and express them was actually dangerous to life and destructive to business prospects. The convention that nominated John P. Hale for the presidency had one delegate from Wheeling, Virginia, the father of the subject of our sketch, and his action in that respect led to much active persecution, but being a man of iron will, he was not daunted by opposition, however vigorous. The expression of antislavery opinions led to his being twice mobbed by adherents of the proslavery party and his family was often in danger of personal violence. Under such training it was not likely that Mr. Parkinson would prove other than an abolitionist and thoroughgoing union man. His early life was passed on a farm but he enjoyed the advantages of good schooling, and when the war broke out in 1861, he, with three brothers, enlisted in the first Virginia volunteer infantry, under the reorganized government at Wheeling, Virginia, when West Virginia seceded from the secession proclaimed by the state of Virginia. The state as a whole claimed the right to secede as unquestionable, indefeasible, but was unable to perceive that any such right pertained to Western Virginia, hence the adhesion to the union on which the western portion of the state insisted was a cause of much bloodshed. Mr. Parkinson served

from 1861 to 1863, when he was compelled to retire from the service in consequence of injuries received. He was then 19 years old and he served for one year in his father's office, discharging the duties of assessor of internal revenue for the district of Western Virginia. Two years at Waynesburg College, Pennsylvania, followed, and the young student proceeded to read law in the city named. Completing his studies in that direction, he returned to Wheeling, West Virginia, where he remained until the spring of 1870, at which time he removed to Kansas. Some portion of the fall and winter of 1870 was spent in Europe, after which time the business of life was commenced in earnest. When Mr. Parkinson came to this state in 1871 there was no thought of settlement, but he was so much pleased with the appearance and prospects of Kansas that he returned with his family in the spring of 1871 and permanently located at Ottawa, the capital of Franklin county. The practice of law has proved very remunerative in the hands of the young senator, who has for his partner one of the ablest lawyers and most persevering men in the state, the Hon. A. H. Benson. Educational matters have commanded much of the senator's attention, and he is now serving a second term as president of the board of education in Ottawa. Every improvement that has been attempted since Mr. Parkinson's arrival in the county has been aided by him to the extent of his ability. The Ottawa furniture and woodwork company was organized by him, and he still continues a shareholder and officer in the concern. The company is now conducting the largest business of the kind in the state. The forests of Franklin county contain very valuable woods, and this form of wealth is made more valuable by the application of labor on the spot. Mr. Parkinson was raised as an ardent republican, but when the Greeley nomination was made, he followed the Tribune lead in that respect, still continuing a thorough republican in sentiment; was for some time editor of the "Kansas Liberal," and a stockholder in the Journal, being a consistent upholder of the demand for reform in the republican party. In the fall of 1874, the senator was elected by the highest majority received by any candidate on any ticket. Since that time he has taken a prominent part in reducing public expenditure in every branch of the service, and has

been recognized as a leading member in the opposition; stumped the county in the fall of 1875 in the interests of the reform movement, but is usually very attentive to his professional business which grows rapidly. Domestically and socially the senator is well placed, as he married a talented and amiable lady, daughter of a Methodist minister of Pittsburg and graduate of Waynesburgh college, Pennsylvania, who for some time taught elocution in that college. He is a member of the Congregational church, but is among the most liberal section of that communion. He is an ardent temperance reformer, and will only succeed in politics so far as mere directness and capacity will aid him, as he is not possessed of the Janus faculty for looking two ways at once, which in modern times seems to be almost indispensable to the brilliant politicians of the day.

Hon. Harvey Seburn, of Hiawatha, Brown county, and county treasurer, is a man of mark in his own neighborhood, and may well claim to be self made without being too proud of his work. He was born in Jefferson county, Ind., in July, 1835. His parents were too poor to afford an education for their children; but when nearly approaching to maturity, Mr. Seburn attended Asbury University in Greencastle, Ind., where he maintained himself by labor of any kind mornings, evenings and Saturdays while pursuing his studies. His taste suggested medicine, and he continued his studies while teaching school for three years until qualified for practice. Dr. Seburn settled in Hiawatha in 1859, and practiced with great success until the war broke out, when he served for three years against the rebels. Was in the post commissary department most of the time, and after the war commenced, farming and stock raising with much success; was chosen county treasurer in 1873, and appears to have given much satisfaction in that office. The doctor has held numerous offices connected with the school system, and in 1874, was elected to the town council of Hiawatha, on a temperance ticket opposed to the granting of licenses. Railroads, school houses and churches are his desiderata for social advancement. He is also a Free Mason, and identified with the Patrons of Husbandry. The doctor is a married man, having joined in wedlock with Miss M. A. Klinefelter.

In all respects he is one of the successful men in Kansas, but his good fortune does not make him indifferent to the wants of others. He has given much time to the discharge of public duties, and will be still more largely called upon in the future.

CAPT. S. S. PROUTZ has a history that serves to illustrate how dangerous and difficult it was to reach Kansas in the early days of its territorial history. He was born in Onondaga county, N. Y., in July, 1835, and consequently he is now about forty-one years of age. Having enjoyed the educational advantages of his native state until he was sixteen years old, he was then apprenticed to the Gazette Printing Company at Phœnix, Oswego county, to learn the business of a compositor. In the year 1856, when the United States rang with appeals to the North and to the South to recruit their respective parties in fighting the battle, "free state" or "slave state" on this territory, he joined the Chicago colony to come here as a free state man. The steamer "Star of the West," with fifty-eight colonists on board, was stopped at Lexington, Mo., by the blockade of border ruffians under the command of Col. Shelby, afterwards still less favorably known as Gen. Shelby, commanding a rebel force in Missouri and elsewhere. The colonists were completely outnumbered by the blockaders, and compelled to surrender their weapons, after which they were permitted to proceed as far as Kansas City under *surveillance*, and at that point they were taken prisoners by a still larger force under David R. Atchison, once acting vice-president of the United States, and in aspiration at least a candidate for president. Gen. B. F. Stringfellow was a coördinate authority with Atchison on the expedition, and every one of the company peculated on his own account. The Chicagoan colony was robbed of all its funds, individual and collective, to the amount of about $75,000, after which the whole party was compelled to return down the river to Illinois. Such a discomfiture would have prevented some men ever thinking again about colonizing in Kansas, as, "if that could be done in the green wood, what would be done in the dry?" but Mr. Proutz was more than ever determined to make his abode in the territory. In September of the same year, 1856, he joined another party making a rendezvous at Mount

Pleasant, Iowa, the capital of Henry county, about 28 miles north northwest of Burlington, then the westernmost railroad point in the United States, and once more struck out for Kansas. The party consisted of 250 persons in all, men, women and some children, and the command led by Col. S. W. Eldridge, commenced their march through Iowa to Kansas, via Nebraska, in the latter part of September. It was emphatically a march, as only the camp equipage and baggage could be conveyed by team, unless the whole of the substance remaining was to be swallowed in the cost of transit. The men were marching then through a friendly state, deeply interested in the furtherance of free settlement, and Iowa sent many of her gallant sons to aid the struggle; but the time might come at any moment when they would have to fight a band of ruffians oblivious of state rights, as they had been on the Missouri and elsewhere of all the proprieties, so that weapons were absolutely indispensable. There were many of "Beecher's Bibles," as the Sharp's rifles were then called in Kansas, in their teams, and other weapons of much value, and the transport of these formed no small part of the cost of the journey.

The route lay directly west to Nebraska City through the southern part of Iowa, and they reached the town of Plymouth on the southern border of Nebraska territory without molestation, but at that point the whole body were taken prisoners by a force of United States troops sent out by Gov. Geary, newly arrived in the territory and under serious apprehensions of a warlike invasion by "Lane's northern army." The governor had just seen on his way to Kansas, up the Missouri, the kind of *espionage* and ruffianism to which the "Star of the West" was subjected, and he had caused the blockade to be raised, but he could not understand in spite of all that, why the band of colonists then arriving, should come prepared for self defense. He was able to appreciate ruffianism still better, when he was compelled to save his own life by a flight between two days to escape assassination, within a few months of that time. However, we have left our friends prisoners, or contraband of war on the border of Kansas near Plymouth, and they must not be neglected in such a strait. The force by which they were captured consisted of about 600 men, cavalry and artillery combined, under the command of Col. Philip

St. George Cook. The battery was under the command of Maj. T. W. Sherman. The force was great enough to have eaten the so-called invaders, but so many exaggerations had been indulged in concerning the "northern army," that there was an anticipation that the whole of the northern states would come *vi et armis*, pouring over the Nebraska border a torrent like our own Niagara. If there had been only fifty United States troops there would have been no resistance on the part of the colonists, as all their arms were for the enemies of the union, but there was no option in the presence of an overpowering force, and the emigrant train submitted to be conveyed to Indianola, four miles from Topeka, where they were reviewed and released by Gov. Geary, fully convinced that there was nothing to fear from such colonists. Beyond the annoyance of being held prisoners, there was not much to be complained of on the march under escort from Plymouth to the neighborhood of Topeka, and Gov. Geary traveled from Lecompton, the territorial capital, to abridge their term of duress as much as possible, but it gave the colouists a strange idea of the condition of the state of society when the right of an American citizen to carry arms guarantied by the constitution was thus rudely questioned. Mr. Proutz had at length reached Kansas, and he took up a claim three miles from Prairie City, about 18 miles south from Lawrence. Early in 1857, on the 25th of June, he commenced running a newspaper in Prairie City, "The Freeman's Champion," with the suggestive motto "Liberty or Death." The first two months of the publication passed in a tent, but many questions as well as many sheets were ventilated freely. In October of the same year, the publisher was elected clerk of Douglas county. Gov. Geary was holding back the ruffians from the polling booths with a strong hand, and was earning their *anathema maranatha* in consequence. Mr. Proutz was the first free state clerk of Douglas county ever elected, and even in the midst of the anxieties of that trying time, he found leisure to think of matrimony, as he was married in Lawrence on the 31st of May, 1858, to Miss Hannah M. Whitehead. Moving soon afterwards to Burlington, in Coffey county, he established the "Neosho Valley Register," in September, 1859, and continued so occupied until the war. In June, 1862, Mr. Proutz was commissioned by

Mr. Stanton, secretary of war, first lieutenant and quartermaster of the first regiment of Indian home guards, a position held by him until Oct. 12, 1864, when he resigned. During the Price raid in October, 1864, Lieut. Proutz was on the staff of Maj. Gen. Curtis, who commanded the union forces which forced Price back to and over the Arkansas. In September, of that year, Quartermaster Proutz brought out the first number of the "Patriot," a paper still published in that city. In 1868, still maintaining the lead once taken, Capt. Proutz was one of the Kansas delegates to the Chicago convention, which first nominated Gen. Grant for the presidency of the United States, and he had the honor to be chosen one of the vice presidents of that body. The joint ballot of both houses elected him as state printer for two years in 1869, and at the end of that term he was reëlected. The succession of papers started by him had not exhausted his fecundity, as we find him in May, 1869, in conjunction with Maj. J. B. Davis issuing the first number of the "Daily Commonwealth," with which paper he continued in connection as editor or as manager, until 1873. The life thus briefly described could be amplified by merely filling in the sketch, so as to afford a work of thrilling interest and present a complete picture of Kansas life during the struggle in which the motto "Liberty or Death" had a terrible reality. Mr. Proutz is now a resident in Topeka.

Hon. Geo. W. Fox, ex-mayor of Chetopa, and many years a captain of artillery during the war, now an attorney in successful practice, will serve our design to illustrate the theory that the qualities capable of winning their way in one direction will customarily attain their object in any other. Napoleon would have been a first class road engineer, or a law maker, if he had not chosen the profession of war, and the vice of conquest. The subject of our sketch was born in Canajoharie, Montgomery Co., N. Y., in August, 1842, and is now 34 years of age. His father died when the boy was three years old, and he was left to the care of his mother, burdened with many children, but his uncle undertook his training until, at the age of 13, he became a farm hand, and to some extent his own master. From that time, working every summer and schooling every winter, the academic

course was completed at Fort Plain Seminary, in 1858, and the youth commenced reading law at Cherry Valley, Otsego Co., N. Y. He was admitted to the bar from one of the best offices in Albany, N. Y., in May, 1861, and devoted himself to his profession in Montgomery Co., N. Y., until the call for troops became so urgent that in August of the same year he enlisted in the 1st New York artillery. He speedily won his way from the ranks to the position of orderly sergeant, and was attached to Gen. Banks' army in the Shenandoah. He was an active participant in the battles of Beverly Ford, Rapidan, Cedar Mountain, Rappahannock and Manassas, the second Bull's Run, where the unfortunate result was due to the tardiness of McClellan in supporting the movements of his newly appointed superior officer. He was in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam when Lincoln said that the confederate army was given into our hands by Providence, but permitted to escape by the supineness of the command. Fox was made a lieutenant for his services in the field, and appointed drill master of a battalion, being afterwards promoted to the command of the 1st New York battery, and make captain as a recognition of his efficiency. Capt. Fox fought in the battles of Lafourche and at Donaldson, in the siege of Fort Hudson, and in all the engagements of the Red river campaign, when his arm of the service was the main reliance of the army, and although the youngest artillery captain of the 19th corps, he was distinguished by the appointment as chief of artillery on the second division, and on the staff of Gen. Grover.

When Canby relieved Banks, Fox remained in command of twelve batteries until ordered to join Gen. Steele as chief of artillery and ordnance, which rank he held until the end of the campaign at Mobile. The captain was appointed chief of artillery in the district of Texas, and so remained until he was mustered out of the service in June, 1866, after four years and ten months of life in the camp and field. In any other branch of the force there would have been higher promotion, but as an artillery officer he reached the pinnacle that merit could win. Returning to the law, Mr. Fox commenced practice in Buffalo, N. Y., but very soon concluded that he would cast in his lot with the rising state of Kansas. He arrived in Chetopa in December, 1870, then a small

hamlet little thought of on the southern border of Kansas; now a city everywhere spoken of as one of the most beautiful and enterprising in Labette county, a principal station on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, with a steam foundry employing many hands; an excellent weekly paper, The Advance; one of the handsomest public schools in the state, which cost $25,000; five elegant churches; planing mills, flour mills, large stock yards, and two banks. The organizing powers of Capt. Fox were soon called into requisition, as in 1871 he was chosen mayor by a large majority, and the hamlet doubled its population during his term of office, chiefly in consequence of its merits as a place of settlement becoming known. The churches and school house already mentioned, date from his mayoralty; the streets were graded, sidewalks made, streams bridged, roads and approaches to the city improved so that the village won praise as the enterprising city of Chetopa. Having served the city with so much effect, the next point was to attend to his home interests, as an old engagement at Belle Plain, N. Y., dating from before the war, resulted in Miss Devendorf becoming Mrs. Fox in 1867, and there was a family to be cared for. The mayor declined a renomination, and an admirable successor was readily induced to continue his labors, while he devoted all his energies to the practice of his profession, in the firm of Ayres & Fox, refusing for the present all participation in public duty in consequence of the daily increasing demands of his legal labors. He is a strictly temperate man, of strong will, connected with the M. E. Church, a Master Mason in good standing, raised many years since in New York state, and demitted from his first lodge to the brethren in Chetopa. He is also of the Royal Arch Council and Commandery, so that there need be no doubt that whenever he is properly called upon, within the length of his cable tow, he will be prepared to take the proper steps, regularly or irregularly, in the interests of society at large. The free and accepted mason is always a good citizen, and it says much for the credit of the city of Chetopa under the rule of Mayor Large that such institutions flourish in that domain. The Southern Kansas Advance is the paper flourishing in Chetopa, and we find that the reputation of Capt. Fox has traveled far beyond his immediate neighborhood, as the Oswego Independent

names him with great respect as one of the leading public men in that portion of the state, possessing a sound mind in a healthy body, capable of any amount of labor, and bound to come out ahead in whatever pursuit may engage his powers. The educational interests of Labette county have been well cared for generally, and those of Chetopa are at least on a par, if not just a little ahead of the average of the county. More need not be said on behalf of any well founded city in the state of Kansas.

HON. BYRON JUDD, state senator for Wyandotte county, land agent and banker, is necessary to make up the range of our professional illustrations among the successful men in Kansas. He was born in August, 1824, and is now 52 years of age, but full of vigor as the result of powers well applied through life. The town of Otis, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, suggests a lineage looking back towards the Mayflower and the earliest records of the old Bay State, and that town is the *locale* of Senator Judd's nativity. His father was a farmer, and the boy divided his attention between industrial training at home and scholastic labors in the admirable institutions proper to Massachusetts. At the age of twenty the young man attended the academy at Southwick for one term, and afterwards the state normal school at Westfield for ten fall terms in succession, working on the farm during the summer and teaching school every winter, so that his body and mind were alike developed by practical work. Among his friends in Otis, in spite of the too true aphorism that "a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country," he was made selectman, township assessor, and a member of the school committee for several years, until, in 1855, he removed to Des Moines, Iowa, where he was deputy recorder for one year, and, in 1857, came to this state, landing in Wyandotte City in the beginning of November. The city was then a part of the county of Leavenworth, and a place of much business, well suited for the operations of men of the calibre of Mr. Judd. Land agency and banking were the specialties of the new comer, and he was soon as busily engaged as could be desired, but had sufficient leisure, as will always happen with the most successful men of business, to attend to many public appointments. The senator has served

in many responsible offices with honor to himself and with advantage to the community, as president of the city council and as mayor of the city of Wyandotte. For five years in succession he was chosen justice of the peace, and for a similar term he was a trustee of Wyandotte township, besides being the Wyandotte county treasurer for four years. Successive marks of honor and trust, reposed in him by his fellow-citizens, indicated Mr. Judd as an eligible man for an appointment as United States commissioner for the district of Kansas, a position filled with conspicuous advantage. In 1871, when the First National Bank was organized in the city of Wyandotte, Mr. Judd was elected president, and in that capacity, or as cashier, he has been in the institution ever since. In the year 1872, the people of Wyandotte county elected their successful fellow-citizen to represent them in the senate, and so favorably were they impressed with his services during the first term, that, before its expiry, he was reëlected, in 1874, for a second term of two years, which will expire in November. There is but little reason to doubt that the senator will be offered the renomination, but it is possible that his continually increasing land agency business, added to his responsibilities in connection with the bank may make him desirous of a respite. He is a democrat of the Thomas Jefferson school, quite content to allow to others the freedom of opinion that he claims for himself, having no sympathy with the border ruffian stripe of political experience, and he is consequently able to run ahead of his own ticket in every contest, a recommendation of great value in any party in any state in the Union. The senator is not a church member, but he is a regular attendant in the Congregational church, having been reared within its discipline. He is not connected with any secret organization, and, indeed, has too little time at his disposal to add anything to his multifarious duties. In the year 1865, when he had arrived at the mature age of 41, Mr. Judd was so fortunate as to win, in marriage, a widow of many accomplishments, Mrs. Mary Louise Bartlett *nee* Coapes, of Grasburg, Vt., but then resident in Wyandotte city, and has a small family of girls growing up around him. His business engagements have been, on the whole, successful, and he is possessed of a competency. His public labors have won honor from

all classes and every party; his good name is without reproach, and in the retirement of his comfortable home he could happily spend the remainder of a life, which has not been without profit to his country. The state of Kansas cannot have too many of such citizens, and his worth is appreciated.

CAPT. PERRY HUTCHINSON will serve our purpose to illustrate the successes that can be achieved by men of business tact and courage in this state. Mr. Hutchinson hails from New York state, where he was born in December, 1831, so that he is now forty-five years old. In the year 1855, at the age of twenty-four, having procured meantime some insight to the calling of a miller and a fair amount of education, he removed to Iowa, and from thence, four years later, having been fortunate enough in the meantime to marry a good wife, he came to this territory in 1859, bringing with him a team wagon with a few household goods — a prairie schooner in fact on a small scale — and $2.50 in currency. The start was not such as Rothschild would have chosen for his son, but a stout heart is worth more than a bank balance, and for our purpose of illustration, it is worth while to follow the young colonist, with his wife and two children, as they set themselves to climb the hill of life together. They had no wealthy friends upon whom to call for assistance, but they kept their own counsel, found a house about six miles east of Leavenworth City, and gathered corn with his team wagon, boarding himself for one bushel of corn per day. Corn was then worth forty cents per bushel, so that the remuneration was not excessive, but anything was better than nothing, and on the corn thus procured the little family lived through the winter, eking out their vegetable food with buffalo meat when the chance offered. The winter was not of long duration and spring brought a change of scene. Mr. Hutchinson had become known to some extent, as the winter dragged on, and early in the spring he took a claim on the road that must be traversed by miners on the way to Pike's Peak. Building a log cabin was a trifle to a man that could face winter in a strange territory with $2.50, so there was very soon a homestead for the little group, and upon that evidence of industry there was no difficulty in procuring credit for a load of hay and

a load of corn. The trade was a success and some money was made, but not enough to liquidate the national debt. There was an inducement to extend the area of enterprise, the team wagon had still enough vital force to be made useful, and in June a freight of ten passengers being desirous to be conveyed to Denver City, *en route* to the mines in Colorado territory, Mr. Hutchinson took up the ribbons and became driver of the Denver coach, receiving $400 in all for the passage. This was a little fortune, but being so near the mines, the brave driver took the gold fever so badly, that he was compelled to go into the mountains, like thousands of others to work off the infection. The cure was effected, but every dollar had disappeared in the process. Every man could tell fabulous stories about heavy finds that had been made by somebody somewhere, but the men all around Hutchinson's *locale* of operations were groaning in spirit and suffering in flesh, because they did not win enough in a week to pay for a breakfarst. Still, it was then in the mountains as it always is everywhere in this world —

"Hope told a flattering tale."

And by the time the story was finished, everything else was gone. When the hero of the wonderful lamp "got stuck," it was only necessary for him to rub the lamp and his genius came to the rescue. In Hutchinson's case it was not a lamp but a wagon. He was "stuck" as badly as mortal need be, but if he had not a dollar, there was still the wagon and his knowledge of the road. Some few miners who had sufficient common sense to be warned in time, concluded on returning to the better gold diggings that had been abandoned in their "will-o'the-wisp" chase, and they were willing to pay small fees for tranportation. The transports of the miner had subsided, and a more humble transport was preferred; so when Mr. Hutchinson returned to his log cabin and civilization in the fall of 1861, he was not absolutely without a cent. He was the proud possessor of $45 and all expenses paid; little better than one-tenth of the amount received on his trip to Denver. The winter passed much more satisfactorily than the first in Kansas, and in the beginning of 1862 he rented a good hotel in Marysville, which he continued

to keep until June of that year. At that time there was a belief that the rebellion could be quelled in six months if everybody went in, and Capt. Hutchinson concluded that he would do his share. He raised a company and was mustered into the 13th Kansas infantry, having first bought a piece of land for a mill and employed labor to build the dam. Six months passed and the war was not ended, twelve months and the *finale* looked further off than ever, so it became necessary for the Captain to return and look after mundane affairs. The contractor for the mill dam had failed and the miller must be his own artificer. He had now $1,600, not quite as much as before going to the wars, but "it was no use crying over spilt milk." During the winter the dam was finished and a saw mill started in the spring, so that there was a brisk stroke of business until the fall; when, by mortgaging everything for the greater venture, he raised money to buy a one pair of burrs bolt and smut mill, which was started on the 10th of Novembr, 1864. Rising with his fortune, the next stroke was to buy a run of thirty inch stone on two years' time, as it began to be seen that this man was one of the sort that wins success by being worthy of it. There was thus a mill and dam with one run for wheat and another for corn, and to accommodate the last addition to the machinery, a small building was raised on the east side of the river, which continued to serve its purpose until the summer of 1867, when the stone mills, known as the Excelsior Mills were made ready for occupancy, and have since been made the center of one of the most profitable industries in the state of Kansas. When all the burrs are in full run they grind 1,000 bushels of wheat every twenty-four hours, but the ordinary daily run is about 700 bushels. The monetary operations of Perry Hutchinson's mill amount to $500 per day, and the wheat that is ground into flour by him comes from distances of 150 miles. The product of his mill is valued because he is a first class miller, and has put his whole soul into the business. He is valuable to us because his example shows that a strong willed man is worth more to this state than even a bank balance.

Hon. Harlan Page Dow, senator for the 27th senatorial dis-

trict, was born on the 20th of February, 1840, at Richland Springs, Otsego county, N. Y; his parents being in comfortable circumstances on their own farm, and their son, dividing his attention from childhood to the age of seventeen between farm work in the summer and tuition in the winter seasons. His father, having become surety for other persons, was bereft of nearly all his property in the year 1857, and removed to Page county, Iowa. During the winter of 1857–8 the boy attended the opening term at "Amity College," and in the following year taught school, until the death of his father necessitated his return to farm life to support the younger branches of the family and his mother. He married in the year 1860, when twenty years of age, and in the following year enlisted in a regiment of militia raised for six months only, in Iowa, to put down the rebellion. Private Dow was elected lieutenant by his comrades, and at the close of that service he entered the ranks of the fourth cavalry regiment raised by the state of Missouri under Col. Geo. H. Hall. Within six months he was once more a lieutenant, and participated in the battle of Springfield, already described in our military history, as well as in many engagements of less note. His capacity as an administrator and jurist led to his being detailed for special duties on many occasions. He served as judge advocate in the general court martial and military commission that was convened at Booneville, Mo., in July, 1863, and again at Jefferson City in 1864; besides being "recorder of boards of survey" and of courts of enquiry on twelve occasions. Gen. Rosecrans appointed Capt. Dow to the ordnance department in Jefferson City in the year last named, in which position he remained until the regiment was mustered out of the service and honorably discharged, in the spring of 1865. The fall of Richmond was yet an uncertain event, and the governor of Missouri at once raised a regiment to serve for twelve months to suppress the last symptoms of revolt in the turbulent districts under his control. Capt. Dow was appointed to a company, but the fall of Richmond, the surrender at Appomattox, the general collapse of the rebellion and the capture of Jefferson Davis, completely subdued the hopes of the riotously disposed, so that the force could be mustered out of the service in July, 1865. Capt. Dow returned at once to the avocation of

farm life in Page county, Iowa, continuing thus engaged until he sold out and came to Kansas in the year 1869. Having purchased 320 acres of unimproved land in Riley county in May, 1869, Mr. Dow had a task upon his hands that required all his energy, but he has now the half mile of territory all inclosed and 120 acres under cultivation. The times have not been favorable for farm life in Kansas since his land has been fairly broken; the drouth and the locusts have given the county two complete failures of crop, and there have been two semi-failures, but in spite of all drawbacks, he is a prosperous settler in Kansas. In the year 1871, he was chosen a trustee for Grant township, and discharged his duties with so much efficiency that two years later he was sent by the county to the house of representatives, and in 1874 was elected to the senate for the term which will expire in November of the present year. Capt. Dow is recognized among the soundest politicians of the time as a fast friend to his party, but one capable of discriminating wisely in the interests of progress. Personally, he is more inclined for home life and its peace than for the turmoil of political existence, but the call of duty never finds him unready or unwilling to respond. He may be described as one of the more liberal orthodox thinkers, having long been a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and being conscientiously opposed to indulgences in liquor and tobacco. His manners are reserved, and he is somewhat slow in the formation of attachments, but the tie once formed is enduring. He has given very considerable assistance to the organizations of patrons of husbandry, having risen therein to the dignity of master, and is generally a man to be found in every good work.

BREV. MAJ. GEN. CARR may be cited as a professional soldier for a very brief notice in order that our range of illustrations may be complete. He is now 46 years of age, having first seen the light in Erie county, New York, in March, 1830. He entered West Point Military Academy in 1846, graduated in 1850 and entered the regiment of mounted riflemen. He was engaged in expeditions to the Rocky Mountains in 1852–3, and was in Texas and New Mexico in 1854, being wounded in a fight with the Mescalero Apaches at Mount Diavolo, Texas, in November of that year.

Lieut. Carr of the first cavalry was employed on the Sioux expedition in 1855, and after that date found warm work in cooling partisan strife in Kansas for some years. Was aid-de-camp to Gov. Walker during his administration, and in 1858 was on the Utah Expedition, being made captain in June of that year. Fort Washita, C. N., was his station until 1861, and he went with the expeditions in 1859–60 to the Antelope Hills, to the Kiowas and Comanches, and was in the battle at Spring Creek. In May, 1861, when the rebellion broke out he fought under Gen. Lyon at Wilson's Creek, as also in many minor engagements; became colonel of 3d Illinois cavalry volunteers in September, and acted as brigadier general during Fremont's Hundred Days. Under Hunter, Halleck and Curtis in 1861–2, he commanded cavalry in observation toward Springfield, Missouri, and later the 4th division of the army of the southwest, being in the battles at Sugar Creek, Pea Ridge, and elsewhere, and made brigadier general of volunteers in March, 1872. The demonstration on Little Rock and march to Helena, Arkansas, and the command of the army of the southwest, with the command of the St. Louis district, Missouri, during the winter, accounted for 1862–3, and early in the year last named he was with Grant at Vicksburg commanding the 3d division of the 13th army corps at Magnolia Church, Jackson, Champion Hills, Black River Bridge, as well as in the several assaults, siege and capture of Vicksburg. He next commanded the left wing of the 16th army corps at Corinth, Missouri, and, transferred to Little Rock, Arkansas, was in command of the cavalry division and subsequently of the district. Was with Steele on the Camden expedition, taking part in the brilliant affair at Prairie de Anne, and in command at Poison Springs and Saline river; commanded the 3d division of the 16th army corps during the Mobile campaign in many engagements, the capture of Spanish fort by assault, the assault on Blakeley, and the march on Montgomery, Alabama; in the winter of 1865–6, commanding the St. Francis river district; was mustered out of volunteers and returned to the regular army; was in command at Raleigh, North Carolina from 1866 to 1867; then acting inspector general, department of Washington until the fall 1868; afterwards on an expedition against the Arapahoes, Cheyenne and Sioux Indians, in

which the battles at the Beaver and Chalk Bluffs drove the enemy out of Kansas. The second battle of the Beaver in 1869 was followed by a pursuit to the Republican; broke up the dog-soldier band and rescued Mrs. Weichel, a white captive at the battle of Summit Springs, in July, 1869, on the Summit expedition, and was thanked by the legislatures of Nebraska and Colorado; commanded the 5th cavalry in Arizona from November, 1871, until April, 1874, having been promoted to lieutenant colonel in January, 1873, and allowed a brief respite from service which was spent in Enrope. Brev. Maj. Gen. Carr is now in command of his regiment at Fort Hays, in this state.

GEORGE D. STINEBAUGH was born in Crawford county, Ohio, in 1840; he lived on a farm, receiving a good commercial education until 1860, soon after which time he became a soldier and was severely wounded at Jonesborough, Georgia, in September, 1864. The injury necessitated amputation of his left leg, and in August, 1865, Mr. Stinebaugh was honorably discharged. In the year 1866, the partially disabled soldier removed to this state, and was elected enrolling clerk of the house of representatives in the following year. In November, 1867, he was chosen county clerk of Franklin county, and has since that time been reëlected in 1869, '71, '73 and '75; a tolerably good showing, that he has been as faithful to the county as he was to the nation. In politics he is thoroughly republican, going for the ticket of his party, first, last and all the time, so that his friends can at all times tell where he may be found. The war has left us many such faithful and fearless men, taught in the hard discipline of the battlefield, to value the privileges of civil government, and ready to discharge its functions with all the energy at their disposal.

LB Ag '06